

The context of Sofala and Manica in relation to cyclone Idai response in Mozambique

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Rapid review question:

- What contextual factors (e.g. community structures and dynamics) are relevant in the urban and rural areas affected by cyclone Idai (Sofala and Manica provinces)? How do social and cultural factors shape communication and community engagement strategies across social sectors?

This report is based on a review of literature and consultation with experts that was undertaken in April-May 2019. Read this information with an awareness that much of the literature was produced before the current crisis in which social organisation may have undergone significant change. Rapid ethnographic assessments and other social science surveys in the field should run in parallel to the response.

Humanitarian context

Tropical Cyclone Idai has been one of the worst tropical cyclones recorded to affect the African continent, causing immense damage in Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Malawi. Flooding began from the precursor depression on the 6 March primarily in north-central provinces of Mozambique and south-eastern Malawi. On the 14 March Idai reached its peak intensity with maximum sustained winds of 195 km/h. On the 15 March the tropical cyclone made landfall in the city of Beira, Mozambique, and continued inland before changing course and turning westward towards Zimbabwe. The cyclone eventually re-emerged into the Mozambique Channel on the 19 March and dissipated on the 21 March.

In Mozambique alone, strong winds, torrential rain and flooding killed an estimated 603 people and injured more than 1,600 in addition to the destruction of livelihoods and properties (OCHA, 2019). The full extent of the damage is not yet known, and, as areas become reachable by road once again, the death toll is expected to rise sharply.

The humanitarian aftermath of the cyclone has been substantial. OCHA reports that 131,600 people are seeking shelter across 136 different displacement sites (ibid). More than 3,340 classrooms have been destroyed, with many now adapted into makeshift IDP shelters. Cholera cases continue to rise, particularly in Beira city. The Oral Cholera Vaccine Campaign beginning on 3 April in Beira city, with the aim to deliver up to 900,000 doses. Malaria is also an emerging concern and total cases reported.

Sofala, Zambezia, Manica and Inhambane were the main provinces affected, with Sofala and Manica provinces being the hardest hit and of particular concern to humanitarian responders. According to the agricultural needs assessment conducted by the Ministry of Agriculture (Government of Mozambique, FAO, and Food security cluster, 2019): Manica was affected more by the strong winds and Zambezia by the floods, while Sofala was overall affected

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equally by both. Sofala had stronger water flows which carried away assets. Nearly 40 per cent per cent of communities were flooded in Manica, 70 per cent per cent in Sofala and 90 per cent per cent in Zambezia. Communities in Sofala and Zambezia overall were flooded for much longer with over 20 per cent per cent and 35 per cent per cent of communities flooded for three weeks or more. The extent of destruction and loss was much higher in Sofala, with 40 per cent per cent of communities reporting most or all houses destroyed, and 50 per cent per cent reporting that most or all households had lost everything.

Humanitarian architecture

The Government is leading the response through the National Institute of Disaster Management (INGC). To support government-led efforts, the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) activated a Humanitarian System-Wide Scale-Up on 22 March 2019, along with 10 IASC humanitarian clusters. The operational presence of organisations (including UN agencies, international and national NGO partners) has increased from 20 at the time that the Humanitarian Response Plan was revised on 26 March 2019 to 188 (ACAPS, INGC, IFRC, and OCHA, 2019). Organisations are providing services across health, WASH, protection, shelter/NFI, food security, education, logistics, camp coordination and camp management, nutrition and telecommunications.

Emergency coordination mechanisms, include the Humanitarian Country Team (HCT), which is composed of UN agencies, donor representatives, international organisations, NGOs and consortiums of NGOs. The HCT is assisted at the operational level by an Inter-Cluster Coordination Group (ICCG).

The government has activated three coordination hubs – ‘the Centro Nacional Operativo de Emergencia; (CENOE) in Beira (Sofala Province), Chimoio (Manica Province) and Quelimane (Zambezia Province). Additional operating bases are being activated in Nhamatanda and Buzi (ibid.).

An assessment working group formed of the IFRC, OCHA, cluster leads and the Instituto Nacional de Gestao de Calamidades (INGC) carried out Multi-Sectoral Rapid Assessments (MRAs) in 14 high priority districts in Sofala and Manica provinces between 1-17 April 2019 to identify severely affected areas, priority needs and priority sectors for the response by district (ibid).

- Food was the most frequently cited concern in 77 per cent per cent of areas assessed. Despite being considered the ‘breadbaskets’ for the country, both Manica and Sofala faced chronic food insecurity prior to the crisis. Pre-crisis food insecurity levels were more severe in Manica, with 47,781 people in IPC Phase 3 (Crisis) and 47,781 in IPC Phase 4 (Emergency). No IPC Phase 4 was reported in Sofala, and 22,218 people were in IPC Phase 3 (IPC Info 09/2018). The situation is now likely to have worsened since the cyclone. The agricultural sector hires 80 per cent per cent of the Mozambique workforce and is likely to be severely affected. During the rapid assessment, crop lands were reportedly still flooded in 59 per cent per cent of locations, 94 per cent per cent of locations reported having lost animals and fishery infrastructure was also reported to be heavily damaged. In the immediate aftermath of the cyclone, general staple food prices had more than doubled, in particular for rice, maize meal and maize grain.
- Health was a key priority to 59 per cent per cent. Cyclone Idai and the subsequent flooding reportedly destroyed or damaged at least 93 health facilities in the affected area including Sofala and Manica provinces (INGC, 17/04/2019). In the areas assessed, 63 per cent per cent said they had access to a health service, but of those 26 per cent per cent were reported to have suffered infrastructure damage related to the cyclone, 21 per cent per cent faced a worsening in availability of essential equipment, 26 per cent per cent a worsening in supply of essential health supplies

- (such as medication), and 1 per cent per cent a deterioration in the human resources situation. Cholera, malaria, acute watery diarrhea (AWD) and HIV were all mentioned.
- Shelter was a key priority for 54 per cent per cent, and the majority of damage to houses seemed to be in Beira city and from the rural districts in the trajectory of the cyclone, such as in Dondo, Nhamatanda and Gondola, with Chimoio city reporting slightly less damage.
 - Water was a key priority to 32 per cent and sanitation was a key priority to 9 per cent, both of which were already fragile in that only 27 per cent had access to improved sanitation (dropping to 13 per cent in rural areas) and only 56 per cent had access to safe water before the cyclone³. In the assessed areas, 65 per cent of the assessed locations reportedly relied on unimproved water sources as their main sources of water. Nonetheless, only 4 per cent of locations assessed reported changing their main water to an unimproved one after the cyclone. Household water treatment was not a common practice – in 71 per cent of the households assessed less than half treated their water to make it safer to drink.
 - Education was a key priority to 21 per cent and many schools have been destroyed or damaged, with Nhamatanda and Dondo being the most affected from the districts assessed. Beira reported 103 out of 235 schools affected, while in the inland urban area of Chimoio, only 9 out of 77 schools were reported as affected. This is expected to affect school attendance which was already low at secondary level. Although only 2 per cent reported protection as a priority issue, the assessment noted that displacement, destruction of basic services facilities, and overcrowding and unsanitary conditions in the aftermath of Cyclone Idai have all led to an increase in protection risks. A third of the assessed locations reported cases of separated children (54 per cent in Sofala, 21 per cent in Manica and 36 per cent in rural areas, 44 per cent in urban areas) and cases of child-headed families (46 per cent in Sofala, 22 per cent in Manica and 28 per cent in rural areas, 59 per cent in urban areas).

Sofala and Manica provinces in Central Mozambique

Populations/peoples

In Mozambique, peoples are commonly identified according to ethnolinguistic groups, considering identity is closely related to language. The main groups in Sofala and Manica are from Shona origin, mainly Ndau and Manyika⁴, and the Sena, all of Bantu-speaking origin⁵. People tend to identify as Ndau or Manyika, rather than Shona (Sithole, 2018). Mozambican identity tends to be shared with the ethno-linguistic identity (Patrício, 2011), yet trust is often gained through language. Someone from Maputo, who doesn't speak ChiNdau, or ChiSena, would be perceived as a stranger by the community, hence one should prioritise recruitment of local actors.

The Shona as a regional cultural group live in Zambia and in Zimbabwe (where the majority of Shona live), and are prevalent in Mozambique between the Pungwe and Save rivers, in the districts of Sofala and Manica. Note that it is very rare to find Mozambicans who self-identify as maShona, a term which is now linked to people from eastern Zimbabwe. Whilst the Shona share cultural practices as well as a common historical origin in the 'Great Zimbabwe' of the

³ Figures from washdata.org database

⁴ The usual spelling in the Anglophone literature is Manyika, the INE of Mozambique, however, uses Manika. The people may be described with prefix ma-: maNdau; maShona; for language, the prefix often used Chi- e.g. ChiNdau (although the census uses ci-)

⁵ There are other ethnolinguistic groups albeit with smaller populations in the regions: Tewe and the language Chiutewe, as well as chiBarue, chiGorongosi/chiDuma (Contribution Schuetze).

11th to 15th centuries, the dialect subgroups Manyika in Manica and Ndau in Sofala and Manica⁶ consider themselves to have a separate ethnic identity, forged by their particular histories and their relationship with the postcolonial state. See more in the politics section below.

Sena people are found in Central Mozambique around the Zambeze river, in provinces of Manica, Sofala, Tete and Zambezia, as well as in Zimbabwe and Malawi in their borders with Mozambique. The Sena are an ‘amalgamation’ of peoples that were caught between the expansion of Shonas from Zimbabwe and Chewa Shonas from Malawi. According to Isaacman and Isaacman, the Sena ‘exhibit most, if not all, of the characteristics of Shona cultural groups’ (Isaacman and Isaacman, 1976). (As an example, when comparing marriage patterns along ethnic lines, Arnaldo creates a category ‘Sena/Ndau’ (Arnaldo, 2004)). The Sena also had a long association with the Portuguese, who set up Sena city as a trading post, and the Sena were often captured into the slave trade. There are several Sena groups, and the group prevalent in Manica and Sofala are the Sena Bangwe (present in Dondo, Nhamatanda and part of Beira).

Anthropologists have traditionally divided the country at the level of the Zambeze river between a patrilinear south and a matrilinear north. Under this framework, Shona and Sena are patrilinear, descent, succession and inheritance is traced through males from a founding male ancestor, but the Sena may have some matrilinear influences (Lancaster 1974, Isaacman and Isaacman 1976): whilst children are ‘owned’ by the male line, their mothers’ family is still very close. **Languages**

Sofala: According to the 2007 census, Chisena is spoken (defined as mother tongue) by 49.1 per cent of the population of Sofala, ChiNdau is spoken by 29.8 per cent of the population, followed by Portuguese, spoken by 13.3 per cent of the population. There are other minority languages like Echwabo (3.0 per cent also spelled as Chwabo, common in neighbouring Zambezia province), Xitswa (1.3 per cent, a language common in Inhambane) and Emakhuwa (0.5 per cent, a majority language in Nampula).

Portuguese is predominantly urban, 90.5 per cent of people in urban areas can speak it. This is probably because urban areas have higher levels of education, and they are more likely to be multi-ethnic, hence a lingua franca is necessary. In rural areas, only 44.5 per cent can speak Portuguese. Women are less likely to understand Portuguese than men, particularly in rural areas, where only 30.3 per cent of women speak Portuguese (INE 2007).

Table 1. Portuguese-speakers in Sofala province according to sex and urban-rural residence.

	Total	Men	Women
Total	62.9	75.0	51.6
Urban	90.5	95.0	85.9
Rural	44.5	95.0	30.3

⁶ There are Ndau in the southern part of Manica province, around Dombe, that were badly affected by the flooding (contribution Schuetze)

Beira refugees. Translators without borders conducted a language assessment in four refugee centres around Beira: Picoco, Inhamizua, Samora Machel and Ifapa. Mother tongues in the centres are primarily Sena, Chwabo (originally from Zambezia), and Ndau. Also Changana, Tewe, Tswa, Nyungwe, Makhwa. According to primary language used, people speak Portuguese (43 per cent), ChiSena (27 per cent), ChiNdau (15 per cent), Chwabo/echuwabu (9 per cent) and others (6 per cent). The results on comprehension and communication preferences are explored in the communication section below.

Manica: The most frequent languages are ChiNdau, spoken by 26.9 per cent of the population, Chitewe (a Shona language similar to ChiManyika), spoken by 22.6 per cent of the population. These are followed by ChiSena (13.3 per cent) and ChiManyika (11.8 per cent). Chibalke (Similar to Sena and local to Manica) is spoken by 9.1 per cent of the population. Minority languages also Chinyungwe (common in adjacent Tete province as a trade language), spoken by 5.4 per cent.

As in Sofala province, Portuguese is predominantly urban. According to the 2007 census 54.2 per cent of the Manica population speaks Portuguese, and of those living in urban areas, 85.7 per cent speak Portuguese. In rural areas, only 43.2 per cent can speak Portuguese. Women are less likely to understand Portuguese than men, particularly in rural areas, where only 32.1 per cent of women speak Portuguese. For this reason, the use of local languages should be prioritised in community engagement efforts.

Table 2. Portuguese-speakers in Manica province according to sex and urban-rural residence.

	Total	Men	Women
Total	54.2	65.5	44.0
Urban	85.7	90.9	80.4
Rural	43.2	55.9	32.1

ChiManyika and ChiNdau dialects have a similarity of 74–81 per cent. There is limited comprehension by Sena speakers of Ndau language. In fact, in Beira region, Sena speakers use Ndau to communicate with Ndau speakers and Portuguese to speak with other non-Sena speakers.

Despite these linguistic similarities, it is very important to note that there are tensions between the Sena and Ndau (see more below), that can emerge in relation to the use of language. Identity is closely connected to language; exemplifying this, a conflict arose between Sena and Ndau in 1992 when the Archbishop of Beira declared Ndau the official liturgical language and thus in turn downgraded Sena (Florêncio, 2002; Sousa Miguel Lopes, 2004). This is relevant because translated materials for communication, even if they can be understood in Ndau, must be translated to Sena as well.

Please note that you can find a detailed summary by affected district of language and other relevant socio-demographic factors in Annex 1.

Social organisation and cultural practices

The Manica and the Ndau, as Shona peoples, have retained similar structures and cultural practices related to totems, marriages, births and deaths for centuries. Modernisation and urbanisation has meant that some traditions have been discontinued, yet others remain, particularly in the rural areas. Further, Christianity is particularly strong in the region, particularly with the expansion of Pentecostal and Zionist churches. Many, particularly amongst the Sena, converted to Christianity, discontinuing or simplifying practices related to marriage, birth and death. We summarise here these traditional main social structures and cultural practices:

Manica and Ndau has traditionally been organised around households, lineages, totems, clans, villages and chieftaincies. Ritual connected these varying degrees of authorities in life-cycle events: birth, marriage and death. Customary authority flowed from paramount chiefs, to lesser chiefs and then to village headmen. Male elders met in councils to guide decisions at the village level. As part of a patrilineal lineage, people felt connected to kin sharing a common male ancestor, and the household was dominated by the patriarchal figure of the father. The Shona are virilocal, which means that after marriage, the bride moves to the husband's home village.

- Totems and Clans: In precolonial times, each person would belong to a clan (a family group) that claimed descent from a common ancestor, and had its own totem⁷. The word for totem is *mutupo*. Clan identification today is less important, whereas people still identify with their totem. The Ndau and the Manyika share many totems. Totems are associated with an animal (cattle, zebra), part of it (heart) or natural feature (river, pool). Totem names have on occasion become family names (Sithole, Dhiliwayo, Dhalakama). The totem protects the lineage and connects it spiritually, and it is of the same substance as the individual and the lineage. This often entails particular practices or taboos, for example a ban on eating that animal. People salute each other differently with particular praise greetings involving clapping depending on the totem. It is not allowed to marry someone from the same totem⁸. With rising population and migration, it is common to find chieftaincies with several totems. Particularly in the cities, traditional rules such as marrying outside your totem are more likely to be ignored.
- Bride wealth or *lobolo*: Bride wealth in Mozambique consists of 'compensating the woman's family for the loss of their daughter and her labour', as well as bonding two families and their ancestors (MacGonagle, 2007: 58). It is paid in livestock or cash as well as goods, and/or labor. It is still an important practice today and many enter in to debt in order to pay it. A common occurrence is that these debts are repaid by going to South Africa to work as migrant labourers. If a woman wants a divorce it is expected that the bride wealth is returned and traditionally fathers could offer the sister as a substitute. Ultimately bride wealth, coupled with polygamy (and hence the possibility of a large number of offspring from a single man) served to fulfil a desire to be 'wealthy in people, cattle and abundant crops' (ibid: 63). Polygamy is illegal but it is practiced without sanction, particularly in rural areas. In precolonial times, other marriages were acceptable, such as exchange of daughters as a way of avoiding the payment of *lobolo*, or, in the case of death of the husband, the widow and children would then be taken by the husband's brother. These practices still exist but are rare and mainly practiced in the rural areas (contribution Schuetze).

⁷ a totem is a natural object or animal that is believed by a particular society to have spiritual significance and that is adopted by it as an emblem.

⁸ totems were divided into sub-totems as populations increased to allow for a degree of intermarriage.

Birth: Traditionally birth is followed by the rituals called *mukerere* amongst the Ndaou or the *Kupukuta madvzade* amongst the Sena. In the *mukerere* the family thanked God and the ancestors for the child. Paternity would be declared by the resemblance of the boy to the father, and when a girl, she would be celebrated as a source of bride wealth for the father (MacGonagle, 2007). In the *kupukuta madvzade* the community commemorates the end of the *madvzade* period, a period focused on the pollution that emerges from birth. In this period the newborn is secluded until the umbilical cord falls off, as well as a prohibition of 3-6 of sexual intercourse between the parents. These purification rituals are rarely practiced in their full extent today (contribution Schuetze). Another ceremony called *chinyuchila* would be performed to present the baby to the maternal grandparents, solidifying cross-family alliances.

A birth celebration or party that is linked to Christian groups is called 'Chisasa' when a woman and newborn first come out of the home where they are staying following birth and includes prayer, sanctification of the newborn, singing, dancing and shared foods. There is a portion that takes place at home and a portion in the church.

- Death: Ancestor spirits are central to everyday affairs of the Ndaou. They are involved in the affairs of the family, residing amongst the living. When someone dies, their spirit wanders in a state of limbo, and the *Tsvitsa* ceremony is necessary to bring it home and to join the rest of the family's ancestors. This is only possible after the causes of death have been determined through the *Doro Refuka* ritual (more relevant to Shona cultural groups). Death does not 'just happen' but rather it is 'caused by human agency and is usually the result of hatred, jealousies, and conflicts among and between kith and kin' (Shenjere and Nyabezi, 2018: 5.). Once a person dies, people in the community pool together animals and cash to feed the community at the ceremony and pay the diviner. The ceremony has two phases, the first one in which the diviner consults with the close family within the home and then he declares the cause of death and culprits. Categories of relatives (e.g. uncles, cousins, sisters in law) declare that they have not 'eaten' their relative and acknowledge innocence (by shaking flour from their hair) or guilt (by not shaking it). It is not a ceremony of humiliation but rather promoting harmony, encouraging family and community problems to be resolved. The ceremonies will be followed by redress being sought to solve kinship problems and rituals to appease the ancestors that have been aggrieved. The *Doro Rekufa* ritual ceremony thus continues to be a very important part of death rites, family counselling, and social stability among the Ndaou today (Shenjere and Nyabezi, 2018: 10).

The *Tsvitsa* ceremony (as noted, necessary to bring the deceased person's spirit home to join the family's ancestors) follows the *Doro Refuka*. The most important *Tsvitsa* ritual is carried out in the home of the deceased. Traditional beer (used in many Bantu rituals) is prepared from sorghum and maize by the mourning family, and if the deceased is male, animals are slaughtered (traditionally it was one cow, but when this becomes too expensive, it can be substituted by goats or similar). The deceased is offered meat and beer and asked to take up their role as an ancestor. People are fed according to how close they are in the kinship group as well in relation to their status in the village (e.g. elders). Slaughter and consumption is very ritualised in the house, and after this, the whole community is fed and drink beer in a more celebratory fashion (ibid).

- Burial: Traditionally, male heads of household are buried in the centre of the homestead, and female heads under the veranda of her house. Burial within the homestead connects family to their ancestors (MacGonagle, 2007). According to Schautze, these traditional practices are no longer followed. People bury their loved

ones in cemeteries, either in cities or alternatively in rural areas, people are buried in the forest, in particular areas where people are not allowed to enter or gather plants or cut trees (contribution Schautze). In Chindau, these graveyards are called *makuwa*, sacred places where ordinary people are not allowed, except family members, the village head (*sabhuku*) or the chief (*mambo*). This sacredness is important, as in the 2000 floods human remains were washed from graves, yet the sites of initial burials maintained their sacred nature and were off-limits to visitors (MacGonagle, 2007: 65).

- Relationship with nature: In Shona culture, people 'strongly believe that continuity of social, religious and economic aspects of life can be sustained by living in harmony with the environment itself. Therefore, the Ndau show their gesture of veneration by making some forests, animals and other parts of the natural landscape sacred.' (Rusinga and Maposa, 2010: 204). Allocation and use of land and other natural resources are regulated by customary law and spiritual considerations (Anstey and de Sousa 2001). Regeneration of the environment is based on respect to the ancestors and considerations for future generations, restricting access by lineage and kinship. This impedes competition from foreigners, who are deemed to be moved by greed (*mbawu*). Ancestral spirits (*vadzimu*) and other guardian spirits (*mhondoro*) need to be consulted when making use of natural resources to avoid calamities (ibid). Ancestors and spirits are discussed further in the religion section below.
- Body and spirit: Both Sena and Shona traditionally believe that the body has three parts: the spirit, the shade, and the physical body. In both Sena and Shona cultures, healers, diviners, prophets, and initiation counselors are influential spiritual people. These roles can coalesce: the *n'anga* (also *n'ganga* or *nyanga*) is a diviner-healer. A prophet (*profete* or *maprofeta* in Chitewe or *profetas* in Portuguese) is a diviner healer linked to Independent African Churches (such as Z.C.C. or Velhos Apostolos). This is discussed further in an adjoining SSHAP brief on health-seeking practices.

Solidarity networks and labour exchanges

Kinship networks were traditionally crucial in providing land and labour both for cultivation as well as for care activities. Land is normally allocated from males (who have right to land according to the patrilineal norms) to wives and daughters' sons on a need basis. Women often carry out the bulk of agricultural labour, yet community and kin also help with land clearing and access. Traditions enabled communal labour exchanges and collective labour rotation schemes, which women could also tap into. Women would have agricultural and domestic assistance from sisters-in-law, aunts, and even co-wives, especially during pregnancy (Chapman, 2004: 237). In the south of the country, in Mabalane (Gaza) access to resources in times of need is also part of the traditional set-up, and can be based on exchange, for example labour for food and the use of a plough for animal traction, or otherwise receiving food or other goods, savings or credit without having to provide any service (Brouwer and Nhassengo, 2006).

These solidarity norms and exchanges are put under pressure in large-scale disasters such as the 2000 floods, which affect whole communities at the same time. Communities were able to meet the immediate needs of food and shelter for extended kin and the poorest households, but due to the destruction of ploughs and the limited cooperation of wealthier households, the response was not enough (Brouwer and Nhassengo, 2006).

There are also instances in which traditional arrangements have converged to support flood response. In the Zambeze basin there is a principle called *kuphezhana*, which can be

translated as helping each other. It consists of the exchange of labour, particularly for sowing and harvesting. Through *kuphezhana* fishing, agriculture, and evacuation during the flooding period becomes a 'collective responsibility', and people may be asked to look over assets, fields or animals. During previous floods the *kuphezhana* has been documented to get even stronger, as described: '[s]ome males are left behind during the evacuation process with the responsibility of taking care of the left belongings and houses of different households while those evacuating take the responsibility of looking, at the resettlement centres, after the household members of those remaining behind' (Artur, 2011: 87).

These two examples above are from the south of Mozambique and Zambezia province. Similar rural solidarity networks can be expected in Sofala and Manica, yet this should be investigated through participatory enquiry and social science research. The response should build on these local safety nets and response mechanisms.

Structural adjustment and urbanisation are documented to have undermined traditional safety nets. Since the 1990s, drastic cuts in government services such as health and education has increased the cash needs of communities. This has been exacerbated recently by the 'hidden debt' scandal (in which the government had failed to report a portion of its debt to donors), which has been accompanied by rapid inflation and has led to sanctions from donor groups that have reduced the amount of public spending. The metical, the national currency, has lost half of its value in relation to the dollar since 2014 and this has drastically impacted the ability of people to purchase imported goods (including basic imported staples such as oil and rice). Yet, salaries for civil servants and the minimum wage has not gone up much to compensate for inflation. This has had an additional impact on undermining 'traditional' safety nets and has intensified corruption among civil servants (contribution Schuetze).

Furthermore, people are increasingly moving to cities, living in nuclear households and are no longer connected to their extended family. People in urban and periurban (even also in rural) areas cannot rely anymore on kin and community to mobilise labour for farming or care activities, and cash is necessary to hire help. Yet cash is scarce, since the welfare cuts have meant fees are necessary for health and education (Chapman, 2004). Further, land is increasingly scarce, particularly in peri-urban populations and it is being exchanged in formal and informal land markets, allocated to those who have the cash rather than according to need (ibid). Access to land is further impeded by the allocation of land to private foreign firms, which have been granted large swathes of land without the content of local residents, breaching national land laws (contribution Schuetze).

Livelihoods

The Shona have traditionally been farmers, planting millet, sorghum and then corn (brought from the Americas) as a staple food. Other crops included rice, beans, peanuts, yam, pumpkin and sweet potatoes. Farming was complemented with small livestock like sheep, goats and poultry. Cattle have also played a central role in Shona society, as keepers of value, prestige and bride wealth payments. The Shona were also adept at pottery, stone sculpture and textiles. The Sena in the Zambeze valley also built agricultural livelihoods, in combination with fishing and hunting.

Many agricultural practices and food preferences continue today, with 90 per cent of the people of Manica and Sofala depending on agriculture, followed in importance by livestock rearing, and fishing in communities near rivers such as the Zambeze, Pungue, Buzi, Muda, and along the coast. Incomes mainly come from the sale of staple crops, animals and fish, and of a lesser degree from petty trade, the sale of vegetables and cash crops (including

coconuts). Cattle ownership is used as an indicator of wealth; poor peoples' livelihoods do not depend on cattle as they cannot afford them⁹.

Note that livelihoods vary greatly within provinces, depending on the urban, periurban, rural continuum, the local topography and climate. These livelihoods are often in flux, as people swiftly adapt to changes in the market and the environment. Aid programmes should aim to zone in as much as possible to the locations where assistance is provided. For example, particular seeds or crops will only be relevant in particular locations (contribution Schuetze).

More recently in Sofala (Anuario, 2017), main staple foods produced are corn, sorghum, pearl millet, rice, beans, peanuts and cassava. Cash crops include pineapple, sesame, cashew nut, sugar cane, cabbage, tomatoes, onions and cotton. The forestry production is also important, mostly for cut wood. Other industries include processing cotton fibre and sugar. Small animal production including goats and pigs, as well as cattle are important. As Sofala is on the coast and also has inland rivers, there is a strong fishing industry (shrimp, fish, shark and crab) coexisting with artisanal fishing (inland and sea water fish, shrimp, shark, crabs, and cephalopodes). The city of Beira is the major commercial hub (see more below) and is home to the busiest sea port of the country. It is also connected to South Africa and Zimbabwe through rail. Principal exports include ores, tobacco, food products, cotton, hides and skins, with the chief imports including fertilisers, equipment and textiles, liquid fuels and wheat (INE 2013).

More recently in Manica (Anuario, 2017), the main staple foods produced are corn, sorghum, pearl millet, beans, peanuts, wheat, sweet potatoes, cassava, tomatoes and onions. Fruit trees are also an important source of income. The main cash crops in the province are bananas, potatoes, sesame, cotton, cashew nuts, baby-corn, and macadamia nuts. Forestry for cut wood and tilapia fish, cattle and poultry farming are important industries as is mineral production (including construction materials, bauxite and some gold mining). The great majority of produce is traded in the provincial capital, Chimoi.

Whenever possible, farming has adapted to cyclical flooding in low lying regions of Central Mozambique. Granaries are kept on stilts, and in case of floods, assets such as ploughs and even the family members themselves can temporarily reside on the granaries (Based on Artur 2011). If the water keeps rising, people and cattle will seek refuge on higher ground, leaving (as indicated above) people behind to make sure that harvest and assets are not stolen. There have been examples of mutuality between lowland and upland communities whereby upland communities take advantage of fresh produce coming from the lowlands in 'normal times' and in turn they give refuge to family members in the floods (Artur, 2011). It is not uncommon to have two plots of farmland (*munda*) to adapt to seasonal flooding, one in lower land close to the river (*matoro*), and another one in the uplands (*machamba*). Upper lands are cleared and planted (normally millet, sorghum and cassava which are drought resistant) in October/November, and harvested in March/April. Lower lands (corn, vegetables, beans and sweet potatoes that require more humidity and fertility) are planted immediately after the floods recede. In the flood plains, housing is also made out of grass and wood¹⁰, that is more resistant to floods and can be replaced more affordably and with more ease than cement. Even if these traditional adaptation arrangements have been undermined by climate change and the destruction produced by cyclone Idai, they should still be understood and built upon wherever possible.

⁹ Note that there are large regions in Sofala with no cattle due to tsetse fly prevalence.

¹⁰ Note that in other areas of Mozambique, which are not in coastal plains, other construction materials may be used, for example mud blocks or 'pau a pik': a bamboo frame with mud inside and then mud stucco (contribution Schuetze).

The effect of the cyclone Idai on livelihoods

According to a government needs assessment (Government of Mozambique et al., 2019), cyclone Idai has had a massive impact on people's livelihoods. People report substantial decreases in income (70-90 per cent) and being unable to sell crops or animals. Almost all communities had corn in the fields, as well as millet and beans when the cyclone hit. People have been unable to harvest more than 50 per cent of corn, and even then the corn is not fully mature, which means that it will not keep long, nor it is possible to keep for seeds (Dondo and Gorongosa in Sofala are less affected). Less than 40 per cent of people had seeds stored for subsequent planting. Corn seeds needed to be made available before the end of April, planting time. Bean, vegetables and tubers can wait for May or later. This corn 'second planting' takes place in April, a riskier and less productive planting season. Some seeds were distributed (mainly in Nhamatanda and Buzi), but not to everyone who needed them or, for some, not in time for planting. Some missed the opportunity to plant, others used seed collected from damaged fields. Those crops that were planted are suffering heavy losses by pests due to the humidity in flooded areas (contribution Schuetze).

According to the government (Government of Mozambique et al., 2019), it is expected that losses in sesame and vegetables will be over 75 per cent for a majority of communities, with vegetables the major problem in Sofala. The most affected fruit trees are bananas and mangos (and less so cashew nuts, citrus and coconuts¹¹). Irrigation, tools, water and grain storage facilities have been destroyed, particularly in Sofala. Many animals have been killed or lost, although the survey does not assess how many. More than half of communities report sick animals (e.g. related to foot rotting). Much of the fishing infrastructure and many boats were lost in coastal areas, forests have been damaged, and environmental changes such as changes in water systems have been reported. Market access has been affected, particularly in Manica with a 20 per cent loss in market access. Prices of staples such as corn have increased over 50 per cent in a fifth of communities, with prices particularly high in Sofala. This, coupled with loss of income is likely to generate high food insecurity. At the point of the assessment, communities had not had to rely on erosive coping strategies (e.g. distress-selling of productive assets or sending household members away). Food coping strategies have occurred with communities reducing portion size or reducing the number of meals, as well as relying on wild foods. Food assistance is first priority particularly in the coming months, followed by seeds, ensuring that the planting is not interrupted.

Local alternative explanations of floods have been documented in Zambeze valley as: 1) God's will (although this did not preclude churches from offering their support), perhaps signaling the end of the world and the need for conversion of non-believers; 2) ancestors who have been wronged resulting in collective misfortune; and 3) certain individuals, for example in the 2009 drought some people were lynched as witches as a response to newspaper articles. People from the National Institute of Meteorology had to be sent to the area following the incidents to offer alternative causal explanations of the drought (Artur, 2011).

Migration patterns

The Ndau in Manica and Sofala and their Shona counterparts in Zimbabwe do not perceive the political boundary between the two countries as significant. Ndau kinship groups and customary authorities straddle across the border and movement to and fro is common. Ndau traditional religious authorities consider their Zimbabwean counterparts as more senior and often travel to seek advice. Mozambican Ndau-speakers have sought refuge in Zimbabwe

¹¹ This data differs from Christy Schuetze needs assessment, in which populations claimed over 30 per cent coconut trees damaged due to the high winds.

during the civil war, and later on due to improved roads, more regular transport, well-stocked shops and better educational opportunities, more Ndau speakers regularly crossed to Zimbabwe, either relocating or visiting briefly (Patrício, 2011). Following the economic crisis, the tables have turned, and Zimbabwean Ndau cross into Mozambique to shop and some have sought refuge in Western Mozambique.

Traditionally, Shona and Sena residential kin groups are comprised of several generations of patrilineal family members and their wives living together with their parents in dispersed rural compounds. However, migrant labour has been central to Mozambican livelihoods since colonial times, with Mozambican labour migrants travelling towards South Africa to work in commercial farming and mining. People in southern Sofala and Manica used to travel to South Africa, whereas people in the northern parts of the provinces tried their luck in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe. Mozambicans are one of the highest migrant populations in South Africa. As central Mozambique is a main transport hub linking seaports to landlocked countries such as Zambia, Malawi and Zambia, mobility is common along those transport routes. Internal migrant labour is also common, particularly in the centre and North of the country, as energy and extractive companies are investing and creating jobs. These same jobs in extractives are pulling labour from other countries which transit through the centre and north of the country (IOM Mozambique). There are also lots of internal migration between rural districts and urban areas not only for formal employment but also for trade and small business activities (contribution Schuetze). The recent conflict (2013-2016) also displaced people from Central Mozambique to neighbouring provinces or Malawi (ibid).

The migratory dynamics of the provinces of Sofala and Manica have changed recently. Sofala has traditionally been receiving internal migrants from other regions of Mozambique, attracted by the city of Beira, and employment opportunities in agroindustry. This changed in the 2000s, outward migration flows became dominant. Manica, however, has consistently throughout history had inward migration from other regions fuelled in recent times by employment in national and international investments. The majority of migrants in Sofala (2007 data) come from Zambezia province (46.1 per cent), followed by Tete (18.4 per cent), Inhambane (12.2 per cent) and Manica (13.9 per cent). Manica receives migrants from Zimbabwe, many to work in tea plantations, as well as internal migrants from Sofala (60.5 per cent), Tete (17.9 per cent) and Zambezia (10.2 per cent). (Muanamoha and Raimundo, 2018).

Rural-urban migration has grown rapidly as a product of the civil wars (particularly to Maputo) and many stayed in these peri-urban areas (Chapman 2006). New migration patterns have also been spurred as a product of structural adjustment policies that undermined traditional subsistence agriculture and increased inequalities. A mix of migration for work in cities and towns and massive dislocation during the war has led rural populations to crowd peri-urban settings. This has meant an undermining of traditional safety nets linked to kinship groups and an 'increasing urbanisation and the intrusion of urban influences in peri-urban and rural cultures' (Chapman, 2004: 232), with household 'fragmentation, dispersion and nucleation' (Pfeiffer, 2002: 182).

Transport routes

Roads are generally the most used transport system. The railway system has been well developed since colonial times, however transport routes were designed around colonial interests of linking extractive industries from landlocked countries such as Zimbabwe, Swaziland and Malawi to the coastal ports. North-south connections are otherwise very limited and the road network to rural areas is also poor. 10-15 per cent of communities in Manica and Sofala have no access to markets, and for those who do, 80 per cent access the market by foot (Ministry of Agriculture, 2019).



Administrative and customary authorities

The post-independence Mozambique dominated by FRELIMO (Mozambique liberation movement) was a highly centralised Marxist one-party state. As mentioned above, all customary authorities prevalent in colonial times were abolished, and civil authorities replaced them. Yet as a result of the introduction of a multi-party democratic system and the decentralisation strategy of FRELIMO, these customary authorities have been legitimised again.

Traditional authorities

Ndau chiefdoms were autonomous political units, in which the *mambo* (*regulo* in Portuguese) is the chief that controlled a territory called the *nyika*. The *nyika* could be subdivided in smaller areas called *mitundu*, in which a 'small chief' could govern (*zahambo* in Buzi, or *mambo mudoco* in other areas, or just *mambo*-chief). The Portuguese called these *chefes de grupo de povoações* (population group chiefs) or *chefes de grupo de terras* (lands group chiefs). These subunits were in turn divided further, and the *saguta* would lead this smaller unit. The *saguta* were denominated *chefes de povoação* by the Portuguese.

These customary authorities were counselled by (i) the council of elders or *matombo*; (ii) the *ucama* or *bajare*, elders from the male line that shared a joint ancestor; (iii) a *nduna* or *secretario do mambo*, a kind of secretary of the chief, a hereditary post; (iv) a *muvia*, the eldest nephew with ritual and symbolic functions- although a role not present always; and (v) *cipaios* or *maporissas*, a sort of police, assistants and messengers for the different types of chiefs (*mambo*, *mambo mudoco* and *sagutas*). The *matombo* included the most elderly males from the male line as the most influential in political and spiritual affairs, and the *ucama* would be particularly influential in deciding who would become *mambo* after the chief died. During colonial times, these customary figures were co-opted as a form of indirect rule. The Portuguese ensured that those *mambos/regulos* that resisted were replaced with more collaborative ones, they institutionalised a fixed administrative area for each territory, and divided large *nyika* territories under powerful *mambos* into smaller territories, incorporating additional compliant *mambos* (Florêncio, 2008).

Sena customary authorities had similar arrangements, where a *Nyawkawa* (*regulo* or chief) reigned over a large area, along with a helper named *Saphanda* and an assembly of advisers (*Mathubo*). Smaller settlements were ruled by a small chief named *Nfumu*, which is a term used to show respect for a person. *Nyawkawa* and *Nfumu* are local authorities that oversee distribution of land and resources and resolve conflicts of all types. They therefore are a key part of the judicial system particularly in rural areas, where people generally take conflicts or other problems for resolution first to their *Nfumu*, and more serious cases are then referred to the *Nyawkawa* and sometimes (more likely in cases of violent crime) to police or state courts (contribution Schuetze). *Nyawkawa* and *Nfumu* hear and resolve cases at their homes, whether under shade trees or a built shade pavilion (*Matchesa*). *Nyawkawas* typically hear cases at their home during regular Saturday morning meetings where decisions are made in consultation with *Saphandas* and *Mathuba*, and often involving consulting spirit mediums (*N'ganga*) (Amadeu, 2016).

Post-independence local government and civil war

After the war of independence, FRELIMO organised the *Grupos Dinamizadores* (Dynamizing Groups) at the local level to bring about the new order. They organised *banjas*, large community meetings and declared customary rule abolished. Traditional authorities were replaced by the figure of the *secretario de bairro* which liaised between communities and the state. This public defenestration represented a humiliation to leaders and members of the elder and *matombo* councils. RENAMO (Mozambican national resistance) fighting against the FRELIMO state, appealed to these disenfranchised people and presented themselves as protectors of tradition and the old order. Importantly, during the civil war, in the areas that RENAMO occupied, they re-instated the customary system of authority, under the supervision of the RENAMO army. The figure of the *mujiba* was created as a RENAMO representative at the village level (Florêncio, 2008).

Importantly, RENAMO was less successful in recruiting *mambos* (perhaps because they were more exposed to FRELIMO reprisals) and most successful in mobilising members of the *ucama* council, and lower-rank authorities such as the *mambo mudoco*. Despite in theory handing over power to traditional authorities in RENAMO-occupied areas, this often did not happen as many of them, particularly *mambos* (*regulos*, chiefs), stayed in the FRELIMO state areas. In these cases, RENAMO would put 'someone else in place as the traditional authority, someone who was linked to the *ucama* council, but however, this person did not have the right of succession, nor legitimacy.' (Florencio 2004). We can call these individuals 'RENAMO traditional authorities'. These RENAMO traditional authorities played the same customary roles, but were merely people appointed by RENAMO. This is relevant today because these RENAMO authorities now compete with the 'real' customary authorities that were recognised by the post-war FRELIMO state in its process of decentralisation. In particular communities there will be debates regarding the legitimacy of particular *regulos*, referring to the persons' genealogical connection to the common ancestor (Florêncio, 2004). It is important to be aware that different people may portray themselves as the legitimate leader of a community.

The reincorporation of 'community authorities'

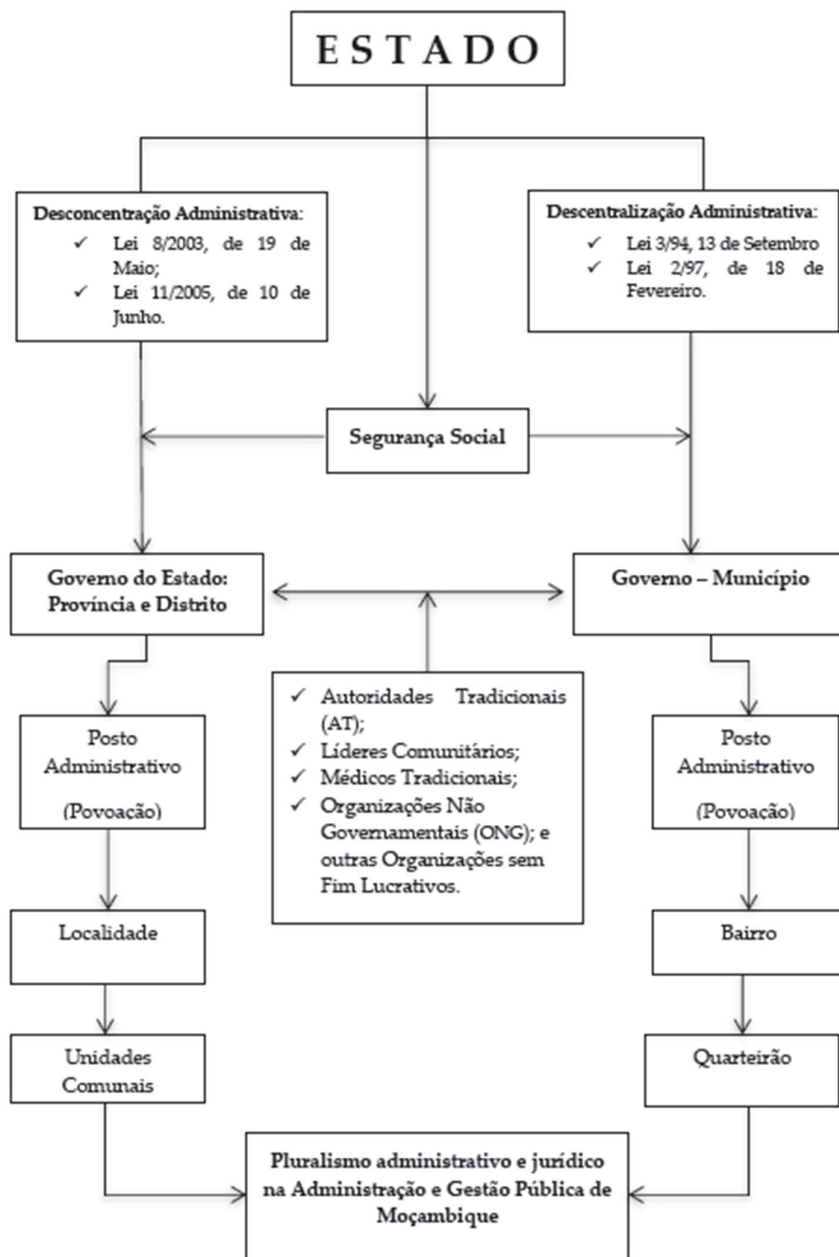
As a result of the peace process, the government started approaching customary authorities, giving them legitimacy and devolving some responsibilities. This came in parallel to the decentralisation process. There were stark differences between the countryside (*mato*) and the city, with a dual administration: 'centralised and undemocratic rule in the rural areas, and (formally) democratic and decentralised rule in cities and towns.' (Braathen and Orre, 2001: 217). Municipalities, created in 1997, are made accountable through local elections. In rural areas, people 'continue to be governed by the local state organs, in a descending hierarchy: the provinces, the districts, the administrative posts and the localities' (Orre, 2009).

Both the municipalities and state organs are required to collaborate with 'community authorities'. The Decree 15/2000 aimed to align the customary authorities with administrative authorities in each area, leaving the door open to locally recognised roles, rather than top-down definitions (the decree delineates 'other leaders legitimated as such by their respective local communities'). These 'community authorities' recognised by the State include customary authorities such as 'traditional authorities' (often understood as chiefs/*mambos/nyakwawa*), but also non-traditional urban authorities such as the neighbourhood secretaries (*secretarios de barrio*) or village secretaries (*secretarios de aldea*). Note that there are also 'block' chiefs (*chefes de quarteirão*), a position specific to municipalities, but they are not included explicitly in the decree and they do not have the 'perks' that *secretarios de barrio* have.

According to Oliveira Rocha and Bernardo Zavale (2015), in a particular locality, you therefore find three types of (sometimes overlapping, sometimes complementary) administration: 1) municipal decentralised administration; 2) local state administration; and 3) community administration. This 'community administration' would include customary authorities, but also other elements of civil society, including:

- Neighbourhood secretaries
- Dynamizing groups (those who previously formed part of the FRELIMO local groups)
- Religious groups
- Other civil society groups (e.g. youth and women's groups)
- NGOs
- Community leaders

The structure has been visualised in the figure below (Zavale, 2011 in Oliveira Rocha and Bernardo Zavale (2015)):



These new positions of 'community authorities' included in the decentralisation strategies of FRELIMO, end up with traditional leaders being in a liminal position between the state and the communities. These processes can either be seen as a way of the FRELIMO state of co-opting local authorities -as a form of neo-colonialism (Florêncio, 2004, 2008), or as a genuine step in devolution. Another criticism has been that by legitimising only *regulos*, the other people involved in customary rule are sidelined, for example elders or members of the *ucama*. Yet these councils of elders are still in place in communities, assisting the work of the chiefs, and hence they are important stakeholders.

Note that despite the incorporation of customary authorities, there is still resistance and opposition to their legitimation by people linked historically to FRELIMO, such as the OMM (*Organização da Mulher Moçambicana*) and the OJM (*Organização da Juventude Moçambicana*) and particularly the *secretários de bairro* and *secretários de célula* (party branch secretary), and members of the *Grupos Dinamizadores* (Florencio, 2004). In his contribution, Euclides Gonzalves notes that this political opposition is tempered by kin relations, as members of the same family may form part of these different groups. Hence the tensions should be assessed in each particular locality.

It is important to note that the Decree 15/2000 is a *process* of legitimation rather than a declaration, and in each district there is a process of recognition of customary authorities. The role of the district government is to host community meetings in which *Regulos* and *Secretários* are legitimated and recognised. For example, by 2005 in Buzi only 14 *regulos* and 9 secretaries had been recognised.

It is important to see how the consideration of what is considered a legitimate authority will get shaped by local social dynamics: the personal and family feuds, local politics, contested meanings about what is the right lineage connection to the ancestors, what are the good personal characteristics of a chief, to what degree legitimacy is obtained by participatory community meetings, the knowledge and use of cultural histories, as well as the relationship with state authorities (Kyed and Buur, 2006).

The responsibilities of the 'new' community authorities (e.g. the new *regulos*) are described by Oliveira Rocha and Bernardo Zavale (2015) as including:

- Administrative and government outreach - census, taxation, policing, land allocation, roads, health, education, development projects, environment and food security
- Nation-building- using the nations symbols and respecting national celebrations
- Rural development (a mention which is not made in the urban areas- showing how customary authorities are mostly limited to the rural areas)
- Civic education
- Local community participation
- Recognition of local authority and culture- preserving local custom

The role of land allocation, as well as mediation when conflicts over land arise is particularly important, since most lands do not hold titles. Note that being declared a community authority comes with these obligations vis-à-vis the state, yet it also entitles the person to receive a salary.

Customary authorities and resettlement in the context of floods

When people have been resettled due to floods, such as was the case in the Zambeze basin in 2007, the government negotiates with local chiefs to use available land. The land is understood by the communities to be owned by the chiefs, and not the government. Customary authorities find their legitimacy in the ownership of their land, hence displaced customary leaders are deprived of their status to govern the land when they are resettled elsewhere. It is the host chiefs who decide. Customary leaders will thus return to their land as soon as they can. The same happened to a majority of households who depend on the farming or fishing opportunities of the lowlands. Even if households remain in the new settlements (e.g. taking up trading or permanent employment), it is very common for resettled households to keep a house in the original area. The demand for 'good' plots created a market where the best land went to leaders, influential and wealthier households, whereas poor people ended up in marginal plots (Artur and Hilhorst, 2014).

Party Politics

Politics in Mozambique today revolves around the confrontations that emerged in the struggles for independence from the Portuguese and the civil war that ensued. This postcolonial politics is particularly relevant for central Mozambique. The three main liberation movements of the 1950s and 1960s against the Portuguese coalesced to form the Liberation Movement for the Freedom of Mozambique (FRELIMO). FRELIMO made substantial territorial gains, occupying Tete and Niasa provinces. Portugal and FRELIMO signed a peace agreement in 1974, and independence was declared on the 25th of June 1975. The FRELIMO government declared itself Marxist-Leninist with one-party rule, nationalised health, education, justice and housing. As part of a 'modernising' drive, FRELIMO considered customary authorities (see above), ethnic identity, religion and urban identity a threat. Customary authorities were replaced by alternative local administrations, state enterprises and cooperatives were set up which enforced settlement and collectivisation of agriculture (*aldeas colectivas*) in the countryside, religion (traditional or Christian) was constantly derided and church education was banned (Bertelsen, 2016).

Rhodesia, and subsequently South Africa, which were still under apartheid regimes, felt threatened by FRELIMO's Mozambique, which in turn was supporting rebel movements in those countries. Rhodesia's intelligence services founded and financed RENAMO, and after Zimbabwe obtained its independence, intensified support was provided by South Africa (Nordstrom, 1997). Whilst kidnapping was a key recruitment strategy, RENAMO also tapped into local discontent by those who felt alienated by the reforms: peasants, customary and religious authorities and so on (see more below). RENAMO activities started in Manica and Sofala, and eventually expanded into Inhambane, Gaza and South Tete. FRELIMO struggled to keep control of these regions beyond the urban areas.

The conflict had both regional and ethnic elements. The FRELIMO government was dominated by Tsonga people, the peoples living mainly in the south. These Tsonga people, denominated by the Nguni as 'Shangaans', conquered the south and south central parts of Mozambique in the 19th century before the Portuguese colonisation. This is relevant because the elites of the centre and the north, which had had an influence in colonial times, were no longer relevant vis-a-vis the southern elites of Maputo following independence. The peoples in the centre of the country and the north (Sena, Ndau, Macua), felt unrepresented by FRELIMO. RENAMO particularly harnessed the discontent amongst the Ndau that dominated its leadership. Both the previous leader of RENAMO, Afonso Dhalakama, and the Catholic Archbishop of Beira are Ndau. As part of the Ndau mythology, their people have been colonised three times: by the Shangaan as part of the Nguni invasions, then by the Portuguese, and then again by the Shangaan via the FRELIMO government. RENAMO exploited these ethnic cleavages to generate support (MacGonagle, 2007). Today, the Ndau continue to draw on a discourse of hardship and perseverance as a peripheral group far from centres, and the upheaval that has come to the Ndau due to the cyclone may reconfigure Ndau identity and their relationship to the central government (contribution MacGonagle).

Support for RENAMO in Central Mozambique continued after multi-party elections in 1994. 'In the south and far north, FRELIMO won overwhelming majorities. In the centre - Sofala and Manica - RENAMO won a similar majority, although these provinces have a much smaller population. In Nampula, Zambezia and Tete, RENAMO was the largest party by a proportion of about three to two' (Carver, 1995). These areas (as shall be shown in the brief on health seeking practices) are distrustful of the state and its institutions, which could have important negative impacts on the cyclone Idai response. Lack of swift response or unequal distribution could be easily attributed to neglect or malice by the central government.

In her contribution, Schuetze indicates that there are indeed reports of unequal distribution of aid, particularly in respect to rural populations in the central region of the country, due to their

allegiance to RENAMO. According to Ramah McKay, distrust is 'not just ethnic and historical but rooted in observations about state practice and unequal distribution of resources, particularly the concentration of resources in the families/households of state functionaries' (contribution McKay). Furthermore, Schuetze argues that FRELIMO military activities in the recent flare-up in the country, targeting and killing members of RENAMO in the region, have exacerbated the animosity between the state and the local populations (contribution Schuetze).

A million people were killed, 1.7 million sought refuge abroad and many millions were internally displaced in the civil war. The war ended when on 4 October 1992, FRELIMO and RENAMO signed the Rome General Peace Accords.

Another important player has been the Mozambique Democratic Movement (MDM), a party that broke off from RENAMO and which has a strong base in Beira. The leader of the party is Daviz Simango, Mayor of Beira city. One of the sources of the conflict was the decisions behind finding a successor for Afonso Dhlakama. There are rumours that Simango had ambitions for this, but Dhlakama expelled him instead. Furthermore, Simango was not from RENAMO proper, but rather from the Partido de Convencao Nacional (PCN) that joined RENAMO to run for elections as RENAMO-EU (RENAMO electoral union). In any case, the MDM has positioned itself as an alternative to RENAMO in contesting FRELIMO's hegemony, presenting themselves as against the corruption of the ruling party (with proposed constitutional arrangements to ensure Parliament oversee the judicial appointments that are currently political), and advocating for direct democracy, with more use of referendums (Chichawa, 2010). MDM expanded their presence nationally when RENAMO boycotted the 2013 Municipal elections and MDM took over many municipalities. However, after the return of RENAMO, MDM only maintains its base in Beira (see below). Note that MDM is equally dominated by Ndau, and hence there is potential for Sena speakers to feel unrepresented.

Elections and recent low-level armed conflict

Elections have occurred against the backdrop of a resurgence of low-level armed conflict between RENAMO and the FRELIMO state. Tensions started escalating after the 1999 election results that granted FRELIMO a small majority, which were contested by RENAMO and public protests in Beira and Maputo were strongly suppressed. In April 2013, following clashes, RENAMO carried out armed attacks on the police and military, with much of the violence taking place in Sofala province. Grievances articulated included systemic corruption in the FRELIMO state, and systemic mistreatment and oppression of RENAMO members, military veterans, and populations of regions with known majority popular support for RENAMO. Corresponding demands included democratic reforms to electoral processes and full implementation of the agreements made in the Rome general peace agreement of 1992, particularly incorporation of RENAMO forces into the Mozambican military and security services. A unilateral ceasefire was declared by RENAMO in August 2014, but negotiations failed when RENAMO contested the results of the 2014 election. Violence escalated in February 2015, and RENAMO troops attacked rail lines, police stations, and- particularly important for the cyclone response- there were instances of health facilities being targeted (ACLEDA, 2016; Human Rights Watch, 2016). In December 2016 a truce was reached, and an agreement was made to extend the truce indefinitely for negotiations. In the interim, the reintegration of the armed groups into the state is ongoing. That said, there are constant threats to peace; for example, the current leader of RENAMO, Ossufo Momade, threatened to abandon peace talks in October 2018, complaining about the results of the municipal elections.

In her contribution, Schuetze highlights the 'atmosphere of distrust and fear of government actors that has worsened in the recent years in the context of the recent conflict and FRELIMO's repressive response to RENAMO's demands'. She reports on acts of death

threats, kidnapping and murder of RENAMO supporters by the FRELIMO government in Manica nad Sofala, in parallel with attacks on the freedom of the press. Scheutze mentions reports of radio stations that have felt afraid to criticise the government, particularly in the case of mismanagement of government aid distribution following cyclone Idai (contribution Schuetze).

It is important to note that Mozambique also has instances of popular movements that are not linked to party politics. ‘Spring revolution’-type confrontations with the police have occurred in Maputo and in Chimoio, in Manica province. People protested in Manica in 2008 and 2010, not as a result of conventional party politics, but rather as a popular protest against corruption, high unemployment rates and high prices (Bertelsen, 2013).

As a barometer for the current political situation, in the most recent municipal elections, just before cyclone Idai hit in 2018, FRELIMO won 44 municipalities, RENAMO 8 and MDM 1¹². Yet FRELIMO won with only 51.78 per cent of the vote, as the right is divided (RENAMO 38.9 per cent and MDM 8.5 per cent). MDM retained the city of Beira, and RENAMO won in Quelimane city in Zambezia and municipalities from Niassa and Nampula. To give an idea at a provincial level, the 2014 elections which saw FRELIMO retain power in the hands of Nyusi with 57 per cent of the vote and 144 seats in parliament (RENAMO got 89 and MDM 17), also yielded the following results in the provinces that this report is focusing on:

Province	FRELIMO	RENAMO	MDM
Manica Province	49	39	1
Sofala Province	30	45	7

Another element of destabilisation is the precarious situation of the FRELIMO government, with increased debt, declining creditworthiness and decreasing incomes. Mozambique promised to deliver a ‘peace dividend’ but, despite high levels of growth since the 1990s, poverty has not subsided in line with it. The current situation is alarming: foreign direct investment has fallen, growth rate has declined, global demand for commodities (in part due to China’s slowdown) has decreased and aid support has also dropped significantly (from 40 per cent to 25 per cent of the national budget). The IMF suspended aid payments to the country due to lack of transparency regarding outstanding loans of the state and accusations of corruption. The recent armed conflict (2013-2016) has also been detrimental for business investment and tourism revenues.

Religion

The Institute for Statistics that runs the census includes the following religions: Zion, Catholic, Evangelical/Pentecostal, No religion, Islam and Anglican (as well as other and unknown) as illustrated in Tables 3 and 4 below. The high responses for ‘No religion’ (the most frequent in both Manica and Sofala), particularly in the rural areas, is because traditional religions (what the census calls ‘animist’) are included. Table 3 highlights how Catholicism and Evangelical/Pentecostal are more prevalent in urban settings. Zionism and traditional cosmologies are more likely to be followed in rural areas. Comparing both provinces of focus,

¹² The results were contested by RENAMO, who claim that there was electoral fraud in 5 municipalities.

the Catholic church has a stronger presence in Sofala, whereas the Zion church is more prevalent in Manica.

A significant number of Sena converted to Catholicism in colonial times and today 82 per cent are Christian: out of which 60 per cent are Catholic, 20 per cent Protestant and 20 per cent Independent/Zionist and 10 per cent retain traditional cosmologies. The Ndau mainly follow traditional religions (69 per cent of the population), with 25 per cent reporting as Christian. Out of the Christian Ndau, half are Catholic, 35 per cent Independent/Zion, and 15 per cent Protestant (out of which 1 per cent is Evangelical).

Table 3. Religions in Sofala province (INE, 2007b)

	N	Total	Zion	Catholic	Evangelical/ Pentecostal	No religion	Other	Islam	Anglican	Unk
Total	1,642,920	100.0	18.9	18.5	21.2	33.2	4.1	2.4	1.2	0.5
Urban	628,753	100.0	10.3	28.5	24.7	25.0	4.5	5.3	1.2	0.6
Rural	1,014,167	100.0	24.2	12.3	19.1	38.2	3.9	0.6	1.1	0.5

Table 4. Religions in Manica province (INE, 2007a)

	N	Total	Zion	Catholic	Evangelical/ Pentecostal	No religion	Other	Islam	Anglican	Unk
Total	1,412,248	100.0	30.6	9.6	19.0	36.3	2.4	0.9	0.8	0.5
Urban	357,206	100.0	27.5	17.6	24.2	22.0	4.7	2.4	1.2	0.4
Rural	1,055,042	100.0	31.7	6.9	17.2	41.1	1.6	0.4	0.6	0.5

Traditional religions

In traditional Shona and Sena cosmologies, there is a figure of a God creator (*mwari* in Shona, *mulungu* in ChiSena), but removed from the activities of people. Spiritual life however centres around people's relationship with their ancestors (*midzimu* in both Cishona and ChiSena - plural *vadzimu*). The dead are in constant contact with the living with both worlds mutually intertwined. They live in the hills, forests and pools. People are in constant communication with spirits and 'explain virtually everything that happens, both good and bad, through the actions and intervention of their spirits'. Ancestors are repeatedly thanked verbally and by clapping as well as through particular rituals: 'Every birth, death, drought, harvest, conflict and fortune is marked by ritual connection with the spirits' (Perman, 2011).

Communicating with ancestors is carried out through offering gratitude verbally and through ritualised offerings called in Sena *ehsembe*. Both Shona and Sena communicate with a ritual basket. *Ehsembe* can be done using a large leaf into which the communicating person puts some earth. *Ehsembe* is also used for cleansing in cases of taboo transgression (Kotanyi, 2018). Ancestor spirits can receive offerings of flour in a plate, or animal offerings. Animal offerings are performed in particular situations: to make a request, to express thanks after a treatment and the qualification of a healer. The animal to be offered is determined through divination or in a dream. Chickens are usual, but it may be a goat. The Zion Church also believes in offerings and divination, but in this case it is the Holy Spirit that determines what animal is to be used, and in this case pigeons can also be requested (*ibid.*).

There are two main types of spirits in Ndaou and Sena cosmologies: the ancestors (*midzimu*), and wandering spirits living outside communities including and associated with foreign peoples, neighbouring social groups associated with local histories (*madhozi*). When, out of these two categories, a spirit is unsettled for some reason or another and becomes vengeful, it is called *ngozi* in ChiNdaou, or *npfukwa* in ChiSena (Kotanyi, 2018). Family ancestors are dealt with through brief ceremonies conducted by family members, whereas dealing with foreign *madhozi* spirits is more of a ritualised community affair (Perman, 2011). Ancestors are the ultimate protector of the individual and the community. Whilst belief in witchcraft and sorcery is common, often alongside naturalistic explanations of events, these misfortunes may also arise when the ancestors are 'wronged' in some way and thus have lifted temporarily the mantle of protection. Witchcraft will need to be redressed or the natural ailment treated, yet ultimately what is necessary is to make things right with the ancestors to ensure their protection is regained (Chapman, 2006). Non-natural explanations of illness are further described in the brief on health-seeking practices.

Christianity and its forms

The Zion church has expanded widely in Africa in the last decades. It seeks a renewal of Protestantism through the direct work of the Holy Spirit. Followers of the Zion religion, which is rooted in Zimbabwean and South African 'Zionist' and Apostolic movements, consider themselves separate from other Protestant mission churches and constructed their identity as belonging to the black population. As such, they are often countercultural, positioning themselves against modernity and the dominant order. Pfeiffer (2002) sees the Zion church as 'syncretistic', as it has combined local Shona religious notions of illness causation with Pentecostal beliefs in the healing power of the Holy Spirit to recruit new members.

The Zion church is different from Pentecostal/Evangelical churches: whilst the Zion church has been in the area for decades, Pentecostal/Evangelical churches have expanded most visibly in the past 20 years. According to Schuetze, Pentecostal churches in central Mozambique are, by and large, grassroots-run organisations. Particularly in cities, there are churches that have tighter connections (financial and other support) to 'parent' churches overseas. Instances of missionary-run/foreign-run churches are generally rare among Pentecostal church groups. Ties such as oversight and financial or material support are weak or absent entirely. The only Pentecostal church that remains tightly controlled by foreign missionaries is the Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus, which is controlled almost exclusively by Brazilian missionaries. It is also quite different and distinct from other Pentecostal churches in Mozambique and it is not very prevalent in central Mozambique, especially outside of urban areas (contribution Schuetze).

Catholicism and Protestantism have historically had different influences in the country. Originally self-funded until 1930, both churches had the same weight. Protestant churches were mostly based in the south and with some presence in the north. The Catholic Church was more evenly distributed, although with no presence in the north. This equal balance of forces came after the Salazar dictatorship incorporated Mozambique into Portugal (rather than

being a colony) and heavily invested in the Catholic Church as the spearhead of Lusification. Local languages were banned and Portuguese was emphasised. Schooling in Portuguese was enforced but quality was low and only primary education was available for locals; secondary and tertiary education was reserved for the Portuguese. Populations resisted the Lusification and perceived the Catholic Church as a colonial instrument (Arnfred, 2011).

Protestant churches did not have the same level of resources, but they were more appreciated by local communities and worked in local languages, and survived despite the harassment of the colonial authorities. The education for Mozambicans was of higher quality, and it extended to secondary school. Many FRELIMO leaders were educated in these Protestant schools and valued this education as formative for their leadership. According to Arnfred, the coalescence of the modernising economy in the south, together with a Protestant ethic promoted by the schools, generated the FRELIMO new elites in Gaza province in the south (Arnfred, 2011).

Both Protestant and Catholic communities played roles in the peace negotiations, yet Catholics were most influential due to their resources and ties within the RENAMO. The research highlighted the importance of individual Christian leaders and local ministries in this process of reconciliation, rather than the broader institutions.

Gender

Patrilineal systems, such as those prevalent in Shona and Sena societies, mean property and inheritance is owned and transmitted through the male line. This makes the father as household head the owner of the household's resources, and him and the family on the paternal line the key decision-makers. In rural areas, the burden of subsistence production has fallen on women: in Mozambique as a whole, 'as many as 90 per cent of all economically active women are involved in agriculture, compared to 66 per cent of economically active men, and the majority of women are engaged in subsistence farming (...). It is estimated that rural women spend an average of 14 hours per day working on agriculture related activities, water fetching, small livestock management, and domestic chores, compared to men who spend an average of 6–8 hours on agricultural work' (SIDA, 2007: 30). This is because, since colonial times, the availability of labour migration (e.g. to South Africa) has meant survival has relied on both male waged work and female subsistence production. Much of the work is carried out by women, but the traditional allocation of land to them (*matoro* is the name for the household plot) is decided by the man. For example, men are responsible for the plot in 75 per cent of cases in Buzi. The fact that women depend on unpaid subsistence agriculture and men more on wages or cash crops means that the latter has more access to cash. The fact that women and men live in two separate spheres has meant that women have disproportionately borne the impact of structural adjustment programmes, where cash is increasingly necessary for survival:

'Men may benefit from free market economic reforms through waged work, cash-cropping schemes, and land access, whereas women benefited more directly from the social services, food subsidies, and safety nets that were eliminated by Structural Adjustment Programmes (...) control of cash income provides even greater intrahousehold bargaining power to male wage earners, while women remain confined to domestic subsistence production' (Pfeiffer, Gimbel-Sherr and Augusto, 2007: 689).

As mentioned when discussing traditional safety-net arrangements above, the increased cash demands on women in households has occurred in parallel with the erosion of the traditional land and labour allocation, particularly in those 'urbanised' households in urban and peri-urban areas that are now organised more like nuclear households, and kin support cannot be relied on (Chapman, 2004). This reduction in access to food, land, and healthcare for women has meant that women are more likely to get involved in transactional sex for cash and are more at risk of HIV infection (Pfeiffer *et al.*, 2007). Further, the 'nuclearisation' of households, and

the geographical mobility of the migrant male partners has meant women are no longer in polygynous households where several wives cohabit, but rather that men are likely to have different partners in different households in different locations. This generates a double problem for the woman leading the household: men are less accountable in their support to that household (there is no labour support from other members of the household, including co-wives), and there is potential for jealousy between female partners - enhancing the risk of being a victim or accused of witchcraft (Chapman, 2004).

Women should be consulted in the response in terms of what they would like to receive and how. Past experience has shown that cash transfers may not always be preferred by women who find it hard to control household cash; but if material goods are provided they should be relevant and equitably distributed (contribution McKay). McKay also reports on criticisms of the distribution of sanitary kits, that were considered to either have components that weren't relevant for the area (sanitary napkins in some rural areas) or that people who needed components did not receive them (older women who did not need the pads but needed the soap, buckets, etc.) (*ibid.*).

Recruit women for community engagement with women and women groups, including trusted actors such as midwives, nurses and also women taking traditional roles in initiating young people. When doing community engagement in rural areas, aid responders should ask residents where they are working to identify who are the most trusted/respected/well known women in an area, as they vary from setting to setting. Typical figures include *Mae Pastoras* or 'Mother Pastors' (wives of church leaders), or *Mae Conselheiras* - trusted elder counsellors of Pentecostal churches. Female healers (whether herbalists, midwives, spirit mediums, or church-based healers) should also be considered, but there is no set figure or position that such a person would occupy across these two provinces and diverse types of settings (contribution Schuatzte).

It should be noted that means of recruitment of such actors should not rely on government representatives or male leaders to indicate who should be recruited (as is commonly the case, as far as I have observed). Rather, questions would be better posed to a variety of female residents (not just the easier to access local elite, e.g. leaders of or workers in existing NGOs, who in rural areas are often not long-term native residents of the districts where they work).

Communication with communities

Data from the multi-sectoral rapid assessment post Cyclone Idai conducted between 1-17 April 2019 in Sofala and Manica provinces indicated that 88 per cent of the assessed locations had access to a mobile phone network. In Sofala, Vodacom may be the most effective network, compared to Movitel in Manica. When communicating with communities in rural settings, Movitel may be most effective. More than half of the assessed locations reported having access to internet, but some KIs indicated that responses of 'no' indicated that the community does not have WiFi-ready phones, rather than it being a network issue (ACAPS *et al.*, 2019). 3G data service is available in urban centres like Chimoio and Beira and in most district capitals, but not much outside of these areas. It is rare for people outside of cities as well as people who do not earn regular salaried incomes (with the exception of traders) to have smart phones and to use data/have internet access. The most vulnerable households, particularly in rural areas, and especially since the cyclone, do not even have cell phones or access to means to charge phones. It is also important to note that in more rural areas, men are more likely to own and control access to a cell phone than women (Contribution Schuatzte).

Radio stations were determined to be a primary means of communication but were particularly damaged in rural areas. As of 4 April 2019, 7 out of 15 community radio stations were still not functioning in affected areas (MapAction, 2019), all of which were in Sofala province. During this multi-sectoral rapid assessment, in only half of the assessed locations did the populations

report having access to information on the cyclone/flood response and current and future assistance (ACAPS *et al.*, 2019).

According to the needs assessment, community engagement will be a politically sensitive matter, particularly according to the returns strategy and the proximity of elections. As mentioned above, there are political and ethno-linguistic sensibilities vis-à-vis the FRELIMO government.

Radio is the main source of news and information in Mozambique. However, depending on the district (see Annex 1 below), the number of households with radio will vary, hence complementary strategies should be pursued (listening points, distribution of wind-up radios, etc.). Main relevant radios can be found in the CDAC review (CDAC, 2012), partnerships have been sought with:

- State run Radio Mozambique
- Local radio stations
 - Around 40 controlled by state run Social Communications Institute (*Instituto de Comunicacao Social* - ICS)
 - Around 50 under the umbrella of the National Forum of Community Radios (*Forum Nacional das Radios Comunitarias*)

People rarely rely on newspapers as sources of information, and TV has very low coverage, particularly in the rural areas. The penetration of internet access is also low and mostly concentrated in Maputo. Mobile phones are widely used in central Mozambique in both urban and rural areas. Smart phones are less prevalent outside major cities, and mostly used by those with formal employment or traders/business owners (contribution Schuetze). The interior of the country is only covered partially by networks, and many districts have no coverage by telecommunication networks. Furthermore, people with lower levels of education, lower income, or women are less likely to own a mobile phone (Brower and Brito, 2012).

The Translators without Borders assessment of displaced communities outside Beira has highlighted the importance of language and comprehension for communication. In the affected areas, as shown in the Annex 1 below, many people do not speak Portuguese fluently (more so in rural areas) and are not literate. Women are less likely to be literate or speak Portuguese, and, similarly, comprehension and literacy decreases in older age cohorts. This has meant that half of the people in key accommodation centres in Beira do *not* understand the messages being disseminated by the response. This is because the majority of messages were in Portuguese, and less than half of the population does not fully understand it.

In the same TWB report, mother tongue radio messaging was found to have the highest comprehension rates, followed closely by pictorial representations (with no written material). Note that pictorial representations have higher comprehension rates than written messages in Portuguese. Women are less likely to understand written messaging than men, regardless of the language. Audio messaging is more effective, particularly for women. For older people over 50, audio messaging is better understood than written messaging. Reflecting on the literacy rates, mother tongues, and gender disparities in the districts of Sofala and Manica provinces covered in this report (see Annex 1 for more detail district by district), the expectation is that this need for audio messages in local languages supplemented by pictorial representations (short graphics-heavy leaflets in local languages or Portuguese) will apply to all affected areas. There is a need to conduct similar assessments on languages, comprehension and community feedback in other affected areas.

The preferred channels are Radio, TV, word of mouth, posters and leaflets. 50 per cent of the population prefers written and spoken information to be in local languages. Audio messages

(meetings, radio, TV) especially are preferred in Sena and Ndau. Written messages in Portuguese are preferred for official announcements.

From the point of the response, much of the available material is in Portuguese. Some national staff have knowledge of local languages (e.g. Ndau and Sena). According to the needs assessment, there is a need for further investment in translation skills. Most translations, however, have been to Portuguese in the information provided to communities, and provision of information and feedback in local languages remained limited.

The response has successfully incorporated some feedback mechanisms, including hotlines by ministries, NGOs and UN agencies. WFP, UNICEF and OCHA are working with the government to mainstream all emergency calls under the same number/system. The objective is to create a circular feedback mechanism in which people's views/perceptions, needs, questions and criticism of the response are fed back to the response actors and change strategies accordingly. According to TWB, the majority of people said they do not get information they need, particularly information on what they are entitled to when, and how it will be provided. A third of the people want information on shelter, food assistance and health. At a national level, the objective of the PSEA task force is to map out all existing community complaints and feedback mechanisms. The IFRC is setting up a community feedback mechanism and participatory assessments and focus groups for returnees in Buzi district. Similarly, the Health Ministry and health actors will be carrying out engagement with communities on issues around cholera and other health needs.

Recommendations

Communicating in local languages.

- Recruit locally and *on an ethno-linguistic basis*. Involve local populations in the delivery of the response. Whilst a Mozambican identity is present, people have a tendency to trust responders from their ethnolinguistic group. Be aware of the historical distrust of Sena and Ndau of the state in general and of communities from the south.
- Deliver messages in local languages and make a careful use of the language, making sure all groups feel represented. For example, even if Sena may be able to understand Ndau, if material is produced in Ndau, it should also be produced in Sena.
- Conduct language assessments in affected regions. For example, eChuwabu (originally from Zambezia) proved to be important among displaced people from Beira - something that would not have been obvious from secondary literature reviews due to recent population movements.
- Movement of people can be tracked through participatory assessments to predict disease patterns.
- Use audio messaging in local languages, complemented with pictorial messaging, for example graphic-heavy posters in local languages or Portuguese.
- Streamline community feedback mechanisms, with surveys, participatory assessment and focus groups conducted in local languages. Work towards closing the loop in feedback mechanisms, ensuring perceptions, needs and complaints are incorporated into the response and lead into strategic change visible by communities.

Building trust

- Build trust by working with a wide variety of religious leaders in communities. Most church groups, particularly Pentecostal churches, have both a male and a female leadership structure, engage both where relevant. Involve them in community engagement, response delivery and messaging. Ensure that messages resonate with the language and worldviews of the different denominations and local traditions.

- Respect and create spaces for rituals. For example, in the case of deaths be aware that a 'social cause' of death is sometimes sought, and rituals may be practiced to resolve suspected tensions within the community. People involved in communicating information about cyclone-related deaths (e.g. health-workers) must have two-way conversations with families and communities to remove doubts or confusions that could manifest in a sense of mistrust. Protection and/or mental health and psychosocial support (MHPSS) actors may consider mechanisms to facilitate different mourning, burial and grieving practices. All responders must be aware of the importance of protecting sacred burial sites where possible.

Relocation

- When relocation (temporary or permanent) is explored, bear in mind that land should be allocated by chiefs (rather than by the state) with the support of the communities, and responders should hold local consultations to respect local customs around the consultation of ancestral and guardian spirits, and to avoid the idea that foreigners are moved by greed (*mbawu*).
- Relocation away from flood-prone areas may be resisted as livelihoods depend on farming and fishing in the area. Relocation can only occur as a result of a participatory process.
- When returning to flooded areas and in the reconstruction of Beira and other areas, ensure that the access to land by women is not jeopardized, for example, considering the home gardens and *machambas* (periurban plots) in Beira city.
- In other Mozambican contexts, the floods and those who have been affected by them have been explained by some through the lens of God's will, ancestor intervention or witchcraft. Alternative (albeit not majority) explanations should be captured through community feedback, participatory and other social science research. Community engagement with trusted leaders can help dispel or resolve problems arising from these alternative explanations.

Building on local initiatives

- Solidarity networks consisting of labour exchanges, pooling of tools, and shelter and food in times of crisis are present in several areas of the country. It is particularly important to identify traditional arrangements for mutual support, and to see how they can be facilitated in a way that the response encourages and builds upon locally-led initiatives.
- Build on local initiatives of agricultural households' adaptation to floods. These initiatives should be learnt from and supported in the reconstruction process (and in any preparedness work) instead of imposing solutions, as they may be more feasible, appropriate and this encourages agency and local ownership. Housing with durable materials are likely to be inadequate in flood prone areas.

Working with authorities and identifying trusted leaders

- Responders should present themselves as neutral, avoid negative associations with the FRELIMO party, RENAMO or MDM, and build independent trust. Respondents should carefully collaborate with relevant political and administrative institutions regardless of which political party is in control of it. To avoid unfair allocation of aid (as has happened in the past), systems for the creation of distribution lists should not rely solely on political or customary authorities such as *secretarios de bairro* or *chefes do posto*, but rather include a variety of non-state actors. These systems should also incorporate monitoring and complaint mechanisms. People should be clearly informed about what services and goods are available, who is eligible and the criteria for eligibility.
- Carry out a rapid assessment to determine trusted authorities. Customary authorities often include a chief (*regulo*), a sub-chief (*mfumo*), a head of population group (*chefe de terras*

or *grupo de povoações*) and a head of population (*chefe de povoação*), and in some areas a *sagute* (responsible for a smaller area than a *chefe de povoação*). The state also recognises *secretarios de bairro*. It is important to be aware that different people may portray themselves as the legitimate leader of a community. Recognition of customary authorities is still in flux and needs to be approached sensitively. This should be understood on a community-by-community basis. There is a need for power-mapping and other participatory approaches to determine trusted leaders.

- Engage with local authorities and relevant civil society organisations, although be aware that they may be in opposition to each other: traditional authorities may be opposed by FRELIMO-associated women and youth movements, ex-members of the *Grupos Dinamizadores* and *secretarios de bairro*.
- Other trusted people to take into account in community engagement are: members of the council of elders, members of the *matombo* council, *nyanga* (indigenous doctors), teachers, local Church leaders and *profetes* from the different denominations.
- Other relevant actors for the response could be health volunteers, agricultural extension workers and networks of volunteers for DRR preparedness projects.

Gender inclusivity

- Recruit women for community engagement with women and women groups, including trusted actors such as midwives, nurses and also women taking traditional roles in initiating young people. When doing community engagement in rural areas, aid responders should ask residents where they are working to identify who are the most trusted/respected/well known women in an area, as they vary from setting to setting. Typical figures include *Mae Pastoras* or 'Mother Pastors' (wives of church leaders), or *Mae Conselheiras* - trusted elder counsellors of Pentecostal churches. Female healers (whether herbalists, midwives, or spirit mediums, or church-based healers) should also be considered.
- Be aware that women are particularly vulnerable as they have less access to cash compared to men. They have more to lose when agricultural production is destroyed, as is the case with the cyclone. When conducting emergency social protection programmes, incorporate women and other vulnerable groups accordingly. Create participatory mechanisms to determine specific needs and response strategies.

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Annex 2. Short summary of the cyclone-affected districts of Beira city, Buzi, Dondo, Nhamatanda, Manica and Gondola

The majority of data presented here is from surveys conducted in 2012 and compiled by the Ministry of State Administration in 2013 and 2015¹³. Exceptionally we need to refer to surveys conducted in 2005, and will indicate so when we do.

District of City of Beira (capital of Sofala province)

The worst affected area with 90 per cent of the city's infrastructure destroyed. Data is relatively more limited than in other districts as there is not a specific profile produced by the Ministry of State Administration, but there is a 2013 Statistics profile by the INE.

Demographics

- Population in 2013: 456,005 inhabitants. Population density: 723.0 inhabitants/km².
- Relatively young population: 40.1 per cent of the population is under 15.
- It is a predominantly urban environment, although there is some farmland on the outskirts of the city, in addition to an extension of fields and homegardens, animal keeping, *within* the city, that are called the *machambas*. Note that these urban agriculture ventures are dominated by women, and are crucial for many women's food security and income. Note in the picture below the flood plains around the city, that were constructed in a particularly vulnerable low area.
- Land use in the city is also of concern for people who are/were renting homes that were damaged or destroyed and who lack a place to rebuild even if they have resources or are given construction materials, etc. (contribution McKay).

¹³ <http://www.ine.gov.mz/estatisticas/estatisticas-territorias-distritais>

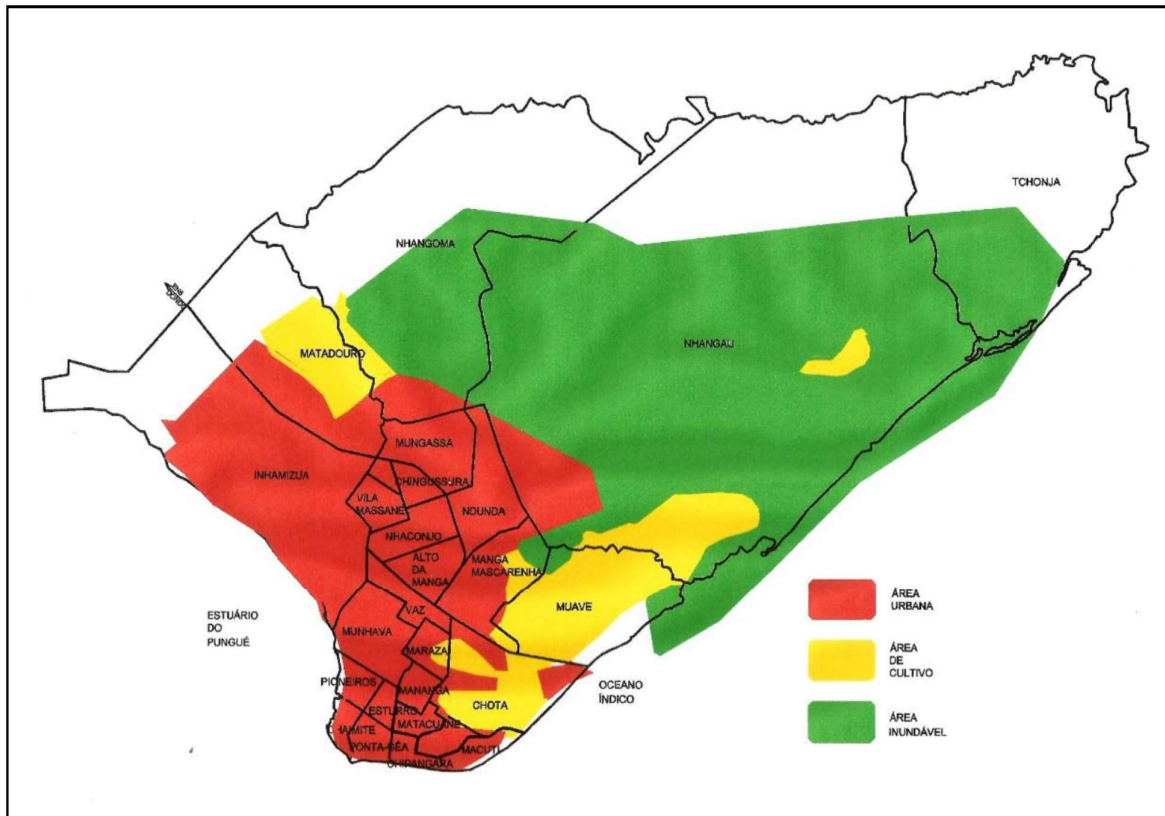


Figura 1 - Uso do solo na Cidade da Beira em 2010.

- The two main ethno-linguistic groups in the district are the Ndaou and the Sena. However, due to the commercial nature of the Port of Beira, there are many nationalities and ethnolinguistic groups in the city, with 'Portuguese being the lingua franca or a language creole of the languages of the central region mixed with English'.
- Portuguese is spoken by 36 per cent of the population, followed by ChiSena (24 per cent) and ChiNdaou (23 per cent). Young people are more likely to speak Portuguese, and Portuguese comprehension decreases according to age. Note that in Beira, many Sena are fluent both in Ndaou and Portuguese, yet despite this there is an important preference to receive messages in Sena rather than Ndaou.
- Those displaced people in main refugee camps around Beira, according to the TWB survey, speak as a primary language Portuguese (43 per cent), ChiSena (27 per cent), ChiNdaou (15 per cent), echuwabu (9 per cent), others (6 per cent).
- Main religion is Catholic (31.9 per cent), followed by 'No religion' (24.0 per cent), Evangelical (22.7 per cent), Zion (8.8 per cent), Islamic (6.5 per cent) and Anglican (1.2. per cent). Note that the presence of the Catholic church is much higher in Beira city, and the Zion religion is a minority. There are a large number of Muslim immigrants in the city, explaining the rates of Islamic religion [there is a discrepancy between the INE data and the data from AIAS which rates the Anglican church as followed by 34 per cent of the population].

Livelihoods

- There are over 400 industrial units with a diversity of sectors, food and agroindustry, fishing, aquaculture, clothes, production of metals and plastics, as well as furniture.

Beira's economy is dominated by trade and retail (formal and informal), with 5 municipal markets.

- Family farming in the *machambas* in the city commercialises products in the informal markets, as well as artisanal fishing along the coastline. According to the INE (2013) there are 43,361 small and medium farms (with just over 1 hectare on average) and 10 large farms in the district (around 10 hectares on average).
- A plurality of the economically active population works in commerce (31 per cent), followed by agriculture and fishing, and the third largest sector is manufacturing. Services hired 21 per cent of the population. Note that despite this being an urban district, agriculture is still a major source of employment.
- Salaried work is dominated by men, with women mainly working in family farming (75 per cent). Women are also employed in trading and commerce, as well as in education and domestic services.

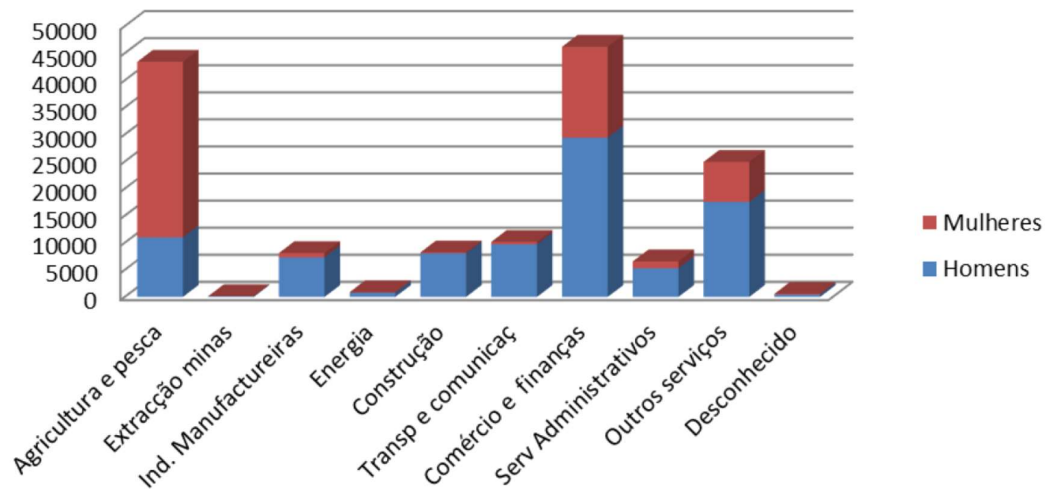


Figura 12 – Principais Actividades Económicas Exercidas na Beira, por Sexo
(Fonte: INE, 2012).

Basic services

- These services are likely to have been destroyed by the cyclone - they are described here as a baseline for people's expectations.
- Safe water is available for 77.5 per cent of the population. 16.2 per cent depend on open/unprotected wells.
- 29.5 per cent of the population have no latrine, with 13.6 per cent having an 'unimproved' latrine, 6.8 per cent with a 'traditional improved latrine', 32.8 per cent an 'improved latrine' and 17.3 per cent with toilets linked to a septic tank.
- 37 per cent of the population has access to electricity. Energy is mainly obtained from fuel (59 per cent).
- Literacy: 21.45 per cent of the population are illiterate. Illiteracy rates are significantly higher for women (71.7 per cent vs. 36.4 per cent). This is explained by the fact that men are more likely to have had schooling and through the pursuit of waged work.
- Primary school education includes 65 schools for infants (EPI) and 58 for juniors (EPII), with over 97,000 children in primary education. 50.4 per cent of primary students are girls (significantly higher than in other districts). There were 48 students on average per teacher.
- There are relatively fewer secondary schools: 90 ESGI, and 51 ESGII, with more than 50,000 students and a similar gender ratio (51.4 per cent of students). There were 28.6 students per teacher.

- Health: There are 11 health centres, 2 health posts and 1 central provincial hospital. In total there are 859 beds as well as 235 beds in maternity clinics/wards.
- Housing: The majority of houses were built with durable materials; 48.7 per cent have concrete walls, 78.7 per cent have metal roofs, and 70 per cent have concrete floors. Traditional materials are used in a minority of houses.
- Most common communication device: radio, 69.3 per cent of households. Only 34.9 per cent have a TV (these are 2007 data - much will have changed).

Buzi district (Sofala province)

According to the needs assessment after the cyclone, villages along the Buzi River have been severely affected, where 'whole villages have disappeared', and Buzi town on the banks of the Buzi River was devastated when the river burst its banks.

Demographics

- Population in 2013: 179,621 inhabitants. Density rate 24.8 inhabitants/km².
- Young population: 46.6 per cent of the population is under 15.
- Mostly rural: 9 per cent urbanisation rate.
- The Ndau are the main ethno-linguistic group in the district - it is the mother tongue for 93.4 per cent of the people in Buzi.
- Relatively low internal migration; only 7.9 per cent of residents are migrants from other districts of Sofala or other provinces.
- Only 49.1 per cent of the population speak Portuguese, mostly men (65.6 per cent of men vs. 34.6 per cent of women), as they have more schooling and more contact through waged work.
- Main religion is Zion (37.8 per cent), followed by 'no religion' (28.0 per cent) (see qualification in religion section), Catholic (13.4 per cent) and Evangelical (11.8 per cent).
- Family size: extended families often live in the same household (36.6 per cent of cases). A plurality of households are of 3-5 people (41.3 per cent of households), followed closely by 6 or more people (39.2 per cent of households).

Livelihoods

- Two agroecological systems; the coastal region 'rainy savanna tropical' and 'temperate tropical humid in the interior. A rainy season that lasts from November to March followed by a dry season.
- Family farming carrying out multi-cropping for subsistence farming is the main livelihood, mostly non-irrigated, and on occasions animal traction is used. There are over 30,000 small and medium farms in the district, and only 24 large ones. The average size is 2 hectares, with 53 per cent of plots being under 2 hectares. 85 percent of lands are managed by family and inherited from father to sons. Farming is carried out mostly by unpaid family labour: 55 per cent of farms are cultivated by 6 or more family members.
- Main crops: corn, rice, cassava, beans, peanuts, cashew nuts and a diversity of fruit trees. Poultry, sheep, and goats are raised by family farmers, and surpluses are sold in the market. Family farmers raise 45 per cent of cattle, the rest being raised as commercial ventures. The fishing industry is also important.
- Salaried work is dominated by men, with women mainly working in family farms or self-employed. 75 per cent of the population are farmers, mainly women (93 per cent of women vs. 52.9 per cent of men are farmers).
- 27 per cent of farms are headed by women.

- Incomes are mainly spent on food (55 per cent) and services such as water, accommodation, energy and fuels (22 per cent). Food reserves are low (on average 2.5 months of staple food reserves), and 5 per cent of the population, particularly poor peasants, elders and female headed households are most vulnerable.
- Some local industry linked to sorghum and rice processing, cotton transformation and sugar refining (dominated by the Buzi company, existing since the end of the 19th century, although much of its sugar operations are paralysed - see below). Gas production is likely to be important (exploration is conducted by ENH and Buzi hidrocarburos), and there is also production of building materials (e.g. plaster). There is also some clothing industry. There are a few companies doing metalwork and about two dozen companies making furniture. Trade and retail dominate. A large number of 'associative organisations' (185).
- Tourism - with several hotels along the coastline.
- Safe drinking water available for 36 per cent of the population, mostly in the city. 45.9 per cent depend on open/unprotected wells, and 18.2 per cent on water from rivers or lakes.
- 80 per cent of the population have no latrines.
- Only 1 per cent has access to electricity. Energy mainly obtained from fuel (66.1 per cent) and wood (29.8 per cent).
- Strong links to Beira market, connected by boat.
- Literacy: Illiteracy rates are very high, particularly for women, whose rates almost double those of men in each age group. For example, illiteracy in the 30-39 range is 30.9 per cent for men, and 80.1 per cent for women. Illiteracy rates also increase with age, with 50.4 per cent of men over 60 being illiterate, and 95.6 per cent of women over 60 being illiterate.
- Primary school education includes 195 schools for infants (EPI) and 24 for juniors (EPII), with over 40,000 children in primary education. 45 per cent of primary students are girls. There were 68 students on average per teacher.
- There are far fewer secondary schools: 6 ESGI, and 4 ESGII, with 5,900 students and a lower female participation rate (39.6 percent of students). This decrease can be explained by marriages occurring at a younger age for women. There were 33 students per teacher.
- Health: 11 health centres and 2 health posts, with 101 beds and 69 beds in maternity clinics/wards. There is a rural hospital in Buzi. People may be referred to Beira hospital. There is one health centre for every 13,000 people, a bed for every 1,350 people and a doctor for every 36,000 people.
- Housing: *Palhota* - mud floor, roof of grass or thatch, and walls made out of cane or sticks. Over 85 per cent of households have this.
- Most common communication device: radio, but not all people have it - 63.1 per cent of households. Local radio station: Radio Buzi. Only 3.2 percent have a TV. Only 4.3 per cent have a mobile phone (these are 2007 data - much will have changed since then).
- Main NGOs that work at the district level: AICF (Water), ASDI (Education), CICS (Social-economic, Water, Rehabilitation), DEDA (Health), FCF (Agriculture, Education, Rural Development), FLM (Water, Health), IIRO (Emergencies, Food Security, Rehabilitation), WFP (Humanitarian Aid), UNICEF (Water) (According to 2005 report). According to the 2014 report active NGOs: German-funded project GRT/PRODER (DRR), PMA (Food aid), Save the Children, *Organizacao Rural de Ajuda mutua* (school feeding, seed and tool distribution as part of food for work programmes). The district has 16 DRR committees, with over 288 members (volunteers).

Some other considerations for Buzi

Reporting of contestation of the legitimization process of *Regulos and Secretarios de barrio* (yet data is from a long time ago - 2005), including protests. As mentioned above, the District

authority merely acts as a mediator, and the decision-making is done through negotiations between traditional chiefs and the population (most likely assembled in community meetings).

There is a history of confrontation in Buzi between the administrative structures and the customary authorities and their respective relationships towards FRELIMO and RENAMO. In Buzi, the FRELIMO-affiliated organisations and people (*Grupos dinamizadores*, OMM, OJM, *secretarios de bairro*), are sometimes in conflict with customary authorities that are thought of as RENAMO (Florencio, 2004). By 2008 in Buzi district there were altogether 14 *régulos*, 127 headmen (*chefes de povoações*) and 613 sub-headmen (*sagutas*), as well as 11 *Secretarios de Bairros* (Rosario *et al.*, 2008).

This conflict between authorities is not, however, widespread for the entire district of Buzi nor is it uniform in degree: this emerges 'from the fact that FRELIMO itself has a very limited capacity to cover the district area and, therefore, there are vast areas where the presence of their organisations is sporadic and boils down to small visits. In the case of the district of Buzi, FRELIMO's deployment capacity almost resembles the triangle of the Búzi Company, limited by the localities of Bândua and Estaquinha and own district headquarters, and the locality of Nova Sofala. It is in these spaces that conflicts are more acute and systematic' (Florencio, 2004: 112).

Buzi has received some of the benefits of the GDP growth following the end of the civil war, and it can be explained by a specific desire of the government to invest in opposition areas such as Buzi, combined with a good agro-industry and trade relationship with Beira city. Unfortunately, the Buzi Company downsized significantly and there might still be some animosity towards the government for neglecting it (Rosario, 2008). Buzi is representative of the 'tension between a traditional patrilineal adaptation, enhanced levels of education, and the 'modernisation' following from contacts with the Vila Buzi, Beira and other urban areas. (...) This seems to have set in motion processes of increased inequality, where [rural] households and individuals who manage to relate to opportunities of formal employment and economic relations with urban areas have seen upward social mobility, while those who remain in rural areas find themselves having a more limited range of alternative livelihoods and lower returns. (...) households and individuals who manage to establish and maintain rural-urban linkages are those experiencing improved living conditions and upward social mobility, while those being 'captured' in rural villages and urban slums are experiencing impoverishment' (Rosario 2008).

Floods are not new to Buzi district; 40,000 people were affected by the 2000 floods. The National Institute for Disaster Management (INGC) then set up coordination with local authorities, local INGC administrators and local ministry staff. They are supposed to reach out to the population with information and roll out contingency plans. There should be a district emergency risk management committee set up and district emergency operation rooms before the flood strikes. At the local level, 'community risk management committees are being created throughout the country after a successful pilot project in the Buzi River basin that was supported by the German Agency for Technical Cooperation. The committees are composed of volunteers, usually respected individuals such as teachers and traditional leaders' (Sasin, 2008). In theory this community-based flood preparedness was in place in 2008. It would be interesting to see whether the networks of volunteers still exist and if they are a source of expertise to tap into.

Dondo district (Sofala province)

Response activities are expected in Dondo as villages along the river Pugwe have been affected and there have been cholera cases following the cyclone.

Demographics

- Population in 2013: 161,752 inhabitants. Population density: 70.1 inhabitants/km².
- Young population: 41.4 per cent of the population is under 15.
- Semi-rural: 50 per cent urbanisation rate, dominated by Dondo city, and also Mafambisse.
- The Sena (Bangwe type) are the main ethno-linguistic group in the district, followed by the Ndaou. There is some degree of geographical dispersion, with Ndaou more prevalent in the south and southeast, being involved in artisanal fishing and subsistence agriculture. The Senas are more concentrated in the southeast (sic) and north, with livelihoods including hunting, artisanal fishing, subsistence agriculture and forestry.
- The most spoken language is ChiSena, the mother tongue of 60.8 per cent of the population, followed by Ndaou (14.0 per cent).
- Relatively high influx of migrant population with 43.3 per cent of residents coming from other districts in Sofala (28.3 per cent) or provinces (15.0 per cent).
- 83 per cent of the population speak Portuguese, mostly men, as they have more schooling and more contact through wage work. The high rate can be explained by the high urbanisation rate in the district - Portuguese is more likely to be used in the city.
- Main religion is 'no religion' (27.6 per cent) (see qualification in religion section), followed by Zion (22.7 per cent), Evangelical (19.5 per cent), and Catholic (18.9 per cent).
- Family size, the plurality being nuclear households (36.2 per cent of cases) [followed closely by extended family households, with 35.1 per cent], with 3-5 children per parent being most common. This *relative* prevalence of nuclear households (rather than extended) can be understood as part of urbanisation.
- 15 per cent of households are female headed.

Livelihoods

- Dondo is situated in the transition zone of a rainy tropical climate and a dry steppe with a dry season in the winter.
- Family farming carrying out multi-cropping for subsistence farming is the main livelihood, mostly non-irrigated. There are over 24,000 small and medium farms in the district, and only 9 large ones. The majority of farms (72 per cent) are under two hectares (with 34.4 per cent of plots being under 1 hectare). The majority of plots are managed by family and inherited from father to sons, despite the bulk of the work being carried out by women.
- Main crops: sorghum, corn, cassava, pearl millet, wheat and beans. Rain-fed rice and sweet potatoes are also planted, and fruit trees. Cash crops like cotton are grown and the Acucareira de Mozambique has vast areas of sugarcane. Poultry, cattle and goats are kept for consumption and some of this production used to market surpluses. Beef, goats and pigs are raised for commercialisation. Cottage production of alcohol with local fruits is common. Fishing is an important industry.
- Salaried work is dominated by men (45.4 per cent). With women mainly working in family farms or self-employed. 51 per cent of the population are farmers, mainly women (83.2 per cent of women vs. 26.1 per cent of men declare farming as their main economic activity).
- Only 35 per cent of farms are headed by women (2005).
- Incomes are mainly spent on food (38 per cent) and services such as water, accommodation, energy and fuels (32 per cent). In a situation similar to Buzi, food reserves are low (on average 2.5 months of staple food reserves), and 5 per cent of the population, particularly poor peasants, elders and female headed households are most vulnerable (2005). Poor farmers often have to resort to 'food for work'.
- Dondo is the second industrial hub in Sofala, after Beira, and accommodates large companies involved in construction materials (clay, concrete, wood, metal, plastics, electrical equipment). The sugar-making Acucareira de Mozambique is also based

here, as well as the railway company. There is also a large company involved in milk production. There is a strong reliance on trade (petty and bulk) and retail.

- Some local industry linked to fishing, carpentry, furniture making and artisanry. The tourism industry is kickstarting as part of the 'Zona Turística de Sofala', particularly centred around the beaches. A large number of 'associative organisations' (109).

Basic services

- Safe water is available for 49.2 per cent of the population, mostly in the cities. 27.0 per cent depend on open/unprotected wells, 19.7 per cent on protected wells and 3.7 per cent on water from rivers or lakes.
- 48.9 per cent of the population have no latrine.
- Only 12.6 per cent of the population, mostly urban, has access to electricity. Energy mainly obtained from fuel (66.1 per cent) and wood (29.5 per cent).
- It is well integrated in terms of market access. There are strong links to Beira market, Dondo is part of the Beira corridor, the railway to Zimbabwe, Malawi and Zambia (also linking Botswana and DRC). The main road leads westward via Chimoio to Zimbabwe, and so does the main road, the north-south road also goes through Chimoio, making Maputo accessible. Traders from Beira and Maputo come to the district to purchase agricultural produce.
- Literacy: Illiteracy rates are lower than in other districts. Rates are higher for women, whose rates at least triple those of men in each age group. For example, illiteracy in the 30-39 range is 12.0 per cent for men, and 50.2 per cent. Illiteracy rates also increase with age, with 40.2 per cent of men over 60 being illiterate, and 91.5 per cent of women over 60 being illiterate.
- Primary school education includes 51 schools for infants (EPI) and 24 for juniors (EPII), with over 42,000 children in primary education. 49.8 per cent of primary students are girls. There were 41 students on average per pupil.
- There are much fewer secondary schools: 7 ESGI, and 4 ESGII, with 13,000 students and a lower girl participation (41.7 percent of students). There were 40.3 students per teacher.
- Health: 11 health centres and 2 health posts, with 142 beds and 59 beds in maternity clinics/wards. There is one central hospital, and people may be referred to Beira hospital. There is one health centre for every 10,784 people, one bed for every 1,051 people, and one doctor for every 16,000 people.
- Housing: *Palhota* - mud floor, roof of grass or thatch, and walls made out of cane or sticks. Over 70 per cent of households have this. In Dondo city and Mambisse 15 per cent have houses made with more durable materials.
- Most common communication device: radio, 66 per cent of households. Only 9.9 percent have a TV. Only 12.4 per cent have a mobile phone. Better communication due to higher urbanisation compared to Buzi (these are 2007 data - much will have changed).
- Main NGOs that work at the district level are not described explicitly as in the Buzi report. Mentions are made to humanitarian activities carried out by the WFP, the Department for Prevention and Response to Natural Disasters (*Departamento de Prevenção e combate as calamidades naturais*), the Emergency Programme for Seeds and Tools (*Programa de Emergencia de semanetes e utensilios*), Save the Children, and the Rural Organisation of Mutual Help (*Organizacao rural de ajuda mutua*) which have supported affected people through seed and tool distribution, and food for work (2005).

Some other considerations for Dondo

At the time of writing, we found limited secondary anthropological literature specific to Dondo. There is some literature on socio-cultural determinants of HIV infection, as this was one of the

regions with higher rates of HIV, which we will explore in the health-seeking brief. There is some mention of land conflicts between chiefdoms of *regulo* (Maguaca) in Dondo, and Njanje (Beira and Dondo), as well as the usual land conflicts within chiefdoms.

Nhamatanda district (Sofala province)

Rural areas of Nhamatanda have been heavily affected and Nhamatanda town in Nhamatanda district was hit by a 'tsunami-like wave' and was heavily damaged.

Demographics

- Population in 2013: 254,683 inhabitants. Population density: 63.4 inhabitants/km².
- Young population: 45.5 per cent of the population is under 15.
- Mostly rural: 13 per cent urbanisation rate, concentrated in Nhamatanda city and semi-urban peripheries.
- The Sena (Bangwe type) are the main ethno-linguistic group in the district, followed by the Ndaou. Interestingly, the area was originally uninhabited, and populations were brought into the area as labour for the railway that was being built towards Zimbabwe.
- The most spoken language is ChiSena, the mother tongue of 58.8 per cent of the population, followed by Ndaou (33.6 per cent).
- Relatively high influx of migrant population with 46.0 per cent of residents coming from other districts in Sofala (36.7 per cent) or provinces (9.3 per cent)
- 49.4 per cent of the population speak Portuguese, mostly men, as they have more schooling and more contact through wage work.
- Main religion is 'no religion' (29.7 per cent) (see qualification in religion section), followed by Zion (29.4 per cent), Evangelical (26.3 per cent), and Catholic (7.6 per cent). Compared to the two previous districts, there is a greater weight of Evangelical churches vis-a-vis Catholic churches, yet the Zion and traditional religions are more popular (although with a close margin).
- Family size, the majority being nuclear households with children (40.7 per cent of cases) [followed closely by extended family households, with 30.2 per cent], with 3-5 children per parent being most common.
- 11 per cent of households are female headed.

Livelihoods

- Nhamatanda, similarly to Buzi, has two agroecological systems, the coastal region 'rainy savanna tropical' and 'temperate tropical humid' in the interior. There is a rainy season that lasts from November to March, followed by a dry season.
- Family farming carrying out multi-cropping for subsistence farming is the main livelihood, mostly non-irrigated. There is some irrigated land in the banks of the Pungue river. There are 49,000 small and medium farms in the district, and 28 large ones. The majority of farms (55 per cent) are under two hectares (with 13.0 per cent of plots being under 1 hectare). The majority of plots are managed by family and inherited from father to sons, despite the bulk of the work being carried out by women.
- Main crops: sweet potato, corn, sorghum, cassava and beans. The main cash crop is cotton. Families also keep poultry and goats, and cattle, goats and pigs are also raised for commercialisation purposes. Hunting and fishing are also sources of food and income. Wood production is very important, for the production of construction materials, as well as firewood and coal, which are commercialised locally.
- Salaried work is dominated by men (18.4 per cent of men have waged work, and 2.9 per cent of women do), with women mainly working in family farms or self-employed. 78.8 per cent of the economically active population are farmers, mainly women (91.2 per cent of women vs. 66.3 per cent of men declare farming as their main economic activity).

- Only 20 per cent of farms are headed by women (2005).
- Incomes are mainly spent on food (38 per cent) and services such as water, accommodation, energy and fuels (32 per cent). In a situation similar to Buzi and Dondo, food reserves are low (on average 2.5 months of staple food reserves), and 5 per cent of the population, particularly poor peasants, elders and female headed households are most vulnerable (2005). Poor farmers often have to resort to 'food for work'.

Basic services

- Safe water is only available for 28.5 per cent of the population, mostly in the cities. 48.2 per cent depend on open/unprotected wells, 20.2 per cent on protected wells and 23.4 per cent on water from rivers or lakes.
- 80.3 per cent of the population have no latrine.
- Only 2.3 per cent of the population, mostly urban, has access to electricity. Energy mainly obtained from fuel (78. per cent) and wood (18.7 per cent).
- It is well integrated in terms of market access. There are strong links to Beira market, Nhamatanda follows Dondo as part of the Beira corridor, the railway to Zimbabwe, Malawi and Zambia. The main road leads westward via Chimoio to Zimbabwe, and so does the main road, the north-south road also goes through Chimoio, making Maputo accessible. Traders from Beira and Maputo come to the district to purchase agricultural produce.
- Literacy: around half of the population are illiterate. Rates are significantly higher for women (71.1 per cent vs. 25.4 per cent for men). This is explained by the fact that men are more likely to have had schooling and through the pursuit of waged work.
- Primary school education includes 96 schools for infants (EPI) and 42 for juniors (EPII), with over 61,000 children in primary education. 46.9 per cent of primary students are girls. There were 71 students on average per pupil.
- There are far fewer secondary schools: 7 ESGI, and 4 ESGII, with 9,000 students and a lower girl participation rate (34.9 percent of students). There were 46.4 students per teacher.
- Health: 12 health centres and 6 health posts, with 169 beds and 65 beds in maternity clinics/wards. There is one rural hospital. People can be transferred to the provincial central hospital in Beira or neighbouring provinces. There is one health centre for every 13,421 people, one bed for every 1,508 people, and one doctor for every 16,000 people.
- Housing: *Palhota* - mud floor, roof of grass or thatch, and walls made out of cane or sticks. Over 87.5 per cent of households have this.
- Most common communication device: radio, 67.6 per cent of households. Only 1.8 per cent have a TV. Only 5.3 per cent have a mobile phone (these are 2007 data - much will have changed).
- Main NGOs that work at the district level are *Accao Agraria Alemana* (AAA - food security), Mocambique Red Cross (civic education), CARE (microcredit), *Collegio Universitario di Aspiranti a Medici Missionari* (CUAMM - health and humanitarian aid), *Fundacao Contral a Fame* (FCF- agriculture), World Lutheran Federation (FLM - water and health) and IBIS (socio-economic development with refugees) (2005).

Other considerations for Nhamatanda

There is limited anthropological literature on Nhamatanda, some related to community forest resource management.

Manica district (Manica province)

Rural areas of Manica have been heavily affected by heavy winds and floods.

Demographics

- Population in 2013: 257,419 inhabitants. Population density: 58.7 inhabitants/km².
- Young population: 47.0 per cent of the population is under 15.
- The population is rural-urban: 30 per cent urbanisation rate, concentrated in Manica city and semi-urban peripheries.
- The two main ethno-linguistic groups in the district are the Tewe and Manyika.
- The most spoken language is ChiManyika, the mother tongue of 48.4 per cent of the population, followed by Chiteve (16.4. per cent). Note that both Citeve and ChiManyika are Shona languages like Ndaou that are mutually intelligible. Other minority languages are ChiSena (7.5 per cent), Cinyngwe (similar to Sena, prevalent in Tete province) (7.2 per cent), Cibalke (similar to Sena) (6.4 per cent), and ChiNdaou (4 per cent).
- Relatively less degree of migration than Nhamatanda, with 72.0 per cent of residents coming from other districts in Manica (13.3 per cent) or provinces (14.4 per cent).
- 62.6 per cent of the population speak Portuguese, mostly men (71.7 per cent vs. 53.6 per cent of women), as they have more schooling and more contact through wage work.
- Main religion is Zion (27.1 per cent), followed by 'no religion' (24.7 per cent) (see qualification in religion section), Evangelical (24.3 per cent), and Catholic (19.2 per cent).
- Family size, the plurality being nuclear households with children (41.2 per cent of cases) [followed closely by extended family households, with 33.0 per cent], with 3-5 children per parent being most common.
- 9 per cent of households are female headed.

Livelihoods

- Manica district is considered to have a temperate humid climate. There is a rainy season that lasts from November to March, followed by a dry season.
- Family farming carrying out multi-cropping manually for subsistence farming is the main livelihood, mostly non-irrigated. There is some irrigated land on the banks of the Revue river, which in turn drains towards the Buzi river. There are 38,000 small and medium farms in the district, and 6 large ones. The majority of farms (58.5 per cent) are under two hectares (with 16.1 per cent of plots being under 1 hectare). The majority of plots are managed by family and inherited from father to sons, despite the bulk of the work being carried out by women.
- Main crops: potato, sweet potato, corn, sorghum, cassava and a diversity of beans. Fruit trees are also planted widely, and in the rainy season there is planting of vegetables such as cabbage, tomato and onion. The main cash crops are cotton and tobacco. Families also keep poultry, goats and cattle. Cattle, goats and pigs are raised for commercialisation. Hunting and fishing are used as complementary sources of food and income. There is some cottage production of alcohol drinks with local fruits, and a local artisan and carpentry industry.
- Forestry is a strong industry in the district, with IFLOMA (*Complexo Agroflorestal de Manica*) being the largest company. There are large plantations of eucalyptus and pine as well as a wood-cutting and processing associated industry.
- There are several companies involved in producing mineral water, and a strong public-private investment in tourism.
- Strong mining industry: Gravel, gold, talcum, nickel, asbestos, clay, granite, quartz, manganese and aluminium bauxite are mined in the district.
- Manica district is part of the Beira corridor, with both a main road and the railway linking Beira to Chimoio, and then towards Zimbabwe in the Machipanda border point. Commercialisation of agricultural production is local and also linked to markets in Chimoio and Beira cities. Further, traders from Beira, Maputo and Inhambane often

visit the area to purchase local products. The close proximity of Zimbabwe means that people on the borders can go and buy or sell in those markets.

- Salaried work is dominated by men (33.5 per cent men have waged work, and 8.2 per cent of women do), with women mainly working in family farms or self-employed. 73 per cent of the economically active population are farmers, mainly women (73.3 per cent of women vs. 40.9 per cent of men declare farming as their main economic activity).
- Only 25 per cent of farms are headed by women (2005).
- Incomes are mainly spent on food (62 per cent) and services such as water, accommodation, energy and fuels (24 per cent). Similarly to the other districts in this report, livelihoods are mostly at risk due to natural events such as droughts or floods, and people have had to resort to 'work for food' programmes and hunting or forest-gathering for food or cash (2005).

Basic services

- Safe water is only available for 38.6 per cent of the population, mostly in the cities. 44.2 per cent depend on open/unprotected wells, 25.8 per cent on protected wells and 17.0 per cent on water from rivers or lakes.
- 40.5 per cent of the population have no latrine, with 28.7 per cent having an 'unimproved' latrine.
- Only 9.7 per cent of the population, mostly urban, has access to electricity. Energy is mainly obtained from fuel (71.8 per cent) and wood (13.7 per cent).
- It is well integrated in terms of market access. There are strong links to Beira market, Nhamatanda follows Dondo as part of the Beira corridor, the railway to Zimbabwe, Malawi and Zambia. The main road leads westward via Chimoio to Zimbabwe, and so does the main road, the north-south road also goes through Chimoio, making Maputo accessible. Traders from Beira and Maputo come to the district to purchase agricultural produce.
- Literacy: 62.6 per cent of the population are illiterate. Illiteracy rates are significantly higher for women (71.7 per cent vs. 53.6 per cent for men). This is explained by the fact that men are more likely to have had schooling and through the pursuit of waged work.
- Primary school education includes 105 schools for infants (EPI) and 52 for juniors (EPII), with over 63,000 children in primary education. 48.0 per cent of primary students are girls. There were 43 students on average per teacher.
- There are relatively fewer secondary schools: 80 ESGI, and 19 ESGII, with more than 12,000 students and a lower female participation rate (41.6 per cent of students). There were 23.5 students per teacher.
- Health: There are 20 health centre and 1 district hospital, with 97 beds as well as 98 beds in maternity clinics/wards. There is one rural hospital. People can be transferred to the provincial central hospital in Beira or neighbouring provinces. There is one health centre for every 12,850 people, one bed for every 1,500 people, and one 'health technician' for every 958 people (no reporting on number of doctors).
- Housing: *Palhota* (mud floor, roof of grass or thatch, and walls made out of cane or sticks) is the most common type of housing (54.2 per cent). Note that this is significantly lower than in other provinces, perhaps due to urbanisation. 23 per cent have what is called a '*casa mixta*', combining durable materials with traditional materials, and 21.4 per cent have a '*casa basica*', made with durable materials but without a kitchen or bathroom.
- Most common communication device: radio, 67.7 per cent of households. Only 10.8 per cent have a TV. Only 9.4 per cent have a mobile phone (these are 2007 data - much will have changed).
- The Manica province report does not mention specifically NGOs that work at the district level, it mentions those institutions involved in 'food for work' projects: including WFP,

and the DRR department and the programme for seeds and tools. The report does mention the existence of local farmers associations, youth organisations, as well as the recruitment of a large number of agricultural extension workers and health volunteers that could be relevant interlocutors for community engagement.

Other considerations for Manica district

There is anthropological literature on the historical dynamics between the colonial powers and local chieftains, particularly important in terms of mobilising labour for cash crops in the emergence of capitalism (Allina-Pisano, 2003).

Gondola district (Manica)

Rural areas around Chimoio city in Gondola district have been heavily affected by heavy winds and floods. The 2014 report is not available online, therefore much of the contextual information comes from the 2013 summary statistic report and the contextual information from the 2005 report.

Demographics

- Population in 2013: 310,429 inhabitants. Population density: 53.8 inhabitants/km².
- Young population: 48.2 per cent of the population is under 15.
- The population is rural: 14 per cent urbanisation rate concentrated in Gondola city (note that Chimoio city is considered to be a separate district and hence does not fall within this dataset, even if it is in the middle of Gondola).
- The dominant ethnolinguistic group are the Tewe, and the most spoken language is Chitwe (64.2 per cent), followed by ChiSena (11.9 per cent) and ChiNdau (11 per cent). Minority languages are Cinyungwe (3.9 per cent), Cibalke (1.6 per cent) and ChiManyika (0.8 per cent).
- Only 44.6 per cent the population speak Portuguese, mostly men. Men are two times more likely to speak Portuguese than women, as they have more schooling and more contact through waged work.
- There is a high presence of the Zion church in the district (38.7 per cent), followed by Evangelical (24.2 per cent), 'no religion' (23.4 per cent) (see qualification in religion section), and Catholic (9.0 per cent).

Livelihoods

- There is a rainy season that lasts from November to March, followed by a dry season.
- Family farming carrying out multi-cropping manually for subsistence farming is the main livelihood, mostly non-irrigated. There is some irrigated land on the banks of the Pangué and the Revue rivers. There are over 53,000 small and medium farms in the district, and 12 large ones. The average farm size is under 1 hectares (0.9 hectares). The majority of plots are managed by family and inherited from father to sons, despite the bulk of the work being carried out by women. Planting is mainly done by family labour, with more than 3 members working in the family plot.
- Main crops: corn, sorghum, pearl millet, cassava, beans, beans, and sweet potato. Sugarcane, tobacco and sunflower are the main monocultured cash crops. Fruit trees and cashew-nut trees are also planted widely and commercialised within the district and beyond. Families also keep poultry, goats and cattle. Cattle, goats and pigs are raised for commercialisation.
- The sale of wood, firewood, reed and charcoal is also an income-generating activity. Subsistence hunting and fishing are used as complementary sources of food and income.

- There is a small cottage industry of wood production and furniture making. Similarly there are a small number of companies producing electrical equipment, metals, minerals and plastics. Small trade and retail dominate.
- Manica district is part of the Beira corridor, with both a main road and the railway linking Beira to Chimoio, and then towards Zimbabwe in the Machipanda border point. Commercialisation of agricultural production is local and also linked to markets in Chimoio and Beira cities. Further, traders from Beira, Maputo and Inhambane often visit the area to purchase local products. The close proximity of Zimbabwe means that people on the borders can go and buy or sell in those markets.
- Salaried work is dominated by men (94 per cent of salaried people are men), with women mainly working in family farms or self-employed. 85 per cent of the economically active population are involved in agriculture (49 per cent of women and 51 per cent of men declare farming as their main economic activity).
- Only 15 per cent of farms are headed by women (2005).
- Incomes are mainly spent on food (69 per cent) and services such as water, accommodation, energy and fuels (19 per cent). Similarly to the other districts in this report (probably the data has been collected across the country), farmers have a 2.5 month storage of staple foods and 5 per cent of the population is deemed vulnerable (female headed household, elderly and extreme poor). Livelihoods are mostly at risk due to natural events such as droughts or floods, and people have had to resort to 'work for food' programmes and hunting or forest-gathering for food or cash (2005).

Basic services

- Safe water is only available for 19.3 per cent of the population, mostly in the cities. 55.3 per cent depend on open/unprotected wells, 14.9 per cent on protected wells and 25.3 per cent on water from rivers or lakes.
- 73 per cent of the population have no latrine, with 19.9 per cent having an 'unimproved' latrine.
- Only 3.5 per cent of the population, mostly urban, has access to electricity. Energy mainly obtained from fuel (77.6 per cent) and wood (27.4 per cent).
- It is well integrated in terms of market access. There are strong links to Beira market, Gondola follows Dondo as part of the Beira corridor, the railway to Zimbabwe, Malawi and Zambia. The main road leads westward via Chimoio to Zimbabwe, and so does the main road, the north-south road also goes through Chimoio, making Maputo accessible. Traders from Beira and Maputo come to the district to purchase agricultural produce.
- Literacy: 46.5 per cent of the population are illiterate. Illiteracy rates increase with age and are significantly higher for women (for example in the 30-39 cohort, 22.0 per cent of men are illiterate, whereas 66.8 per cent of women are illiterate). This is explained by the fact that men are more likely to have had schooling and through the pursuit of waged work.
- Primary school education includes 733 schools for infants (EPI) and 357 for juniors (EPII), with over 76,000 children in primary education. 48.0 per cent of primary students are girls. There were 54 students on average per teacher.
- There are relatively fewer secondary schools: 80 ESGI, and 23 ESGII, with more than 10,000 students and a lower female participation rate (37.8 per cent of students). There were 28.5 students per teacher.
- Health: There are 13 health centres and 1 district hospital, with 93 beds as well as 30 beds in maternity clinics/wards.
- Housing: *Palhota* (mud floor, roof of grass or thatch, and walls made out of cane or sticks) is the most common type of housing (44.7 per cent), although there are a number of 'casas mixtas', combining durable materials with traditional materials, with walls made of durable materials, and roofing with natural materials e.g. palm leaves,

and 21.4 per cent have a '*casa basica*' made with durable materials but without a kitchen or bathroom.

- Most common communication device: radio, 66.9 per cent of households. Only 2.9 per cent have a TV (these are 2007 data - much will have changed).
- The Gondola district report mentions institutions that have supported work at the district level: Concern, the German aid programme for DRR, UNICEF, PRONES, INAS, RED BARNA, ACNUR and DDRM, many of them involved in rehabilitation of schools or watsan post-floods. The report also highlights the 'food for work' project: including WFP, and the DRR department and the programme for seeds and tools.

Annex 3. Civil society organisations in Sofala and Manica

Organization	Geographical Area of Operation	Subject Area	Contacts
Sofala Province			
ACAMO - Association of the Blind and Partially Sighted of Mozambique	Nhamatanda and Búzi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Defence of the rights and interests of the blind 	Afonso Luis Mutisse Mobile: 824216200 afonsomutisse@yahoo.com.br
ADJM – Youth Challenge Association of Mozambique	Beira	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Vulnerable children Youth training 	Alice Josina, Coordinator Mobile: 843881726 desafiojovembeira@yahoo.com.br
COMUT Women Workers Committee (CONSILMO)	Beira	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women trade unionists Labour rights 	Haumbo Adamo Mulgy, Coordinator
FOPROSA – Provincial Forum of Non-Governmental Organizations of Sofala	Sofala	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Monitoring of governance Social advocacy Provincial civil society coordinating group 	José Hiquisse Raposo, Management Council Secretary Mobile: 844632788 Foprosa.forum@gmail.com
MULEIDE	Beira	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gender Domestic violence Legal counselling 	Julia Garrine, Counsellor Mobile: 823904075
PNDH – National Human Rights Pressure	Beira	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Human rights Access to justice Reduction of discrimination and social abuse (domestic violence, abuse of minors and discrimination against people living with HIV/AIDS) 	Catarina José da Costa Tel.: 23326050 Mobile: 828440375 pressaonhumanos@yahoo.com.br
Chiveve Community Radio	Beira	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Media 	Jaime Trigo, Director Tel.: 23327435
SOPROC – Child Protection Network of Sofala	Beira	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Children's rights 	Filipe Somai Bôca, Executive Director Mobile: 822355620 soprocsofala@yahoo.com.br
WADZAFICA	Nhamatanda/Búzi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rural development 	Jéssica Silva, Coordinator Mobile: 827302101
Manica Province			
FAMOD – Forum of Mozambican Associations of the Disabled	Chimoio	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inclusive education Legal reform Promotion and defence of the rights of persons with disabilities 	http://www.famod.org.mz
FOCAMA - Civil Society Forum in Manica	Chimoio	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Civil society Participative governance Social auditing Social sectors 	Noé E. Gonçalves, Chairperson Tel.: 25124114 Goncelves_noe@yahoo.com.br
FONGIM – Forum of International NGOs in Manica	Chimoio	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Health (HIV) Nutrition Governance Human rights Land Natural resources 	
Fórum Terra (Land Forum)	Chimoio	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Land rights 	Manuel Passar, Executive Secretary Mobile: 825512490 m.passar.lu@gmail.com
Land O Lakes	Chimoio	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gender Rural development (agriculture) 	Ernesto Sechene, Coordinator Mobile: 824048180 824048180 Ernesto.sechene@idd.landolakes.com
MAGARIRO	Gondola	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Community development 	Joaquim Oliveira Mobile: 825901617 joaquim.oliveira@magariro.com

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