



Triple Nexus in Cabo Delgado

Connecting humanitarian action with development promotion and peacebuilding to strengthen the local agenda in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique



Informative of Ayuda en Acción

Coordination

Andrés Roure Cuzzoni

Fotos

Ayuda En Acción Mozambique

Gernika Gogoratuz

Centro de Investigação Pela Paz



Written by:

Gernika Gogoratuz Centro de Investigação pela Paz

Ayuda En Acción Moçambique

Authors:

Teresa Cunha

Alberto Ernesto

Hermenegildo Sira Rogério

Jokin Alberdi

Arlete Xavier

Júlia Carlos

Rosa Muthemba

Rábio Sete

Spelling review Portuguese

Teresa Cunha

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1 Executive Summary



Although there is a dominant view, the concept of the Triple Nexus can be thought of in different ways of acting. Discussions about the dual nexus between emergency aid and post-war rehabilitation and development (**VARD approaches**) began in the 1980s, although their poor results led the donor community to seek solutions from the late 1990s onwards. Aid effectiveness, local ownership of development processes, community resilience, conflict-sensitive (do no harm) analysis and approaches, and localization of aid are some of the proposals to improve the international cooperation system. The inclusion of peace in discussions on humanitarian action and development received a boost at the 2016 Humanitarian Summit or "Grand Bargain", which, with the **2019** OECD/DAC Recommendation¹, led international cooperation actors to put this new three-pronged approach on their agenda. The dominant vision of this agenda focuses on the 3 Cs, i.e. on enhancing the coherence, complementarity and collaboration of humanitarian, development and peace action in contexts of complex emergencies and armed conflicts.

However, there are multiple ways of conceiving and understanding survival, good living and living in peace, which transcend these debates on the triple nexus. The project Connecting humanitarian action with the promotion of development and peacebuilding, based on the strengthening of the local agenda in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique, carried out by a consortium formed by the Gernika Gogoratuz Peace Research Centre and the Ayuda en Acción Foundation, in close collaboration with the Centre for Peace Studies and Actions (**CEAP**) of Cabo Delgado, and funded by the Basque Agency for Development Cooperation (September 2023 to August 2025), has a double vision. On the one hand, it questions the one-size-fits-all intervention models defined by UN agencies and NGOs, as

¹ <https://legalinstruments.oecd.org/en/instruments/OECD-LEGAL-5019>

they are not yielding results, as they do not adequately respond to local complexities, nor do they contribute to strengthening collective agency to address problems. On the other hand, it aims to contribute to promoting a decolonisation of international aid and, based on a feminist critique, to advance in a reconfiguration of power relations between women and men and to benefit sectors or groups with less power and decision-making capacity.

Thus, the following objectives were defined, general and specific respectively:

- Implement a triple nexus approach, taking into account the capacity and agency of local actors, emphasizing the strengthening of community cohesion for peacebuilding and promoting critical reflection on the challenges of this approach and the articulation of networks at the local-global level;
- Strengthen local capacities for community action research in the humanitarian, development and peacebuilding fields, through training, theoretical seminars and practical studies in Cabo Delgado, northern Mozambique;
- Incorporate a local, feminist, and decolonial perspective into the theoretical and practical debates of government authorities and the international community to address and implement the triple nexus in African conflict contexts. Thus, taking as a starting point the objectives mentioned above and taking into account the knowledge accumulated by the work already developed in the province of Cabo Delgado by all the organizations involved and allied local actors, and using a bottom-up rationality, a participatory action research was carried out in the territory whose processes and results are presented in this document.

Cabo Delgado is a territory deeply marked by armed conflicts, namely the current insurgency war, which is experiencing a reality of forced internal displacement of a large part of its

population for security reasons, a very low human development index despite its enormous natural and cultural riches, the target of enormous projects of extraction and intensive exploitation of all kinds of resources present in the territory. devastated by recurrent extreme weather events and limited spaces for civic participation. It is in this complex and in many ways dramatic context that participatory action research on the Triple Nexus was carried out in Cabo Delgado. We start from a fundamental principle: that research, in addition to being participatory and with the ambition of acting on the social fabric, must have, at its core, shared local knowledge and the full participation of women, contributing to critical, feminist and decolonizing thinking on the Triple Nexus.

This document reflects the entire participatory action research (PAR) process and is not merely descriptive. On the contrary, it seeks to account for the multiple and interrelated stages of a co-construction of knowledge that involved several dozen people over fifteen months. In it, each stage of the journey is theorized, analyzed, described, and reflected upon. Our theoretical, analytical, and practical principles of a feminist decolonization of thought involved, from the outset: accommodating the proper terms in which people say the world, especially those who have been most silenced: women of all ages; it has to make us shut up so that we can listen and learn to unlearn. It follows that every form is content and therefore this document uses inclusive language, taking into account the limits and ambiguities that we have not been able to resolve. This document is structured as follows:

We begin with an introduction that aims to problematize the genealogy of this project and how it manifests coherence in the broader framework of a long, problematizing and transformative investigation. This is followed by Part I, dedicated to understanding in the necessary depth the context, both of the territory and of the foundational debates on the Triple Nexus. Since it is a situated knowledge, it would not be possible to dispense with all these reflections. In Part II we build the overall framework of the participatory action research process, mobilizing the knowledge and learning we have been doing together on the Triple Nexus in a bottom-up and inside-out logic. With them, we theorized about the limits, absences, limitations, challenges and presented the proposals for the transformation of rationalities and practices that emerged from the voices that we were willing to listen to with attention and epistemological humility. Based on the findings and reflections throughout the work carried out, recommendations were made that are at the end and that cover the following fields: politics, development as Living

Well; the central place of women in 3N; at the epistemological and conceptual level and the construction of peace. We end with brief final considerations.

2

Introduction and context of the study



From the Territory in Conflict project to the project Connecting humanitarian action with the promotion of development and peacebuilding to strengthen the local agenda. The Gernika Gogoratuz Peace Research Centre (GgG) led a research project called Territories in Conflict (Phase I) whose main objective was the following:

- Promote a process of research, training, action and a process of research and advocacy in relation to the impact that the neoliberal and patriarchal hegemonic model and its main agents, transnational corporations, have on territories;

This meant, among other things, deepening the knowledge, already accumulated by other previous research, on the conflict derived from the capital-life contradiction, having, as its main cause, the intensive extraction of offshore oil and gas in the Rovuma basin, in the north of the province of Cabo Delgado, among other activities based on intensive capital in the area of mining.

There was a lot of evidence on the importance of implementing a development model totally based on extractivism.

According to Mozambique's National Petroleum Institute²

Hydrocarbon prospecting and research in Mozambique dates back to the 1900s (...). In 2010, natural gas discoveries were made in the Rovuma sedimentary basin that elevated

² <https://www.inp.gov.mz/hidrocarbonetos/>. Consultation held on 4 February 2025

Mozambique to the scale of world reserves. It is estimated that there are around 172 trillion cubic feet (Tscf), distributed in several fields, with emphasis on the Coral, Golfinho Atum and Mamba/Prosperity fields, having started in October 2022 the production of liquefied natural gas (LNG) in the Coral Sul Field, in Area – 4. To date, a total of 257 wells have been executed in Mozambique. Well information includes drill cores, gutter samples, electrical digraphs, and fluids.



Figure 1 Map of hydrocarbon exploration in Mozambique.

In addition to hydrocarbons, as can be seen in the cadastral map, a large part of the territory is also concessioned for mining:

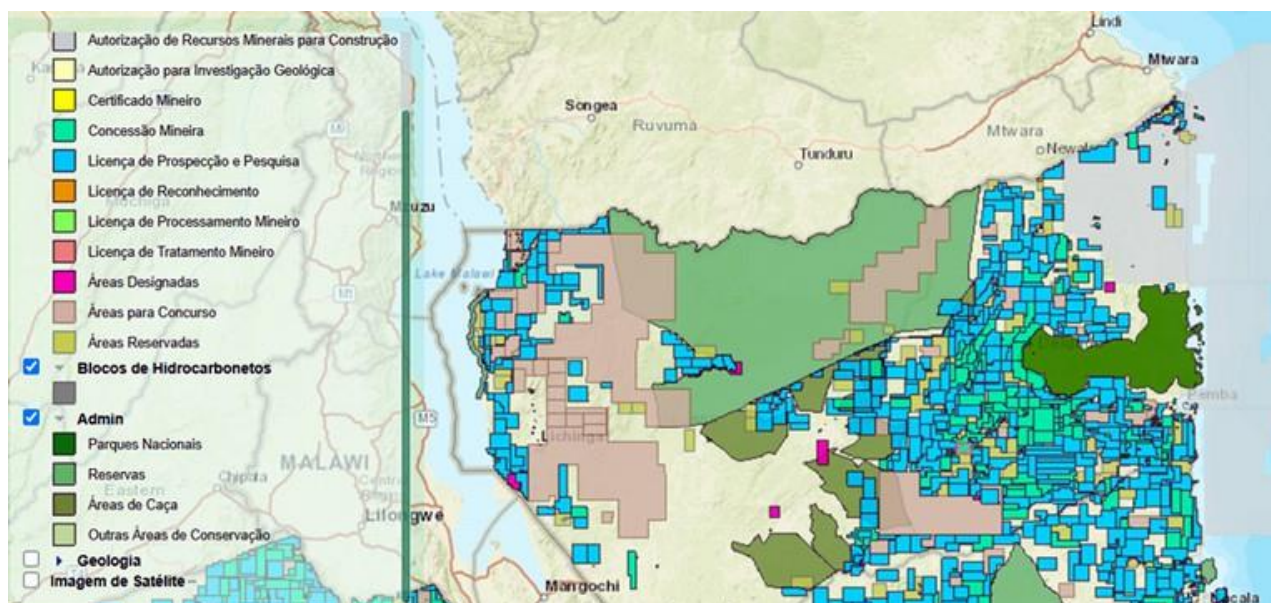


Figure 2 Map of mining concessions in Cabo Delgado³

These extractive activities had immediate effects on the social fabric, on the existing balances of resource management and governance of these territories. The expropriation of peasant lands began, the imposition of restrictions on fishing at sea and the progressive unwanted presence of people from other regions of the country and abroad who, unilaterally, began to decide on the fate of the territory and the populations. The Territories in Conflict project began in early 2018, shortly after the first insurgent attacks (October 2017) in the district of Mocímboa da Praia. This town, not far away, is located about 62 km south of the city of Palma (about 345 km north of Pemba, the capital), the epicenter of the movements of prospecting and exploration of hydrocarbon reserves, the construction of logistical and security conditions for extraction and transport/export. Throughout the research work, the research team realized that this armed conflict was becoming increasingly intense and with increasing impacts on the

³ <https://portals.landfolio.com/mozambique/pt/>

territory and people's lives, despite the fact that the Mozambican authorities did not admit that there was a war underway.

Gradually, empirical evidence gathered in field work showed that the capital-life contradiction was also expressed in the increasingly complex violence of war and constituted an increasingly central concern for local inhabitants. The progressive awareness of the centrality of war in people's lives and its intimate relations with the development model followed by the country's government, as well as the evidence that we had already collected in the field, is the result of a virtuous collaboration with a local team of researchers based at the School of Ethics of the Catholic University of Mozambique Campus Pemba (Center for Research and Social Observatory - CPOS) constituted the first Inflection Point during phase II of the project (2020 – 2021). Thus, the central objective of this second phase was formulated in the following terms: To emphasize that the so-called capital-life conflict represents that in the world we inhabit, markets overlap with the sustainability of life.

This has also led to the emergence of commercial operations fuelled by the ongoing war or benefiting directly and indirectly in situations of armed conflict and humanitarian emergency. Our research identified the following⁴.

Security and logistics

- Isco Global Limited⁵

⁴ Environmental Research Agency (2024), *Embarking on the Forests. Millions of tons of illegal timber from Mozambique, including conflict timber, are exported to China for luxury furniture*. Washington DC: EIA.

⁵ <https://furtherafrica.com/2024/07/19/totalenergies-contract-rwandan-security-company-for-mozambican-project/>

- True North⁶
- Investigação Segurança Proteção
- DHL Security⁷
- G4S⁸
- Control Risks⁹

Maritimi Transport

- CMA-CGM¹⁰
- APL¹¹
- Maersk¹²
- MSC¹³
- **Exploración florestal**¹⁴
- MITI Ltd

⁶ <https://mz.linkedin.com/company/true-north-lda>

⁷ <https://www.dhl.com/pt-pt/home/global-forwarding.html?locale=true>

⁸ <https://www.g4s.com/>

⁹ https://www.controlrisks.com/?utm_referrer=https://search.brave.com

¹⁰ <https://www.cma-cgm.com/>

¹¹ <https://www.apl.com/>

¹² <https://search.brave.com/search?q=Maersk>

¹³ <https://www.msc.com/es>

¹⁴ Vea este estudio sobre el comercio ilegal de madera en Cabo Delgado

Investments of Suceso MOFID and SMOCKI

We can also mention the increase in turnover of local food companies, the supply of construction materials and logistics. To adapt and respond to demand, due to the large presence of expatriate employees, the hospitality and restaurant business has also flourished. This economic boom in some sectors caused, at the same time. Due to the intensive exploitation of natural resources and the war it was perfectly circumstantial, but it had the immediate impact of the exponential increase in the cost of living for the populations, without having symmetrically created new jobs.

In October 2020, as the war escalated into increasingly organized and deadly attacks, a massive humanitarian crisis began with hundreds of thousands of people fleeing seeking refuge and safety in other parts of the province, especially in and around the city of Pemba. This massive displacement of populations continued throughout 2021 and, with it, the staff and resources of all UN specialized agencies arrived or increased. In the same vein, international non-governmental organizations on the ground have begun to develop systematic humanitarian activities to address the urgency of the situation. Subsequently, many other international NGOs arrived in the province, significantly changing the social life of the capital¹⁵ and the dimension of interventions with displaced populations.

On the other hand, it became clear that a good part of the operations on the ground were designed and implemented without the participation of communities or the

¹⁵ Not only in terms of the number of foreigners, but it also led to the opening of hotel and restaurant businesses, food supply, logistics, and with all this, the increase in the cost of living for the local population.

valorization of local knowledge. The intervention models followed the standards defined by the agencies and NGOs within a one-size-fits-all logic. In addition, it began to be understood that such procedures did not adequately respond to local complexities and did not contribute to promoting collective capacities to address problems and regenerate the social fabric.

These reflections were crucial in consolidating the turning point, opening the doors to new understandings and strategic collaborations. This was evident in the final products of the project ¹⁶, in other subsequent studies conducted in Cabo Delgado by team members¹⁷ and the study conducted by a GgG team for the Ayuda en Acción (AeA) Foundation.¹⁸

In addition to the critique of the development model, there were reflections on the war and the articulations between the following processes: a) the humanitarian emergency situation and the responses to it b) the relationships between robust responses to the emergency and the need to build structural conditions that contribute to the recovery of the social fabric and cohesion and that guarantee better living conditions and coping with the new humanitarian crises that may arise emerge and (c) and how these two pillars form part of the foundations of peacebuilding processes. We are, therefore, faced with the concept of the Triple Nexus: humanitarian aid – development – peace and it was from there that this project took shape through an Agreement signed between the

¹⁶ Highlights: The case study on Cabo Delgado; the book Keys to the Construction of Life Alternatives; the training material, the plans of the advanced courses, a documentary. All materials can be consulted and/or downloaded for free here: <https://territoriolab.org/proyecto/> . Also noteworthy is a study carried out by members of the MASC Foundation team in Mozambique on

¹⁷ Such as: Teresa Cunha (coord.); Cunha, Tereza; da Silva, Terezinha (2021), Knowledge Occupies a Place. The construction of peace and social cohesion in Cabo Delgado', Maputo: Fundación MASC, 171 pages; Teresa Cunha (coord.); Cunha, Teresa (2021), 'By uprooting ourselves from our land, our roots are uprooted and we are left alone in the world. A portrait of the war in Cabo Delgado in women's voices', Maputo: Fórum Mulher; Gernika Gogoratuz; Center for Social Studies, 62; Teresa Cunha (coord.); Cunha, Teresa (2020), We are already people of little hope, we only live Cabo Delgado and the war in the lives of women and girls, Maputo: FES - Fundação Friederich Ebert, 25.

¹⁸ It can be downloaded for free here: <https://ayudaenaccion.org/publicaciones/guerra-desplazamientos-forzados-y-answers-to-the-crisis-in-thin-cape/>

Basque Agency for Development Cooperation (funder), the Gernika Gogoratuz Peace Research Centre and the Ayuda en Acción Foundation.

3 Knowledge situated in the analysis of the context The Miserable Rich



Knowledge situated in context analysis The Miserable Rich

With a population of over 32 million, Mozambique is the fourth most populous country on the African continent. According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) report published in 2024, Mozambique ranks 183rd out of 193 countries analyzed in terms of the Human Development Index, which combines three indicators: life expectancy and life at birth, number of years of schooling, and GDP per capita¹⁹. As for the Internal Inequalities and Gender Inequalities Index, the country occupies the same position, being at the bottom of the world. If we take into account the data provided since 2000 by the UNDP, Mozambique has not registered structural progress in this regard, repeatedly ranking among the 10 countries with the worst indicators of human development, social inequality and gender inequality.

Its territory is divided into eleven provinces and three regions: north, center and south. Cabo Delgado is one of the provinces of the northern region formed by Nampula, Niassa and Cabo Delgado, which is located in the extreme northeast of the country, bordering Tanzania to the west with Niassa, Nampula to the south and the Indian Ocean to the east

The population of Cabo DeLgado, according to the 2017 census, was 2,289,943 inhabitants of which 54% are Muslims, representing 18% of the nation's total.

¹⁹ UNDP (2024), *Human Development Report 23/24. Breaking the stalemate. Reimagining cooperation in a polarized world*. New Year: UNDP, p. 277; 286; Article 291.

Based on data published in 2022 in the Government of Mozambique's Cape Reconstruction Plan, the figure below shows the various profitability factors of the province and their interactions:

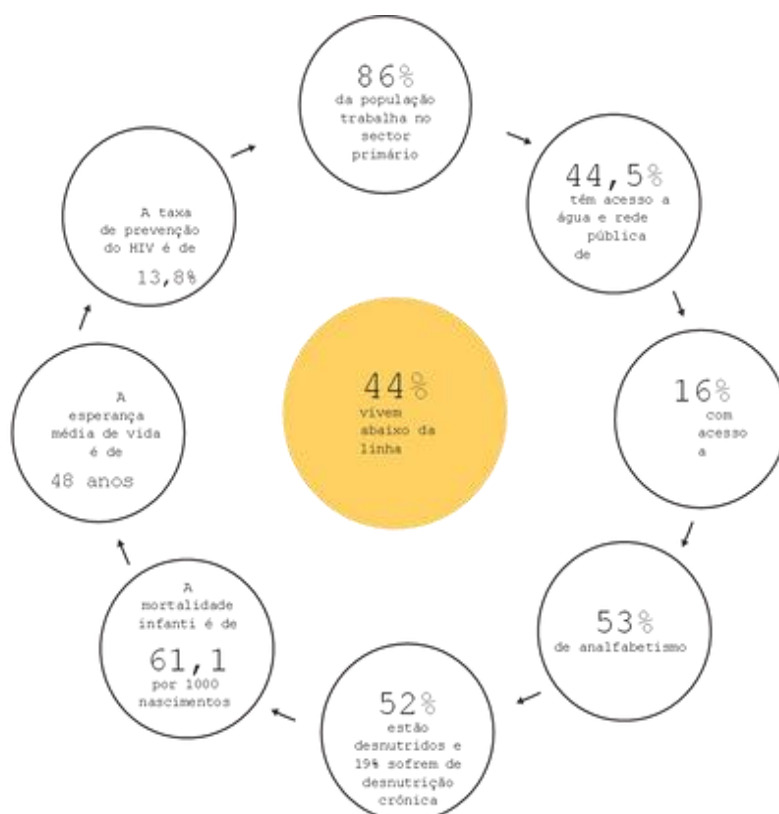


Figura 3 – Vulnerability factors of the population of Cabo Delgado²⁰

²⁰ Ayuda en Acción; Gernika Gogoratuz (2022), *Guerra, desplazamientos forzados y respuesta a la crisis en Cabo Delgado, Mozambique*, Ayuda en Acción: Maputo, p. 14. Esta cifra se ha elaborado por el propio país sobre la base de datos del *Plan de Reconstrucción de Cabo Delgado del Gobierno de Mozambique. Plan de Respuesta Rápida: Provincia de Cabo Delgado, Mozambique*, mayo-diciembre de 2020.

4 Critical analysis of the armed conflict in Cabo Delgado



Since October 2017, in the northeastern part of Cabo Delgado, an armed confrontation has begun between groups that describe themselves as belonging to the Islamist insurgency (Al Sunnah wa Jama-ASWJ), made up of part of the resident population and the Mozambican state and its army, initially supported by mercenaries from the Wagner and Dyck groups. Between 2020 and 2021, with the escalation of the war and the massive increase in displacement, the Mozambican government resorted to multilateral military support from SADC (SAMIM) and the Rwandan army to combat 'jihadist' terrorism and allowed the intervention of international UN agencies and international NGOs to address the urgent needs of the displaced population.

To date (April 2025), almost 6000 direct fatalities of the armed conflict have been counted and more than one million people displaced, which means that almost half of the population of this province has been forced to leave their homes and livelihoods. Drought and cyclones in recent years (Idai and Kenneth, 2019; Freddy, 2023; Chido, 2024) have only worsened the situation in northern Mozambique, where it is estimated that more than one and a half million people are in need of international humanitarian assistance.

Although the number of young insurgents appears to have been restricted to about three hundred (Garrido, 2025), it is unclear whether they receive direct support from the Islamic State. On the contrary, it seems proven that the insurgency is participating in the reconfiguration of the main trafficking routes for drugs, precious minerals, wildlife, timber and migrants, which are being moved from the northern part of the province,

adjacent to the border with Tanzania, to the city of Pemba and to Nacala and Angoche, in the adjoining province of Nampula²¹

There is no consensus on the diagnosis of the armed conflict, nor on peace solutions. There is a lack of shared diagnoses and there are different conceptions of peace. There is no single narrative of the war in Cabo Delgado, nor do the different actors share the conceptions and solutions of peace. Among the reports on the war are²²:

Una agresión extranjera con fuertes vínculos con el Estado Islámico que busca desestabilizar la región;

Government abandonment and the historical injustices suffered by the territory, which generate poverty, inequalities and a sense of discrimination or injustice among indigenous populations, particularly among young people;

The complexity of local factors with regional and international factors related to geopolitical conflicts for the control of natural resources and the advance of the extractive frontier;

The first narrative of jihadist aggression is the dominant one, but it doesn't really explain what's going on. There are other structural and cultural factors that must have been in the story. Consideration: a) the centuries-old maritime corridors of trade and different illegal traffic; b) the capital-life contradiction that arises from the intensive exploitation of natural resources, specifically hydrocarbons and precious stones; (c) the negligence of colonial and post-independence governments and the discrimination they caused on the

²¹ Global Initiative against Transnational Organized Crime (2021), Insurgency, illicit markets and corruption. The Cabo Delgado conflict and its regional implications. Geneva: Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime - Hanss Seidel Foundation

²² <https://ayudaenaccion.org/publicaciones/guerra-desplazamientos-forzados-y-respuestas-a-la-crisis-en-cabo-delgado/>

part of the native populations of Cabo Delgado; (d) the recurrence of armed conflict and the slow violence that has taken hold of individuals and society. From our analysis, trying to explain the current armed conflict as an aggression by the Islamic State is a simplification of reality. The factors and explanations are related to the evolution of the political economy in Cabo Delgado, from pre-colonial times to the present day.

The institutions, laws, and social structures of the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-independence era contributed to certain groups in Cabo Delgado feeling discriminated against and aggrieved, so at different times in history, they resorted to the use of violence to try to improve their position or regain power.

This slow and prolonged violence, which has been accumulating since the different wars of the centuries,

It is constantly fueling symbolic violence, prejudice and hate speech, which perpetuate this type of situation.

A brief overview of the history of political economy and wars in northern Mozambique

In the history of Cabo Delgado, it is possible to identify several phases of wars and violence, which affected the distribution of power. The pre-colonial period (18th-19th centuries) was characterized by a certain coexistence between African societies and Arab communities and European explorers who settled in the northern part of Mozambique with interests in the slave, gold, and ivory trade. In the first half of the 19th century, economic and commercial activity was controlled by several Swahili dynasties, which contributed to the expansion of Arab education and Islam in the region. After the clashes between these Swahili families, in the colonial era (late nineteenth century - 1970), between 1885 and 1926, the Portuguese Crown granted the Niassa Company (of English capital) the exploration of the territory in exchange for its political and military control. Although this large commercial company turned to local elites for its extractive operations, community resistance made the territory unattractive, so northern Mozambique reverted to the Salazar dictatorship of the Portuguese Estado Novo, which abandoned this part of the country to its fate, without significant investments or projects. Like the rest of the country, this northern area was affected by the war of liberation (1964-1974) and the 16-Years' War (1977-1992). Although the Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO) had a lot of support in Cabo Delgado, the imposition of the socialist project was partially accepted, since there were sectors of the population that rejected it, although it was not characterized as a territory that sympathized with the National Resistance of Mozambique (RENAMO). The post-war reconstruction of the 1990s and the anti-poverty policies inaugurated with the new millennium have not been translated into tangible benefits for the communities of Cabo Delgado. Neither the "ruby fever" and the "graphite boom" in Montepuez, nor the gas explorations in the Rohuma basin, which began in 2010, have been able to bring prosperity. On the contrary, transnational corporations, with the

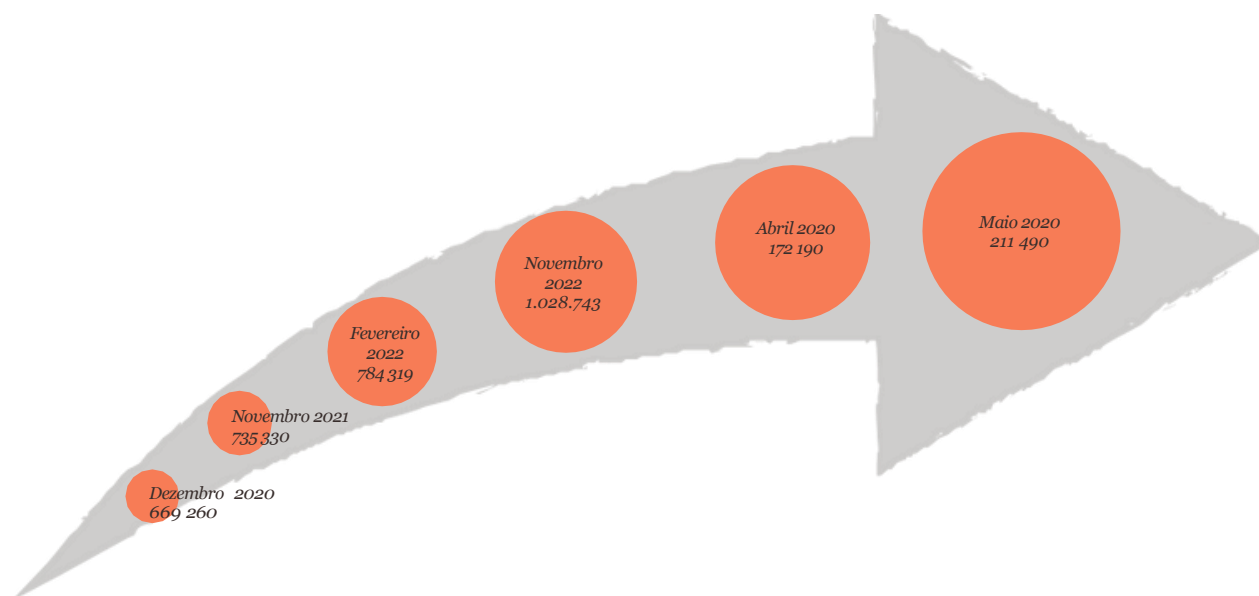
approval of some government elites, are deciding the future of the territory, without taking into account the implications that these decisions may have on the lives of the communities. History repeats itself.²³

²³ Alberdi, Jokin; Barroso, Manuel (2020), Expanding the analysis of peace in Mozambique: Exploring emerging violence in times of transnational extractivism in Cabo Delgado. *Global Society*, Number 2. [Volume 35].

5 Internal displacement and its impacts



The escalation of violence in Cabo Delgado province has triggered a humanitarian crisis. The number of IDPs soared from 172,190 in April 2020 to 1,028,743 in November 2020²⁴.



According to IOM data as of June 2022²⁵, there were 946,508 displaced people, equivalent to 208,046 families. Of this group, 55% were children, 24% were women and 21% were men. About 30 per cent (287,664 persons) were in reception or resettlement centres, while the remaining 70 per cent (658,844 persons) lived in the homes of their host families. This meant that most were crammed into the homes and lands of relatives or friends who were already living in very precarious conditions. Considering that it is up to women

²⁴ Ver: Campos et al (edit.) (2023), Arrancando-nos da nossa terra, arrancam-nos as raízes/Onikumihá mulapo mwahu, onaakha ilipelo sahu. Vozes da Mulheres de Cabo Delgado/ Masu a athiyana a okhaapu. Maputo: Fundação Friedrich Ebert Stiftung

²⁵ Fonte consulted on 15-11-2024: <https://displacement.iom.int/Mozambique> Mozambique - Provinces of Cabo Delgado, Nampula, Niassa, Sofala, Zambezia and Inhambane. Summary of Results – IDP Round 16 Baseline Assessment – June 2022

to take care of the family, especially their children and the elderly, their situation of vulnerability, in these circumstances, has been drastically exacerbated²⁶.

The vast majority, 870,000 people, remained in the province of Cabo Delgado. While the rest were distributed in the provinces of Nampula (74,000), Niassa (2,000), Zambezia (680), Inhambane (86) and Sofala (310).²⁷ However, it is important to note that these figures are incomplete, as displaced people in the districts of Mocímboa da Praia and Palma, the most directly affected by the armed conflict, were not counted²⁸. However, these data allow us to understand the dimension of the humanitarian crisis that extends not only to all IDPs, but also to their host communities.

The situation of rupture and trauma derived from the war and this internal displacement has generated several immediate, medium and long-term impacts that have been identified from the studies previously carried out by our team:

- The increase in mistrust and resentment at several levels: between the native and displaced populations²⁹; between the general population and government authorities; between officers

²⁶See: Campos et al (ed.) (2023), Uprooting ourselves from our land, uprooting ourselves/Onikumiha mulapo mwahu, onaakha ilipelo sahu. Voices of the women of Cabo Delgado / Masu to athiyana to okhaapu. Maputo: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Foundation.

²⁷ Ditto

²⁸ Médecins Sans Frontières, which works in the region, estimated in January 2022 that internal displacement in the districts could reach around 50,000 people. MSF. 04.01.2022 <https://www.msf.es/actualidad/Mozambique/Mozambique-The-population-moves-both-flee-The-violence-returns-home>.

²⁹ This is evident in several reports that demonstrate the emergence of new prejudices that are at the root of conflict and discrimination: when the rain does not come at the right time, it is because displaced people have tied up the rain (so as not to get wet because they sleep in the open) because they are witches; the displaced turn the owners of the houses into birds that fly out of the windows to take over the houses; Widowed displaced women are accused that their husbands have been insurgents and would die in the bush, or when displaced men are absent, they are accused of going to fight alongside the insurgents, even when it is discovered on their return that they have only been looking for means of subsistence to bring to their families. among others

of the Defence and Security Forces and soldiers³⁰ ; between the various ethnic-linguistic groups; between religious groups; between populations and large companies that exploit natural resources;

- The forced abandonment of land and other immovable property that is leading to an unwanted and conflictual reorganization of land;
- The drastic impoverishment of the population despite the fact that macroeconomic data show an increase in GDP per capita in the country;
- The presence of many foreigners (vientes) and the distortion of moral values considered locally appropriate and desirable, such as lack of courtesy, disloyalty and lack of respect both in the family sphere and in the public sphere;
- The increase in individual and collective behaviors classified as deviant and dangerous, such as: theft, prostitution, abandonment of children, among others³¹;
- The emergence of new businesses to make money from the war, which feeds an increasingly powerful war economy that is difficult to dismantle, including companies created for military logistics and extractive activities, supply of products and goods to the military, brothels aimed at the military, among others;
- The pressure exerted on natural resources such as land, water, forests and fisheries subject to uncontrolled depredation and pollution;
- The militarization of society and the naturalization of a culture of violence and repression as a privileged way of resolving conflicts;

³⁰There is a widespread belief that there are exchanges of information on troop movements and ambush sites, lack of communication and ammunition between commanders of the Mozambican Defence and Security Forces and insurgent commandos. This situation has reportedly caused heavy casualties among the soldiers and strong discontent among the junior forces. In addition to the oral testimonies, see here: Campos et al (ed.) (2023), Uprooting ourselves from our land, uprooting ourselves/Onikumiha mulapo mwahu, onaakha ilipelo sahu. Voices of the women of Cabo Delgado / Masu to athiyana to okhaapu. Maputo: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Foundation

³¹ The evidence collected shows that a large part of these businesses belong to the general elite of FRELIMO.

- The delay in rebuilding from the damage caused by war and climate change;
- The exacerbation of structural problems in the provision of and access to public services in education, health, social security, security, communication and mobility;
- Increase in deaths or disabilities due to lack of medical care;
- Exponential increase in violence of all kinds, against women and girls
- Revised masculinity patterns and changes in men's behavior that go in two main directions: (1) they develop increasingly violent behaviors at the family level and especially against women; (2) when they show their anguish and suffering in public and submit to discriminatory comments such as the man crying like a woman.
- The use of new weapons of war such as the beheading of men and the rape of women in front of their husbands or other male relatives, the kidnapping of women and girls to be part of commanders' harems or to serve as sex slaves on bases. All these weapons of war are intended to demonstrate the absolute power of those who use them and to deeply humiliate those who are considered their enemies.

A war that is becoming chronic and normalizing extreme violence

According to Mozambique's National Displacement Profile³², by the end of 2023, 632,408 people had returned to their places of origin, of which 44% were men and 56% women, 60% were children and

³² Look here: <https://dtm.iom.int/reports/mozambique-national-displacement-profile-ndp-2023?close=true> Accessed November 14, 2024.

young people up to 17 years old, 35% were between 18 and 59 years old, and only 5% were over 60 years old.

In January and February 2024, armed violence intensified in the province with the displacement to the southeast of a significant group of insurgents³³, with several attacks and deaths in the districts of Muidumbe, Quissanga, Ancuabe, Metuge and Chiure, which caused a new wave of internal displacement in the center/south of the province³⁴. However, since March, insurgent activity appears to have diminished and a new phase of the conflict has been entered: the normalization of extreme violence. The military strategy of encircling insurgent bases in the districts of Macomia, Quissanga and Muidumbe, seeking to confine its fighters in these territories by depriving them of food and access to clean water, and establishing heavily equipped security perimeters around large extractive projects, has had the effect of bringing about an apparent calm. Displaced people are returning to their places of origin to try to move on with their lives. In case they are attacked again, they flee, but return again because they feel they have no alternative in the resettlement camps or in the homes of the relatives who received them. They begin to report that they prefer to keep the fate of the attacks. Statistics show that 82 per cent of IDPs in Cabo Delgado have already been forced to leave their places of origin or resettle at least twice³⁵.

However, no consistent initiative has been taken for dialogue and the peaceful resolution of the conflict or the confrontation of the social causes that are at its base. With this we argue that the war is not over and does not seem to have an end in sight, but the intensity and frequency of attacks on

³³ There was talk of about 200, but there is no precise data on the number of insurgents who have moved into the province of Nampula.

³⁴ Second o International Organization for Migration (IOM), [February, 2024]. DTM [DTM Motion Alert]. IOM, [Mozambique] cumulative number of 54,415 persons.

³⁵ See here: International Organization for Migration, July 2024, Displacement Tracking Matrix, p. 8

towns and infrastructure has decreased. The news is increasingly vague and, with it, the invisibility of war, its impacts and the traumas it causes is increasing.

Ecocide or War on Earth

In Cabo Delgado, as in many other places in the world, nature is both a reason for war and its first victim. This war is largely part of a dynamic of greed for the enormous wealth of the province. The intensive extraction of minerals, hydrocarbons and timber has caused incalculable environmental damage: the disappearance of centuries-old forests, the loss of biodiversity on land and sea, the reorganization of the territory through the occupation of productive lands for the construction of logistics infrastructures and the contamination of underground aquifers. To date, no systematic studies have been conducted on this topic for two main reasons. The first is because the direct damage of the war to the population has created a huge humanitarian crisis that has mobilized all available attention and resources. The second has to do with the government's policy of blocking information, which does not want the situation on the ground to be investigated. Mobility in the field due to war is very difficult and sometimes expressly prohibited, as is independent research. We are left with information provided by displaced persons, traders, people at risk of travelling, and some employees of international or UN NGOs who have been allowed to move around the province. Reports speak of destruction, land unduly occupied by foreigners or outsiders from other parts of the country, desertification, water contaminated by materials used in mining, hunger due to the scarcity of productive and accessible land.

On the other hand, the Mozambique Channel where the coastal margins of this territory are located is constantly threatened by extreme weather phenomena such as those experienced in the country with cyclones Kenneth in Cabo Delgado, Idai in the central area in 2019 and Chido that hit the province on December 15, 2024 and have caused enormous destruction. This is one more factor that

adds to those directly related to the war and that, if they reinforce each other, make the ongoing ecocide increasingly evident.

It should also be noted that it is rural women, the vast majority of the population of Cabo Delgado, who suffer the most from these events and their impacts from this environmental destruction, as they are responsible for the production of food and the use of local medicinal herbs that are an essential part of the life and survival of the populations.

Analysis of the dynamics of the actors

The liberal peace conglomerate, which brings together a network of governments and large corporations interested in the natural resources of Cabo Delgado, has articulated a military, humanitarian aid and reconstruction response for development, following a pragmatic and hybrid peace logic, which discriminates against other proposals that present alternatives and other ways of making peace. These military and humanitarian operations, assisted by a network of international cooperation with strong intergovernmental articulation, seem to respond more to the interests of TotalEnergies, ExxonMobil and other large transnational corporations, which have the support of the governments of the United States and the European Union, particularly France, and certain Mozambican government elites. It can be seen that on the African continent, but also in other parts of the world, large companies continue to make their investments, both by facilitating peace agreements and by favouring environments of political instability or armed conflicts, with the aim of continuing their extractive businesses.

The military response was articulated in an ad hoc coalition made up of the SADC (Southern African Development Community) SAMIM mission, which participated until 2024, with personnel from the Rwandan army and the Mozambican armed forces, with logistical support from the European Union

and the US. In 2020-2021, the advance of the insurgency in gas exploration areas and the massive displacement of the population led the Nyusi government to agree with SADC on a multilateral military mission and with the Rwandan government to send troops to defend the most strategic locations. The United States and the European Union, with public and private funds, are supporting the training of the Mozambican Defense Forces and the Rwandan military operation and SAMIM.³⁶

Humanitarian aid in these years exceeded 1500 million euros. This humanitarian aid, overseen by the National Institute for Disaster Management (INGD), was mainly distributed through the Annual Humanitarian Response Plans for Mozambique and an ad hoc Rapid Response Plan in 2020-21. Humanitarian aid has been channelled through different thematic groups, involving United Nations agencies and international NGOs, financed by multilateral and bilateral cooperation agencies. UN agencies indicate that the 300-400 million euros per year needed to meet the needs is usually not covered.

On the other hand, the general elections of October 9, 2024, the instability and revolts led by the opposition party **PODEMOS**, led by the businessman and evangelical pastor Venâncio Mondlane, who was considered the winner of the October 2024 presidential elections, and the official appointment of the new president **Daniel Chapo**, who represents a line of continuity within **FRELIMO** and the government of the country, added another factor of instability to the country as a whole.

³⁶ In order to support the military operation and ensure the continuity of gas projects, since 2021, the European Union has funded two missions: one for military training (EUTM) and another for military logistical support (EUMAM), in which more than 100 million euros have been invested. There is no data on public and private financial contributions from the United States, although they are estimated to exceed this amount.

Major donors who are aligned with government and international plans and agencies:

Policy Strategy on Internal Displacement Management 2021		
The Cabo Delgado Reconstruction Plan in Areas Affected by Terrorism 2021-2024 (PRCD).	ADIN and the PREDIN Government Program for Resilience and Integral Development of the North;	Comprehensive United Nations strategy to support the Government of Mozambique and the Peacebuilding and Peacekeeping Programme.

The majority of the displaced and returnee population does not depend on humanitarian aid as their main means of subsistence, since, since the beginning of the crisis, it has been families and friends who, with their solidarity, have responded to the most urgent needs of these displaced groups. In the case of Cabo Delgado, as in other places, the response capacity of the societies themselves in the face of these situations was not taken into account or taken into account, but was limited to discussing, managing, evaluating and reporting on the government's response and international humanitarian aid. In other work carried out by this research team, issues that are not sufficiently addressed due to the lack of self-criticism of the official humanitarian sector in Cabo Delgado were pointed out: a) corruption with exchange vouchers and food baskets; (b) dependence on aid and accommodation for many beneficiary families; (c) the failure of local solidarity mechanisms and the undervaluation of these mechanisms; d) lack of foresight and scarcity to incorporate livelihood initiatives and/or income-generating strategies.

The development and reconstruction sector has been led by the Agency for the Integrated Development of the North (ADIN), created in 2020 to promote the Cabo Delgado Reconstruction

Program (2021-2024) which, in its initial phase, had about US\$300 million, mainly from the World Bank and UNDP, and in which the Cabo Delgado Provincial Reconstruction Forum also participated. In addition to small education and health programmes, the projects focused on granting land to the displaced population. Dissatisfied with ADIN's management, UN agencies and NGOs proposed a platform to administer development aid with the aim of rebuilding the province. However, the government approved the Resilience and Integrated Development Programme for the North (PREDIN) for the period 2022-2027, with an allocation of 2,500 million dollars from the World Bank (WB), the African Development Bank and the EU, complemented by Canada, TotalEnergies and some UN agencies³⁷.

ADIN would be responsible for planning the Programme, and the UN and other NGOs would carry out the activities. Debates about the Triple Nexus in Cabo Delgado encompass different ways of acting by a multitude of actors, although there is a dominant view. Discussions about the twin links between emergency aid and post-war rehabilitation and development (VARD approaches) began in the 1980s, although their poor results have led the donor community to look for other solutions since the late 1990s. Aid effectiveness, local ownership of development processes, community resilience, conflict-sensitive (do no harm) analysis and approaches, and localization of aid are some of the proposals to improve the international cooperation system. The inclusion of peace in the debates on humanitarian action and development received a boost at the 2016 Humanitarian Summit or "Grand Bargain", which, with the 2019 OECD/DAC Recommendation, led international cooperation actors to put this new three-pronged approach on their agenda. The dominant vision of this agenda focuses on the 3 Cs, i.e. on improving the coherence, complementarity and collaboration of humanitarian, development and peace actions in contexts of complex emergencies and armed conflicts. However, there are multiple

³⁷ Center for Democracy and Development (2022) Response to Violent Extremism in Cabo Delgado. From a Triple Nexus perspective: Humanitarian, Development and Peace. Research and Occasional Paper Series: 03/2022, pp1-32

ways of conceiving and understanding survival, good living and living in peace, which transcend these debates.

It is difficult to say that in Cabo Delgado they are working with a single 3N approach. Briefly, three proposals can be distinguished in the articulation between humanitarian interventions, development actions and the construction of peace and security.

- A triple nexus approach based on the securitization of aid, i.e. a militarized approach, in which control of decision-making is in the hands of the government, its partner countries and large investment firms. The Mozambican government, with the support of the EU, the United States and Rwanda, and big extractivist companies, is prioritizing a military peace approach. The future of Cabo Delgado is in the hands of military intelligence, governments and the boards of directors of large companies. Hundreds of millions of dollars are earmarked for war and military victory, rather than for negotiations and peace agreements, and for the strengthening and democratization of the state. These actors, in turn, promote the intervention of different United Nations agencies to face a humanitarian emergency that has no end and that has caused the massive displacement of families and entire communities. This approach hides the capital-life conflict, prioritises large investors and national elites, relegating the local population to the background. The European Union and the United States are acting inconsistently. Geostrategic interests prevail over the defence of development and human rights. The military route is being taken to the detriment of diplomacy, and military assistance to the Mozambican government is combined with humanitarian action and development cooperation. The protection of investments in megaprojects is prioritized, to the detriment of the security of the population of Cabo Delgado. And it is preferable to invest in development programmes for displaced communities in host places, rather than promoting initiatives for their return.
- An approach to the development of the 3Ns promoted by the United Nations and other multilateral agencies to improve donor engagement. Although the first steps are being taken, there is still a

long way to go. In Cabo Delgado, there is a lack of collaboration, complementarity and coherence in the actions of Humanitarian-Development-Peace (HDP) carried out by the different actors. This limited approach to instrumental improvement of interventions, concerned with technical rather than political issues, can hardly criticize the previous militarized approach. It does not demand that the government needs an agreement with the insurgency to end armed violence, preferring to focus on cohesive actions for peace between host and displaced communities and on the prevention of violent extremism. They believe that this war, in addition to the Jihadist insurgency, has to do with poverty, inequalities and discrimination suffered by certain sectors of the population. However, these actors in international cooperation are incapable of constructing shared diagnoses or narratives and find it difficult to cede prominence or recognize the local collective agency to resolve conflicts. They have a discourse in favour of the localisation of aid and humanitarian, development and peace initiatives, but it is more theoretical than practical, as they end up imposing their agendas or end up being co-opted by the militarised agenda.

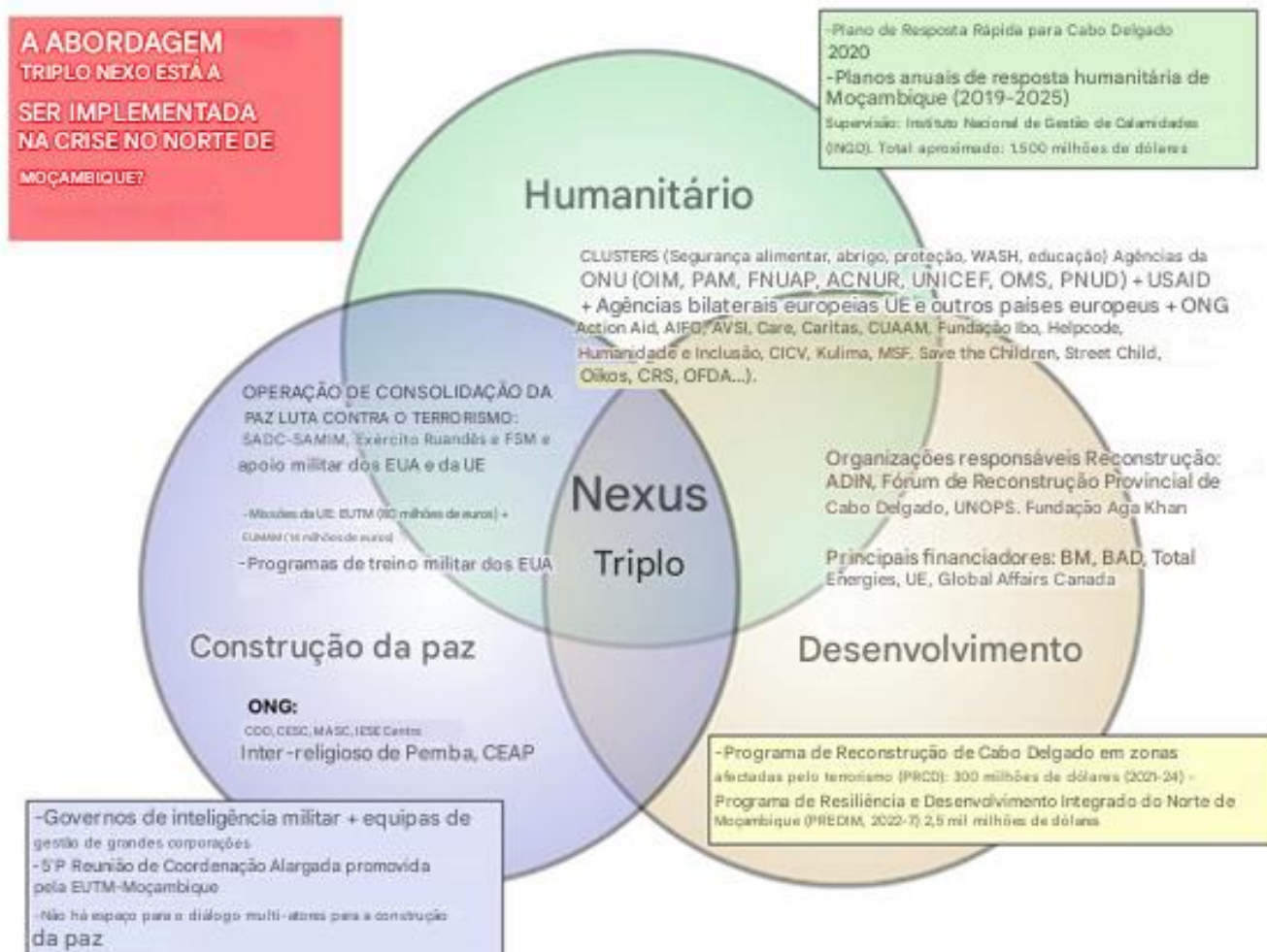


Figure 4 Analysis of the dynamics of the actors

With this approach, we find several initiatives on the Triple Nexus in Cabo Delgado

Since the 1990s, the United Nations has harmonized its Peace Agenda and its framework for cooperation with the Government of Mozambique. The Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC) has produced a report for the UN with the aim of improving the implementation of the current Agenda for Peacebuilding and Peacekeeping in Mozambique. In this assessment, the following elements stand out: a) a strong humanitarian bias on the part of the UN; b) some confusion and lack of leadership within the UN to lead the Triple Nexus, which seemed to

improve after the re-establishment of relations with ADIN; (c) the desirability of promoting platforms for dialogue (particularly on peace issues); (d) and the warning that funding for peacebuilding is not reaching grassroots community organizations, as national and international organizations benefit the most.

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) has developed a roadmap to accelerate Triple Nexus programming in northern Mozambique for the period 2022-2026, focusing its work on the areas most affected by the armed conflict and implementing Community Planning (CBP). Through this planning methodology, interventions are tailored to the specific needs of each community and the state's capacity to provide services is supported.

Other national non-governmental institutions (CESC, MASC, IESE, AVSI, CDD) are promoting research and community cohesion programmes and cultural and artistic activities under the Triple Nexus. We highlight two initiatives. AVSI-People for Development conducted a community survey to assess conditions in several districts of Cabo Delgado with the aim of improving its projects and identifying solutions more geared towards the HDP nexus. The Center for Democracy and Development conducted several analyses and mapping of the actors of the Triple Nexus and their responses in Cabo Delgado, proposing some recommendations. There is talk of the lack of collaboration, complementarity and cohesion in the fight against violent extremism and of the total disconnect between the security and humanitarian sectors. Finally, we highlight a SADC initiative that, together with the African Union, is developing a framework to address the interrelated challenges of climate change, conflict and development, which seeks to integrate conflict prevention and peacebuilding into climate resilience programmes. With the aim of reducing the risk of violence and creating the conditions for lasting stability, this framework under construction invites humanitarian and

development organizations to adopt conflict-sensitive and community-building approaches that address underlying aggravating factors such as unemployment and forced displacement³⁸.

Given these two approaches, several questions need to be asked about the model, effectiveness, and who decides on humanitarian interventions and the future of development and peace in Cabo Delgado:

1) What is actually the kind of peace and security architecture for Cabo Delgado? 2) Do humanitarian action and reconstruction and social cohesion interventions in the Cabo Delgado conflict take into account the complexity of the different realities experienced by families and communities affected by the war? 3) Are these HDP interventions based on the collective potential and capacities of local populations? The answer seems clear: the model of militarized peace at the service of the power of large corporations does not solve the problems of the people, nor does it count on them to decide the future of Cabo Delgado. On the other hand, one-size-fits-all intervention models defined by UN agencies and NGOs are not yielding results, as they do not adequately respond to local complexities, nor do they contribute to strengthening collective agency to address problems.

3- Faced with the inability of the donor community to leave behind colonial schemes of intervention, based on openly (neo)liberal conceptions of security, development and international cooperation, at the service of the interests of the powers and elites that instrumentalize United Nations agencies, NGOs and local actors, it is not easy to propose alternatives. This has led many critical sectors to distrust UN's official approach, questioning its timeliness and effectiveness.

Other proposals argue that these discussions on the Triple Nexus offer an opportunity to question current models of international cooperation, their ethical foundations, their political conditionalities and their orientation towards achieving effective results. Therefore, it is open to thinking and acting through other forms of solidarity and cooperation, where the main role is not that of governmental

³⁸ Fuente: <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/climate-conflict-and-aid-three-pronged-solution-needed-for-mozambique>

organizations or cooperation NGOs. This Triple Nexus would be presented as an approach whose themes are communities, and not the industry of cooperation. A proposal to advance in the decolonization of international aid and that, based on a feminist critique, also advances in a reconfiguration of power relations between women and men and that benefits the sectors or groups with less power and decision-making capacity.

6 The Triple Nexus project and its participatory action research (IAP) in Cabo Delgado



It is in this complex and, in many ways, dramatic context that participatory action research on the Triple Nexus in Cabo Delgado has unfolded. We started from a fundamental principle: that research, in addition to being participatory and with the ambition to act on the social fabric, should have at its center, shared local knowledge, contributing to critical, feminist and decolonizing thinking about the Triple Nexus.

Los objetivos del proyecto



Figura 5 Objetivos del proyecto Triple Nexus

The structure of the project is developed around three pillars, on the basis of which specific but complementary actions were carried out, which made it possible to achieve three main results:

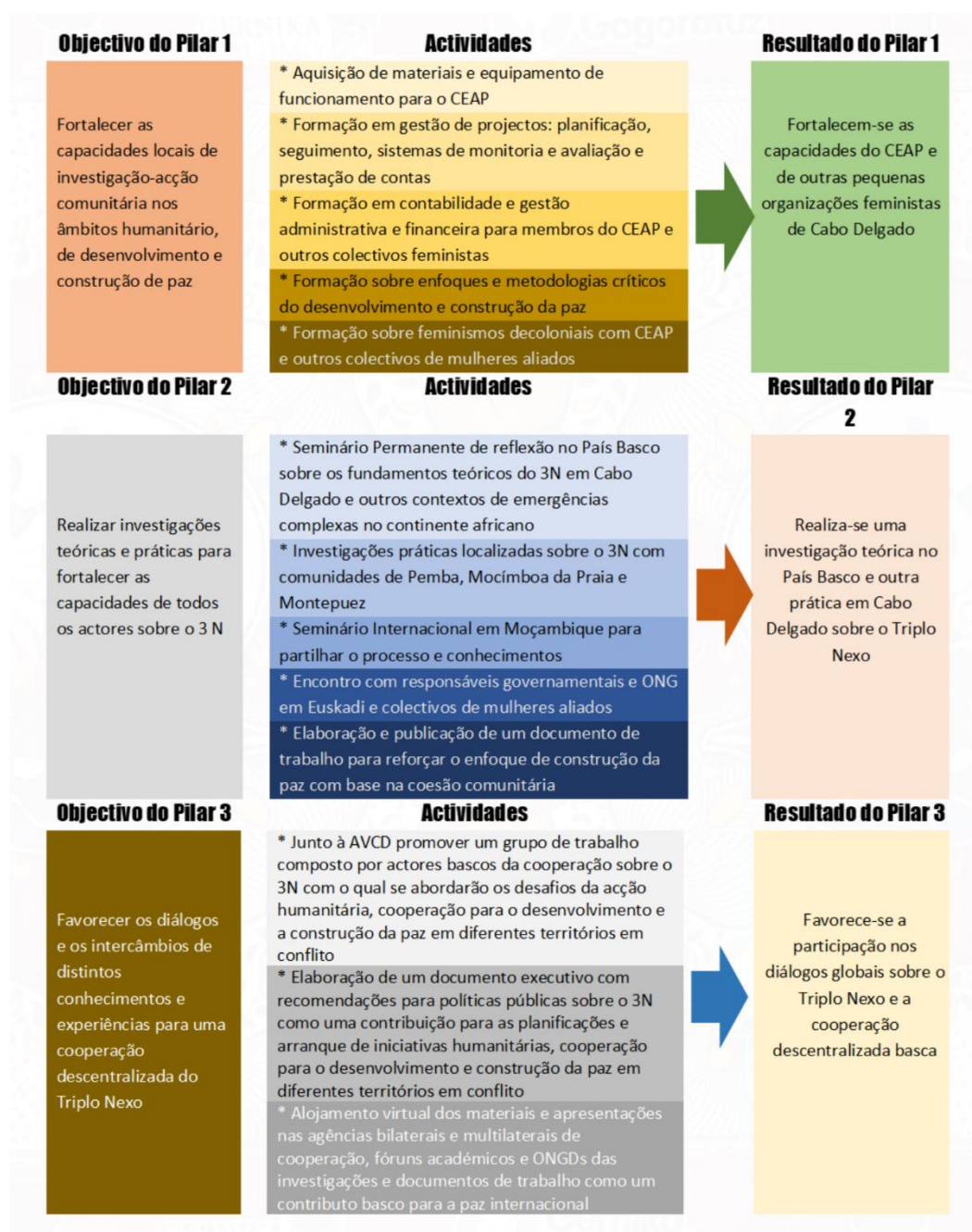


Figure 8 – Organizational structure of the Triple Nexus project

Participatory action research: assumptions, theoretical-ethical principles, equipment, device and tools

The option followed to deepen the debates on the Triple Nexus unfolded into two investigations that occur simultaneously and that are fed by interlocutions. One of the lines of research is the one presented and discussed in this document: participatory action research (PAR) in the field based on local experiences and knowledge and with a strong component of intervention for transformation. The second consists of a cycle of 5 Permanent Seminars whose approach has a more critical theoretical-academic character and aims to reach an audience with more decision-making power regarding the change of institutional policies of United Nations agencies, national governments and large international NGOs. The main objective was to create spaces for critical dialogue between the most dominant theories and what, from Cabo Delgado, was emerging in the form of bottom-up and inside-out learning. This path was instrumental in broadening and strengthening discussions on the Triple Nexus project's.

In the case of PAR, 3 territories were identified to carry out research and social intervention activities. The following map shows the location of each territory where the participatory action research was carried out: to the northeast, the district of Mocímboa da Praia, the neighborhood of Ntende; to the southwest, the district of Montepuez, the administrative post of Mapupulo; and to the southeast, in the city of Pemba, the neighborhood of Cariacó.



Budgets

The conception and design of the research

protocol³⁹ was carried out collaboratively based on the following assumptions:

decolonizing research so that many worlds fit in the world
act to strengthen collective capabilities
participate in the construction of a decolonial feminist critique of power relations between women and men

The first has to do with the idea of *provincializing Europe*, that is, realizing that the dominant knowledge and concepts produced in Europe⁴⁰ as a political and epistemological space are a tiny part of all the knowledge and concepts produced in the world, such as the Triple Nexus. To provincialize Europe is to dismantle its mythical self-image of being the center of the world from which all the ideals of human dignity, well-being and peace radiate to enable postcolonial thinking⁴¹.

The second refers to what we have been learning from our work in the different territories and continents, which is how to take into account the potential and needs of the territories, valuing and strengthening local collective knowledge and skills to promote structuring and culturally anchored transformations.

The third is based on the concept of *feminist close reading*⁴² applied to the reality of Cabo Delgado. This means approaching or reading reality with the purpose, on the one hand, of seeking evidence,

⁴⁰ See, in this regard: Chakrabarti, Dipesh (2009), *Provincializing Europe. Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press

⁴¹ We use the concept of postcolonial in the sense of thinking beyond all forms of colonialism, i.e., the secular European colonial cycle

⁴² Initially used in literary and artistic studies, it is also very productive for a feminist analysis of social processes and relations expressed in different ways. Gutiérrez Repetto, F. & Sánchez Espinosa, A. (2019). 'Promoting Ethical Responsiveness in the Classroom through Science Fiction Literature: A Close Feminist Reading of Joanna Russ's *The Female Man*'. *ReiDoCrea*, 8, 282-291. and Spivak, Gayatri, (1994), 'How to Read a 'Culturally Different' Book. in Barker, Francis, Hulme,

through elements of unconventional analysis, of violence and powers contained in texts and sociocultural practices that may not be evident; and, on the other hand, to apply a feminist approach and reading through which inequalities of power are revealed, but also the resistance to them, based on sexual and social identities, as well as their causes and impacts. This is particularly important in Cabo Delgado, so as not to run the risk of elaborating a discourse of celebration versus victimization of women and their experiences. An *attentive feminist reading* in this sense is undoubtedly a tool that allows us not to simplify what is extremely complex.

Theoretical-ethical principles

Thus, participatory action research (**PAR**) in Cabo Delgado was methodologically conceived and designed based on the following theoretical-ethical principles⁴³:

1

Everything we learn together must serve to empower people and communities to lead their projects and achieve their aspirations and so that we know how to always be by their side with love and respect, supporting,

Everyone has knowledge and expresses it in different ways. You learn and teach with your whole body. There are no people who teach and learn: we are all teachers and learners.

Peter and Iverson, Margaret (eds.), *Colonial Discourse and Postcolonial Theory*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 73-95.

⁴³ Inspired Beginnings in Thought and Works by Alfonso Dubois, Audré Lord, Bel Hooks, Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Gloria Anzaldúa, Lorena Cabnal, Amina Mama, María Galindo, Orlando Fals Borda, Patricia McFadden, Paulo Freire.⁴³ Inspired Beginnings in Thought and Works by Alfonso Dubois, Audré Lord, Bel Hooks, Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Gloria Anzaldúa, Lorena Cabnal, Amina Mama, María Galindo, Orlando Fals Borda, Patricia McFadden, Paulo Freire.

subsidizing, contributing ideas, resources
reinforcing the critical spirit of all.

2

3

Nothing about us and for us, without us' is an ongoing challenge because participation also brings diversity, different and sometimes contradictory points of view, cognitive conflicts, and interests. That is why it is so important to take special care of those who have been silenced the most: women, girls, boys, young people and the elderly so that nothing that seems important to them is left unsaid.

It is important that all the people who are part of the process can validate what we have learned together. Any research product (video, cartographies, drawings, photographs, texts, etc.) must be presented to all the people involved in order to correct, validate and authorise its dissemination.

4

5

Respect for the inalienable dignity of every person and every community.

Transparency in the management and exchange of knowledge and information.

6

7

Confidentiality for security and privacy reasons and so that no material or symbolic damage is caused or new conflicts are promoted.

Decolonizing the language of research

The entire methodological device and tools, as well as the way we recorded and shared our reflections, were designed and implemented in accordance with these principles. With them we want to affirm a clear refusal to become researchers, actors in an extractive industry of knowledge and local social technologies. This decolonizing, feminist approach and strengthening of local collective capacities also forced us to change our vocabulary (because language tells the world) to be more coherent with the principles and ethics of participatory action research:

- We are all researchers, each and every one with different skills and tasks, so we are all indispensable. We don't have research assistants;
- We share knowledge with each other. We do not collect data;
- All men and women are subject to knowledge. We have no informants;
- We force language to recognize at least two declensions of gender or a new neuter. We do not use the universal masculine;
- We write in co-authorship because authorship is authority. To share this authority is to recognize that all knowledge is necessary and important (strong objectivity⁴⁴);

⁴⁴ Ver Haraway, Donna, (1988). 'Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective'. *Feminist Studies*, 14(3), 575-599. E Harding, Sandra, (1987). *Feminism and Methodology*. Indiana University Press

- The methodology is content and not just a set of tools adjusted to the context. It is not the research techniques that have changed, but the way we have appropriated them and used them based on the epistemological and ethical principles that we have defined together.

DESCOLONIZAR A LINGUAGEM DA PESQUISA

A equipa foi constituída por:

Bairro de Ntende, distrito de Mocímboa da Praia



Fotografia 1 - Rosa J. Saize Mutemba



Fotografia 2 - Rábio Sete

Posto administrativo de Mapupulo distrito de Montepuez



Fotografia 3 - Júlia Carlos



Fotografia 4 - Alberto Ernesto

Bairro de Cariacó, distrito de Pemba



Fotografia 5 - Arlete Rubino Xavier



Fotografia 6 - Hermenegildo S. Rogério

Gernika Gogoratuz



Fotografia 7 - Teresa Cunhas



Fotografia 8 - Jokín Alberdi

Conselheiro financeiro do CEAP



Fotografia 9 - Izaquiel Fernandes

The 60 people participating in the MYP

The groups that participated in the workshops were made up of women and men of different age groups representing the various strata of society in each territory. This principle aimed at inclusion, not only physical but also of ideas. A lot of importance was given to valuing the knowledge, beliefs and worldviews that each person has in relation to Humanitarian Aid, Livelihoods and Peacebuilding so that the workshops are rich and enriching. In practical terms, the selection process followed 4 phases:

1st phase

Choose geographically and humanly diverse territories: a) northern region, coastal zone, Kimwani speakers and epicenter of the insurgency, Ntende neighborhood for being the largest reception center for internally displaced persons at the district level – Mocímboa da Praia; b) southwest region, a rural area with a miscellany of Emakhwa and Shimakonde speakers with native and displaced communities, administrative post of Mapupulo⁴⁵ – Montepuez; c) southeast region, urban coastal area, political center of the province, where UN agencies and large international NGOs are based, where most of the people fleeing have moved in previous years, Cariacó – Pemba neighborhood;

2nd phase

To train community researchers, speakers of the various predominant languages of the chosen territories on the objectives of the workshops, methodology and work ethic;

⁴⁵ In addition to the criteria indicated, it was important to choose this territory to continue the work and consolidate the existing relations between these populations and the CEAP developed in previous works and contacts.

3rd phase

Outline the profiles of the key audience taking into account the following criteria: sex, age, social status and area of activity. At this stage, the mapping work of the territories that was carried out previously was very important;

4th phase

A final cumulative selection criterion was introduced: knowledge and the close relationship between the PAR team and potential participants. The reasons given for taking this criterion into account have to do with the fact that we are developing the research in a context of conflict in which mistrust plays a decisive role in the impossibility of advancing in dialogues and collaborations. Therefore, knowing the people, knowing what languages they speak or understand, what their religious choices and lineages are, has helped a lot to fulfill our goal of not causing harm or creating new conflicts.

In this way, in each territory, 20 people were identified as key actors, of which 12 were women and 8 men, making up 60 in total.



Photo 1 Humanitarian Aid Workshop in Mapupulo



Photo 2 Workshop on livelihoods in Cariacó



Photo 3 Livelihood workshop in Ntende



Photograph 4 Workshop on peacebuilding in Cariacó



Photo 5 Socialization of the IAP in Ntende



Photo 6 Socialization of the MYP in Mapupulo



Photo 7 Preparation work for workshops in Cariacó



Photograph 8 Arrival and distribution of livelihoods in Ntende, Mocímboa da Praia

Constraints encountered and solutions put into practice

In this process, some limits and restrictions were encountered. Faced with some of the problems, the most appropriate solutions were found within the existing possibilities. We then pointed out the top five, two of which were not in our power to fully resolve:

1. After the first workshop on Humanitarian Aid, it was discovered that in Mapupulo there was a greater number of participants who spoke the Shimakonde language compared to those who were fluent in Emakhua, while in Cariacó the opposite scenario occurred. Thus, the need arose to change part of the team: Alberto was responsible with Júlia for the workshops in Mapupulo, and Hermenegildo with Arlete was responsible for the work in Cariacó. This exchange was very important, as it increased the flow of communication and allowed us not to rely so much on translations made by researchers in the local community. In addition, he ensured the inclusion and comfort of the participants, since the workshops were held in a bilingual format: Emakhua – Portuguese, Shimakonde – Portuguese and Kimwani – Portuguese (in Mocímboa da Praia). In other words, the workshops were held in the community, for the community and with the community in the languages of the communities and in the presence of people well known to the community, which gained sympathy and trust within the groups.
2. The option of delivering only women's livelihood kits generated some conflict, as the men present considered the measure unfair, and some of them did not attend the Workshop on Peacebuilding in Cariacó as a form of protest. While the choice was based on the repeatedly tested empirical knowledge that it is women who are responsible for providing food for their families and that it is they who manage the family economy with respect to survival goods, we need to better weigh two other issues in subsequent initiatives. The first has to do with the

local construction of masculine identities in which, whether true or not, the man sees himself as the provider of the family. Denying him that status touches his own idea of personal dignity. This means that it is necessary to better understand the construction of masculinities and the place of the figure of the provider, as well as to do prior work with men in this regard. The second is to collectively question ourselves about the meanings attributed to equality and inequality between women and men in order to be able to put forward proposals for non-discrimination and the dismantling of hate speech based on sexual identity that can be understood and capable of transforming, from within, the enormous current imbalances in this regard. The dominant concepts of the so-called mainstream gender, such as gender equality, gender-based violence or the sexual division of labour, remain largely inoperative in these contexts, contributing very little to structural changes because they do not understand or work with local specificities and understandings that are far beyond their Western logic from which they come.

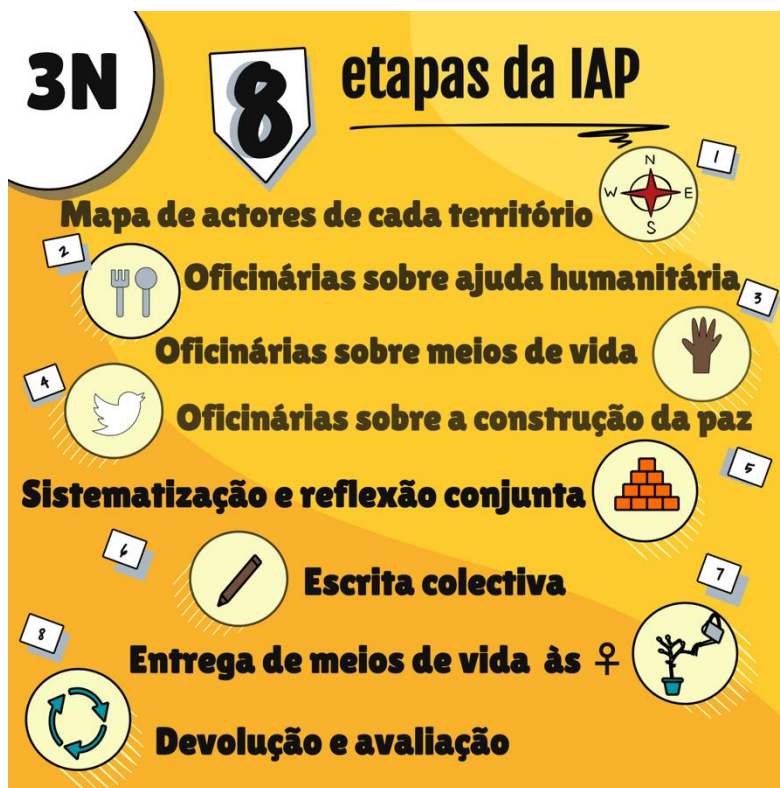
3. The third limitation found was the state of the roads and safety with respect to mobility within the province. This meant long and potentially dangerous road trips between Pemba, Montepuez and Pemba and Mocímboa da Praia. Being outside our decision-making capabilities, a risk analysis was always carried out before each trip and it was decided not to make the necessary trips alone to increase personal resources in case of an accident or some other problem.
4. When doing the initial planning, the delivery of the livelihood kits to the participants of the workshops in Ntende, Mocímboa da Praia, was not considered in budgetary and logistical terms. Thus, faced with the problem, the IAP Motor Group decided to mobilize several actors to make this delivery possible. He had the collaboration of the municipality of Mocímboa da Praia and the district administration to get a car for transportation; Ayuda en Acción facilitated the storage of goods until they were transported; and, finally, by mutual agreement, the consortium responsible for the project (GgG, AeA and CEAP) made the budgetary change that made it possible to provide this transport with the necessary financial means. In the

planning and budgeting of nearby projects, these particularities of the terrain should be better understood and considered.

5. Finally, it is important to highlight that both the electoral campaign period and the post-electoral violence that has plagued Mozambique since October 21 have profoundly changed the material and psychological conditions of the people. Insecurity, police repression, the expectation of the possibility of a peaceful solution, popular violence against the regime did not allow the activities that were planned for the months of November and December 2024 to take place, namely: meetings to validate lessons learned and follow-up on livelihood projects, as well as a workshop on hate speech and peacebuilding with the participation of key elements – women and men – of local society, deepen collective capacities to advance the reflections and solutions necessary to end the war and pacify society. These activities have been suspended and it is expected that the security conditions will be met and also the psychological availability to carry them out.

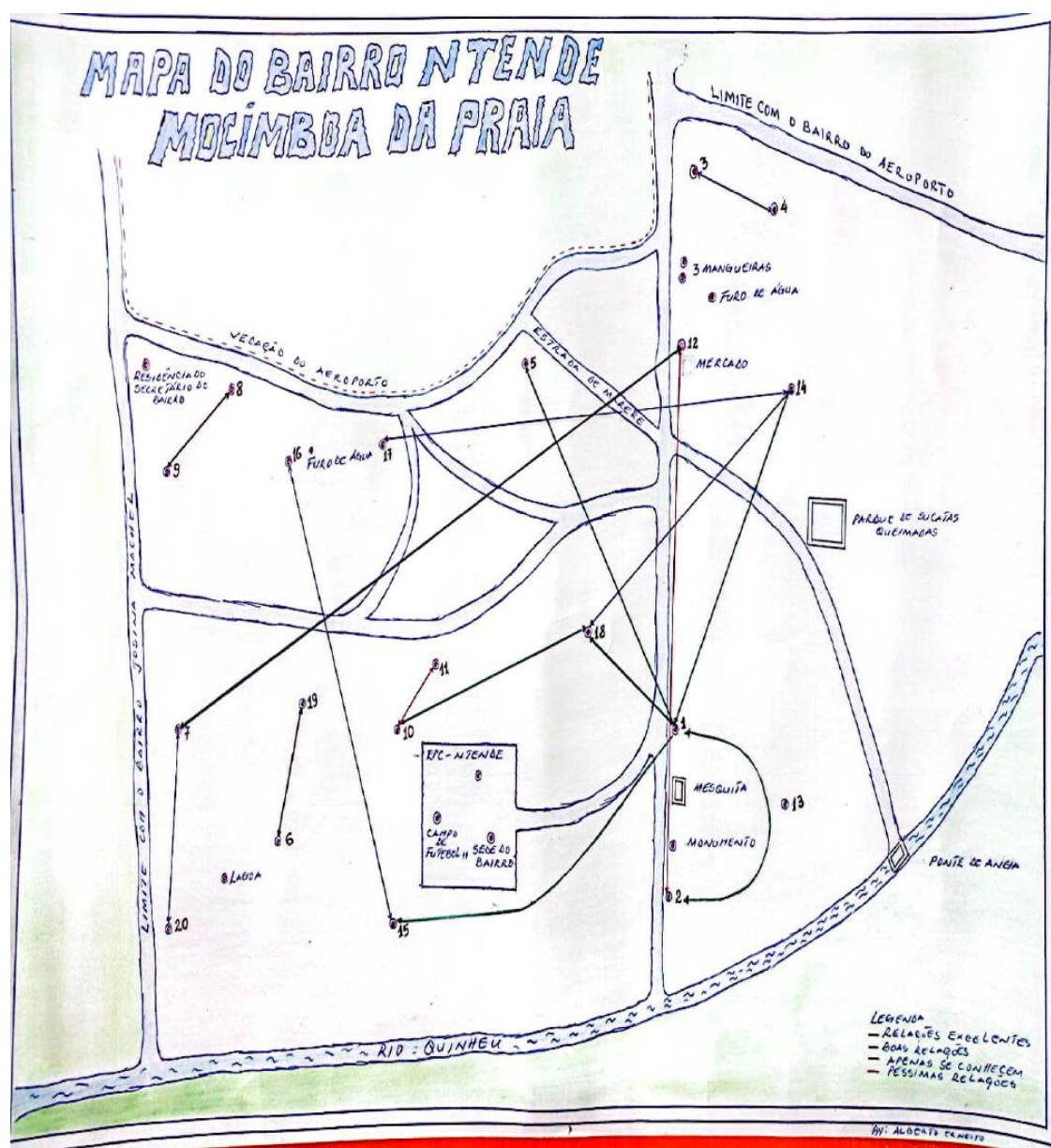
Device Activities and Tools

Participatory action research was structured in 8 stages:

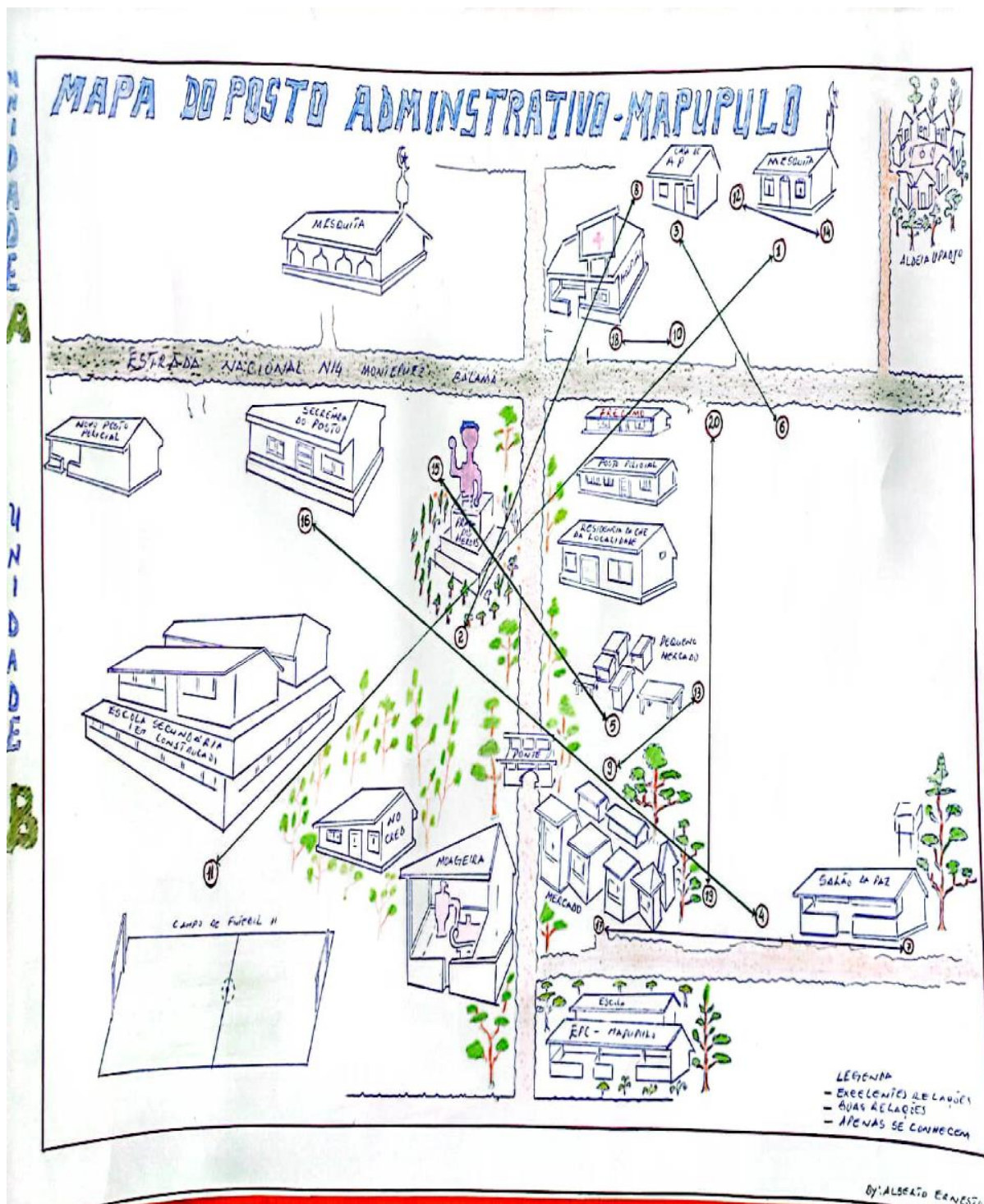


Each step was accompanied and supplemented by reflective field diaries, interim reports, and team meetings. Each stage had its objectives that, together, aimed to ensure the internal coherence of the entire process:

The **maps of the actors** served not only to know the territory in detail, but above all to understand the relationships between the various social actors present there and how this determined power relations, mechanisms of discrimination or inclusion. This exercise was also important as a way for the team to be known by the community and was also an instrument of dialogue with local authorities, which is absolutely necessary in these contexts to ensure the safety of all participants.



Photograph 9 Map of the Ntende neighborhood



Photograph 10 Map of the Mapupulo Administrative Post

UNIDADE - 1 ZONA DO CENTRO DE SAUDE	UNIDADE - 2 ZONA DE LITORAL	UNIDADE - 3 ZONA DE ESCOLHAS DE LITORAL	UNIDADE - 4 ZONA DA GALP	UNIDADE - 5 ZONA DE ALTO PRAIA	UNIDADE - 6 ZONA DE CHURUBARRI
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The **Workshops** – a fusion of workshops-practical and collaborative activities- and seminars - activities of reflection and debate- had three main objectives:

To put the three dimensions of the Triple Nexus to the reflection and discussion of each focus group in each territory;

Learn from these reflections what their limits and absences are;

Make proposals for the future⁴⁶.



In the case of the workshops on Livelihoods – the name given locally to what they define, in part, as development – they were divided into two different moments: the first was a reflection on what development means locally, its contents, its names in local languages and what the aspirations of the populations are. The second consisted of identifying what the needs of each participating woman would be to start a small business or income-generating activity and, with that, begin to walk towards her own aspiration of what a better life is. The **collective writing** stage was fundamental to create a

⁴⁶ Both the plans of each workshop and the corresponding diaries and reflective reports can be consulted on the project page.

more complete and comprehensive vision of the research and the learning and experiences it implied and the record of the knowledge and learning it proposed. Its main methodologies were: the exchange of diaries, reports, photographs and team meetings to talk about the events, the findings and learnings, the limits and limitations encountered, the potentialities identified, the exchange of criticisms of the 3N from the practices lived.

The circulation among all the various written versions for successive corrections and revisions *by the members*⁴⁷, until reaching a consensual and co-authored version of the written products was fundamental for the appropriation of the team and the strengthening of our personal and collective capacities.

As expected, after the identification made by the women in the workshops, **those means of subsistence** were acquired and delivered that, in their opinion, and within the budget of the project would be necessary for them to start their small businesses and face dependence on humanitarian aid, whether provided by the neighborhood or by other institutions. These deliveries were made through locally designed ceremonies, such was the value given to the event.

Return and evaluation. In a society where the absence of basic resources for daily survival is so serious, we are aware that the products we have made available may have served, in some cases, not to start the agreed small businesses, but to satisfy the family's most immediate hunger. This fact has to be understood so that we can make a deeper reflection on the material and symbolic value of this type of initiative so that it does not contribute even more to the commodification of relations of solidarity. This understanding will be supported by an ex-post evaluation process with the groups of women who received those livelihoods by listening not only to how they were used, but also to the

⁴⁷ It refers to a technique of feedback and validation of research results in which all the people involved are called upon to pronounce on them, so the name given to it is member verification. See: Caretta, M. A. (2016). Member verification: a feminist participatory analysis of the use of preliminary results booklets in intercultural and multilingual research. *Qualitative Research*, 16(3), 305–318

results of their use. This process involves returning to each of the territories and groups and carrying out participatory consultations through attentive and respectful listening.

Follow-up evaluation: the case of Mapupulo

A follow-up evaluation work was carried out on the immediate impact of the livelihood kit delivered to women to better understand how the process developed, the difficulties encountered by them, the conflicts of benefits and the constraints that arose to better understand the local gender dynamics and also improve this type of initiatives in the future. Due to the magnitude of the work carried out, we have chosen to present here exclusively the monitoring and evaluation work carried out at the Administrative Post of Mapupulo, Montepuez, located in the southern part of the province of Cabo Delgado, on March 14, 2025.

Evaluation methodology in Mapupulo

The assessment was conducted with door-to-door visits to the homes of the 10 women who received the kits and, in some cases, to the locations where the kits were produced or performed in commercial activities. Techniques such as direct observation, interviews, photographic records and documentary analysis were used to better understand the current situation of each of them. In addition, it was considered essential to listen to the analysis made by each of them on the process of implementation, or not, of their initial business project.

The following indicators (observed and reported) were taken into account to measure the results obtained: (1) reduction of dependence on humanitarian aid; (2) increase incomes and (3) improve food

security. The active participation of the local community researcher contributed significantly to the success of this process.

The process recounted by them: the testimonies

Marcelina Eduardo

Marcelina reported that, after selling the products received, she used a large part of the money to acquire a piece of land where she plans to build her own house. She stressed the importance of owning her own home, stating that depending exclusively on her husband's house can represent a vulnerability, since he could, at any time, evict her along with her children. Part of the resources were also invested in her farm, guaranteeing her greater financial autonomy. In addition, Marcelina revealed that, since she received the kits, she has not had to request financial help for her children's medical expenses. He has used the sugar received in the kit to distill and sell brandy, known locally as Nipa, which has generated income to meet small household needs. He expressed his great gratitude for the support received.

Review Notes: Due to the power crisis caused by Storm Jude, it was not possible to take pictures at the time of the visit. However, clear evidence of distillation and commercialization of Nipa was observed. In the community, the 350 ml bottle is sold at 20 MZN.

Justina Adão

According to Justina, the commercialization of some items, such as spaghetti pasta and capulanas, was slower than expected. To get around this situation, he chose to exchange capulanas with pensioners, receiving vouchers in return. The money obtained was used to acquire Mamba, an

essential herbicide for the cultivation of sesame, considered a crop of high economic value in the region.

In addition, Justina has saved 4,000 MZN in a community savings account⁴⁸, which will be formalized in April. In the meantime, it continues to distill Nipa to generate small yields and meet basic needs, especially due to the low demand for edible products during the rainy season, when most people are engaged in agriculture. Justina pointed out that cooking oil was the best-selling product, albeit with reduced profit margins, while tomato paste was not accepted in her area. She believes wheat has greater sales potential, allowing for the production of fried foods, known as Mandazi, which are popular in the region.

Review Notes: We identified evidence of Nipa production and marketing, including customers consuming the beverage. We also noticed a plastic flag, the local symbol of the points of sale of alcoholic beverages.

⁴⁸ These are non-bank savings systems typically practiced by women that are structured in a variety of ways, but have similar objectives: to encourage savings for the achievement of one or more costly goals; Promote budgetary discipline considered a core competence in the management of resources, namely financial resources.



Photograph 12 A plastic bandeirola: Nipa bandage point

Rosalina Eugénio

Rosalina reported that she stopped producing fried foods, known as Mandazi, due to the high cost of cooking oil. However, the money obtained from the sale of the products was deposited in his savings account. In December, when he opened the safe, he used the resources to rehabilitate his house and carry out the electrical installation. Some of the money was also invested in his farm. He continued to distill Nipa and save money.

With the support received, Rosalina said she no longer needs to do "ganhari," a type of work in which she helped other people in the field for payment. This year, for the first time, she was able to buy school uniforms for her children. He mentioned that, if possible, he would like to receive more sugar and wheat. In addition, he acquired two sacks of Kotchoko, a kind of dried cashew nut used in the distillation of Nipa.

Evaluation notes: Evidence was found of the rehabilitation of the house and electrical installation, as well as the production and sale of Nipa. It was possible to record at least one image on site.

Sofia Momedede

Sofia reported that she was able to buy six sheets of zinc with the profits obtained, as well as reserve part of the wheat in good condition until the date of the visit. With the proceeds, he also rehabilitated his house that had been damaged by Cyclone Jude. Some capulans were used as payment for the women who helped her in the field, while two pairs were reserved for personal use.

Evaluation notes: In the workshops, Sofia highlighted that her development concept included the construction of a house with a zinc roof. Although his initial goal was to acquire 30 slabs, he was able to invest in 6 slabs with the sales made, demonstrating determination to achieve his goals. During the

visit, we reviewed the rehabilitated house with the resources obtained that reflected their approach and planning.

Teresa Valério

Teresa explained that she stopped producing Mandazi due to the high costs of cooking oil. However, with the profits obtained from the sale of other products, they were deposited in the community's savings account. In December, when he opened the safes, he used part of the money to rehabilitate his house and carry out the electrical installation, applying the rest to his farm. Currently, he is dedicated to the distillation of Nipa and continues to save money.

Teresa señaló que, por primera vez, pudo comprar uniformes para su hijo y dijo que este fue el único año en el que no tuvo que realizar trabajos ocasionales en otros campos para satisfacer las necesidades básicas de su familia. Mencionó que, si tuviera la oportunidad de recibir más apoyo, le gustaría un refuerzo en los rubros de azúcar, capulanas y trigo, ya que estos productos han tenido gran aceptación en términos de ventas. Además, con las ganancias obtenidas, adquirió dos sacos de Kotchoko, un material esencial para la producción de Nipa.



Photographs 13 – Teresa's house plastered with cement

Notas de evaluación: Observamos que las paredes de la casa estaban reforzadas con cemento y la instalación eléctrica había sido terminada. También confirmamos que la producción y venta de Nipa en la casa de Teresa estaban en marcha, contribuyendo a brindar mayor comodidad a su vida.

Albertina António

Albertina explained that, after selling the products, she invested part of the money in the field, specifically in the cultivation of sesame, and another part was used for savings. In addition, he used part of the merchandise to help his brother, displaced from Nairoto, to set up a small stall in his mother's house, where he now works. Currently, Albertina continues to distill Nipa, but reported that the business is not thriving as it once did. According to her, customers prefer Kotchoko distilled Nipa because they believe that the version made with sugar affects male virility. This forced Albertina and other local producers to use Kotchoko, which increased competition, as many neighbors also produce Nipa. She also mentioned that the colorful capulanas were not well accepted in her area, being nicknamed "António Kanrimela" (António will never get lost), an irony about her striking colors, which make the person visible from a distance.

Review scores: Evidence of the sale of Nipa was observed and there were indications that the beneficiary herself also consumed the drink. Although we did not visit her brother's stall, the community researcher confirmed that the products are sold there at her mother's house. During the conversation, the researcher mentioned that Albertina has a son who studies in Montepuez and, occasionally, manages to cover his school needs with the income obtained.



Photograph 13 Albertina's still

Cristina Henriques

Cristina reported that, after selling the products received, she invested part of the money in her sesame field, which is considered a cash crop in the region. Another portion of the proceeds was used to enroll her daughter in 12th grade and buy school supplies. Currently, it maintains the business of producing Nipa and selling Mandazi. Cristina pointed out that, if she received more support, she would request a reinforcement of products such as washing powder, tomato paste and capulanas.

Review Notes: During the visit, we confirmed the sale of Nipa, finding a customer consuming the drink. It was not possible to visit the farms due to the distance from the community and the limited time available to travel.



Photographs 22 and 23 - Cristina's house and still

Zita Damião

Zita explained that, when she received the products, she entrusted the management of the business to her youngest son. At first, sales generated daily returns of 5,000 to 7,000 MZN. However, the appearance of a new store in the community, with lower prices, reduced the pace of business. Still, his son continued to drive the grocery store at the local market. Zita mentioned that the most sought-

after products were sugar, cooking oil, rice and broth, while capulanas faced lower acceptance, leaving some units in stock.

Review Notes: After the testimonials, Zita invited us to visit the market where her son sells the products. We were impressed by the resilience and success achieved, being a notable example in Mapupulo. Zita was the only one who managed to keep a grocery store operating sustainably, in addition to generating employment for her son.



Photo 24 – Zita and her youngest son's grocery store

Raquel Cipriano

Raquel, pregnant at the time she received the kits to set up a hairdresser, asked her brother-in-law for support to market the products. His brother-in-law passed the goods to a friend without her consent, and neither of them handed over the remaining profits or stock. This episode marked a major failure at the beginning of his journey. With the salon machines she received, Raquel tried to open a hairdressing business and hired a boy to do the men's cuts. However, the employee did not render adequate accounts. After replacing the child, Raquel faced another setback when her machines were

stolen, leaving only the mirror, unusable for the business. Despite the challenges, she stated that if she had a second chance, she would insist on the salon kit because it is what she knows and likes to do.

Evaluation notes: We could see that the strategy followed by Raquel in entrusting her kit to her brother-in-law was followed by a series of problems of disappointing her expectations and also her power to resolve them in her favor. This case shows well the still persistent imbalance of power between women and men.



Photographs 25 and 26 - Rachel's Broken Mirror

Zita Ntchumali

Zita said he sold almost all the products received, except for tomato paste, and invested in Mandazi's business. After accumulating the value of the sales, he traveled to the city of Pemba where he acquired 10 more pieces of capulanas to expand his business. Strategic, Zita decided not to sell cooking oil, as she knew she would need it for the production of fried foods, which contributed to the success of her trip.

When asked how she managed to sell all the Capulanas in a period when the other women claimed to have struggled, Zita explained that the business requires dynamism. She toured the homes of the women of the community and even visited peripheral areas of the administrative post to present and sell their products, ensuring a high turnover.

In addition, Zita mentioned that, as an internally displaced person, she had a dream of acquiring her own space, instead of continuing to live in a borrowed house. After reselling the capulanas, he hired laborers to build a modest house now covered in zinc sheets. During the rainy season, he decided to pause the Capulanas business to wait for the harvest season, but stressed that he maintains financial reserves to resume his activities. Zita considers herself fulfilled for achieving the dream of having her own home.

Evaluation Notes: Business skills were critical to Zita's success, as well as to its strategic vision. This also means that thinking before you act can be the key to success.



Photograph 27 – Zita's new house

Key learnings and analyses carried out

As it is a rural area, most of the beneficiaries decided to sell the products received and invest the profits obtained in agriculture, especially in the cultivation of sesame, which is widely recognized as a cash crop in the region. This investment reflects women's confidence in the economic potential of this agricultural activity to improve their livelihoods and generate income.

Another aspect that received significant attention was the improvement of housing conditions, the construction of new houses or the acquisition of their own spaces. For many of these women, homeownership represents more than a refuge; It is a symbol of autonomy and overcoming situations of vulnerability and humiliation experienced, many times, in relation to their spouses. Thus, by having the opportunity to build their own homes or secure a safe space, beneficiaries experienced not only financial advances, but also a significant improvement in quality of life and housing independence.

In addition, the support received has played a crucial role in addressing the impacts of climate change, which often affect the community in the form of tropical storms and cyclones, such as Cyclone Chido and Cyclone Jude (December 2024 and January 2025). The housing improvements made with the

proceeds helped mitigate the undesirable effects of these weather events, providing greater security and stability to women and their families.

The production of moonshine, known locally as Nipa, became a viable alternative for many women who lacked skills or experience in the grocery business. The fact that it is a non-perishable product allowed them to work on their farms without excessive concerns about theft or spoilage of the products. In addition, Nipa is widely consumed by the community, both men and women, serving not only as a source of income, but also as a cultural element associated with leisure. However, there are concerns that this consumption may be a threat to public health and also, when consumed in abundance, a factor that can enhance the use of violence. More detailed research will be able to better understand this phenomenon and its impacts.

Among these ten women, only one managed to maintain the grocery business profitably. This initiative not only ensured its financial sustainability, but also generated a self-employment opportunity for the son who recently graduated from the nursing course. Faced with the difficulties of finding formal employment, he took over the management of the business, demonstrating competence and contributing to the success of the activity. However, there are concerns that these support strategies mask the lack of public employment policies and the responsibility of the State to protect and guarantee the livelihoods of its population.

The commitment and determination of some of these women were crucial. A striking example was that of a beneficiary who, during the workshops on Living Well, defined her concept of development as the construction of a house with a zinc sheet roof and set this goal consistently. Although he initially asked the project for 30 plaques, he knew how to adapt to the context. After selling the products received, he immediately invested in the purchase of 6 plates, showing his patience and focus to finally make his dream come true completely.

Challenges and failures

Among all the beneficiaries, only one can be considered a case of failure. This result was due to the infidelity of close relatives and the theft of equipment that could be used to generate income. These adversities significantly compromised her ability to achieve the project's goals, generating frustration for both her and the initiative.

Persistent challenges:

Overall, while the results are encouraging in indicating a trend towards achieving modest financial self-sufficiency, it is clear that there is still a long way to go to achieve more meaningful results. Significant barriers remain, such as high levels of poverty, low literacy rates, and the prevalence of deviant behaviors, such as theft suffered by one of the participants. This theft was driven by gender stereotypes that link activities such as the use of hair clippers exclusively to men. They also show the strong power imbalances between women and men, as mentioned above. In addition, impunity for crimes that occur in the family environment, such as the case of the young woman's brother-in-law who was not accountable to the beneficiary, and dissatisfaction with the end of humanitarian aid, reflected in the tendency to seek continuous support, are factors that hinder the expected pace of the process of change.

These barriers can act as barriers to improving the living conditions of both women and girls and the community itself. However, it was possible to identify signs of positive change as each participant pursued their dreams and goals for personal and social development. This was evidenced in the reallocation of investments to areas where each believed they had the greatest potential, such as distilling and marketing Nipa, growing sesame or improving their homes. Such behavior reflects the positive impact of the workshops that conveyed the idea that Living Well is something that has many

faces (decolonizing the concept of development) and often aligned with endogenous individual and community worldviews. Although the income was still modest, the degree of satisfaction on the faces of these women was noticeable. It is also suggested that additional training be provided to improve knowledge about livelihoods and success factors, as well as the design of strategies to correct errors and limitations observed before expanding the initiative to a larger number of participants.

7 Reflections, analysis and learning



Limits and Absences of the Main Debates on the Triple Nexus (3N)

All the work carried out in the territories with the participants and local leaders has given rise to various elements of reflection and analysis to which we dedicate this section. We begin with some general reflections that have to do with what we are calling the limits of the theoretical-analytical framework of some of the foundations of the Triple Nexus proposal. In a second phase, we will approach the specific context of Cabo Delgado and point out the main absences that were identified, articulating them with the aspirations expressed, the wisdoms and local practices that emerged throughout the research. These two thoughtful movements will be the foundation for the policy recommendations that will follow.

Limits

Limits of the 3 N mainstream

Location policies where only scale changes

Colonial condescension

The supposed universality of concepts

The most prominent limit of the dominant approach of the 3Ns that we want to analyze is the inability to decentralize Northwestern thought, including that of its critical schools.

We can use it, to qualify this limit, as an insistent manifestation of the colonality of knowledge and power⁴⁹ that remains in the narratives and policies exported to the global south, despite the existence of multiple critiques of the modern European project made from within. These schools of critical thinking are often socially and politically progressive and epistemologically conservative.

Distinguimos los siguientes nudos ciegos teórico-analíticos a través de los cuales estas relaciones coloniales y coloniales se hacen evidentes:

1º The localization policy

The importance of the scales of action for each of the three pillars of N3 has been widely understood by the different actors on the ground. On the other hand, the need to increase efficiency and to adapt interventions to the *so-called target populations*⁵⁰, the argument for following the 3N localization policies has been developed. However, what seems to be at stake is not the location policies through collaborative diagnoses and participatory planning with the communities that inhabit the territories. Therefore, we must raise doubts and questions about whether the so-called localization policies mean, in essence, a reduction in the scale of the action of institutional and organizational subjects without changing their assumptions, contents, methodologies and, much less, questioning the rationality that informs what we call development cooperation. That is, much of what is considered localization policy runs the risk of maintaining what is prescribed from the outside in (exogenous) and from the top

⁴⁹ See: Migñolo Walter (2002), *Local Histories / Global Designs*. Coloniality, subaltern knowledge and border thinking. Madrid: Akal.

⁵⁰ If we stop to think about what, materially and symbolically, this expression means, we see that on the one hand the *population* is something indistinct and mute, becoming a *target* of our interventions. In other words, there is no room for dialogue, in the deep sense of the word, but the clear definition of who is a subject and who is thought of as an object. As we argued earlier, language tells the world we have or want to have.

down (authoritarian) but on a scale called "local". In addition, the definition of the local also contains the ambiguity of presenting itself as a measure in which all contexts qualified as such must fit together without major problematization⁵¹.

2º The universalizing claim of concepts

The creation of the concept of the Triple Nexus, formulated in terms of the close articulation between humanitarian aid, development and peace, has not been accompanied by epistemological caution to question, from the beginning, each of the constituent subconcepts. This points to an idea of a single source of authority and cognitive legitimacy that defines that all human groups, in their diversity, attribute to these ideas/concepts the same contents and designate, in the same way, the realities to which they point. The social contexts, the historical processes, the diverse worldviews, the languages through which the world is said, the social and cultural constructions of each element of material and symbolic life, the conjunctures and political structures of each social body that inhabits and is inhabited by a territory, seem to matter little or nothing. It is based on the principle of the universal value of these concepts elaborated in a restricted space-time, to which a tiny part of humanity belongs, which is the so-called Northwest. Thus, all the cognitive and conceptual objections or dissidences that are misaligned with this universalizing claim of this rationality and its supremacy over all others that are discarded as useless or as obstacles to the achievement of the political objectives of these imagined centers are left out, to use Benedict Anderson's idea⁵², totally alien and distant.

⁵¹ An in-depth analysis on the topic of decentralized peacebuilding initiatives can be found in: Alberdi, Jokin, Oianguren, María, Zambrano-Quintero, Liliana, Font, Tica (2024), *Guide for local peace agendas and decentralized cooperation: guidelines for the strengthening of local public peace policies*. Barcelona: Diputació de Barcelona.

⁵² Anderson, Benedict (1991), *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Diffusion of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

3rd Colonial Condensation

Even taking into account the good intentions that a Triple Bond policy may have, it cannot be overlooked that: if the diagnoses of the humanitarian aid needs of populations in need are not collaborative, but prescribed, and if the vision and development objectives and aspirations for peace are conceived and implemented by others, and not by the populations who are victims of armed violence of various kinds, this is a condescending vision of a colonial type. We perceive this contemporary colonial condensation:

The creation of humanitarian, development and peacebuilding interventionism, which relieves nation states⁵³ and their governments of their obligations to their citizens, in particular with regard to the effective implementation of social public policies and transparency in accountability;	The privatization of international cooperation and solidarity policies through the allocation of enormous financial resources to NGOs, putting them at the service of the political objectives of donor countries;	In the progressive dismantling and disappearance of the collective potentialities and capacities of the 'helped' groups and countries, recreating and resignifying the idea, so colonial, that they are incapable of governing themselves
In the progressive dismantling and disappearance of the collective potentialities and capacities of the 'helped' groups and countries, recreating and resignifying the idea, so colonial, that they are incapable of governing themselves	In a <i>gender current</i> that depoliticizes and decontextualizes women's struggles in the global south that does not attend to the ideas of emancipation and dignity of concrete women	In the resignification and reinforcement of the creatures of the patriarchies of yesterday and today: the virile, white man or a good imitator of this seminal colonial whiteness⁵⁴, in the contemporary incarnations of: warrior, chief, provider, authority, giver, partner, etc., and who continue to be the measure of all things and the holders of systems of privileges.

Figure 13 – Debates absent in 3N

⁵³ Dialogue with governments so that there is dialogue with the executive bodies of sovereign countries to make interventions feasible does not constitute a pedagogy of the accountability of either governments or states. Without politicizing the conceptual debates of the 3N and the political economy of the world to act for global justice, humanitarian aid, like development cooperation policies, are mere social cushions created from the outside in and with a very weak transformative potential.

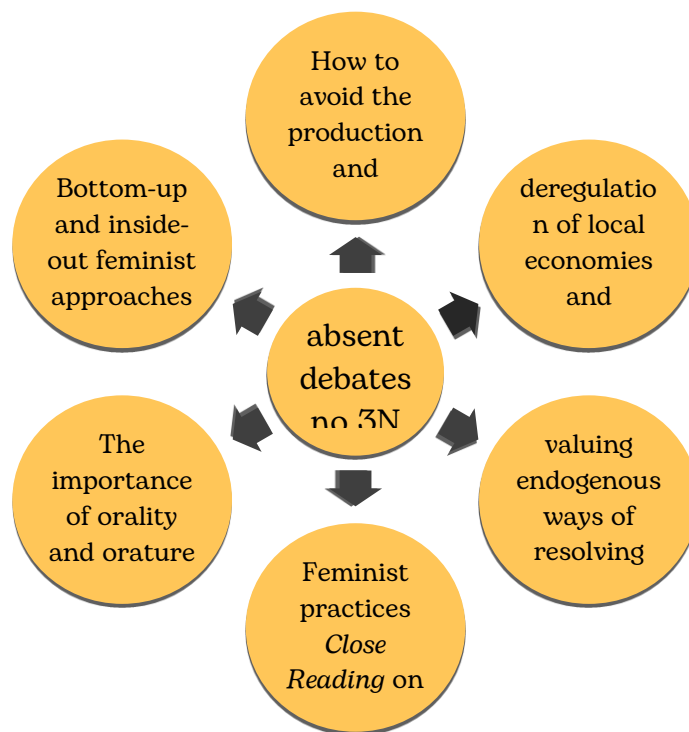
⁵⁴ See: Bhabha, Homi K. *The location of the culture*. London: Routledge, 1994.

The policies of the Triple Nexus must be strongly questioned about the possibility of being part of the contemporary colonial system⁵⁵ by participating, even if indirectly, in the maintenance of deep global inequalities and dependencies, even if it is presented, contradictorily, as a mechanism to correct and positively transform these same inequalities and dependencies.

Absences

Our critical analysis of 3N reveals a number of absences on matters that seem to be considered irrelevant or even dispensable from consideration and attention. The fieldwork, with the people participating in the workshops and the teams of community researchers as protagonists, triggered the opening of a series of cognitive portals and the reflection on some absences in the *mainstream* of the Triple Nexus from the concrete contexts and terms of the people involved in the three territories of Cabo Delgado.

⁵⁵ Which is not a political and administrative occupation, for the most part, it is still an effective form of colonialism.



In our opinion, these are some absences that should be the subject of reflection:

1st absence: ¿How to avoid the deregulation of local economies and the increase in corruption related to it and the new conflicts that this deregulation creates?

The first portal for reflection refers to the exponential increase in the cost of living that humanitarian aid actions and the execution of development cooperation projects have entailed. This is a finding that is repeated in the different surveys. The deregulation of the economy through the sudden influx of huge amounts of money to buy necessities during an emergency has culminated in speculation by local merchants and escalating consumer prices and consequent rise in corruption from the bottom up. On the other hand, the hiring of local civil servants and the attribution of salaries well above the average, although profoundly different from those of expatriates, created a social imbalance that gave

rise to new conflicts, competition and the artificial creation of small local elites. There is a recognition by the institutions of these problems, but what seems to be lacking is the construction of alternative humanitarian aid protocols that mitigate these negative impacts as much as possible and that are not corrected after the emergency period. The market does not regulate itself and corruption does not regenerate from within.

2nd absence: how to avoid the production and reproduction of dependencies on humanitarian aid among the populations assisted by it?

As one IAP team member put it, the way humanitarian aid arrived and was implemented in Cabo Delgado created a conditioned reflex of dependency rather than providing conditions for populations to rebuild their lives through their own initiatives and skills.

Careful analysis cannot rule out some of the factors that prevent a more positive and proactive reaction from populations and that are beyond the scope of the distribution of humanitarian aid. On the one hand, trauma. The mental and emotional conditions of these populations do not allow them to act as if nothing had happened. This must be taken into account and emergency humanitarian aid must be accompanied by support at this level. The second is displacement outside their origin, which breaks family ties and support networks, destroys the sense of belonging and the ability to use resources, which may exist, because they are not familiar with them or are simply not accessible to them because they are private. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, is the absence of state public policies for access to land and coastal and riparian areas so that populations can produce food and do their small businesses. In the face of these problems, the arrival of humanitarian aid has been

understood as one of the few possibilities to see their tragedy recognized and the opportunity to be able to access some survival goods. Despite the violence involved in the process (such as transactional sex and the corruption of local authorities and leaders), humanitarian aid has come to represent much more than it should be: a different day, with little more than nothing. If the dependencies created are explainable and understandable, the absence of more integrative and demanding strategies in the face of the obligations of the State in the province in the face of the situation, should be understood as one of the issues to be debated in the scope of the Triple Nexus.

3rd absence: How to build feminist approaches to violence against women from local and bottom-up contexts? In other words, how to decolonize a feminist vision of the 3N?

We consider that there is an absence in the treatment of violence against women and girls in Cabo Delgado. The increase and diversification of sexual and other violence committed against women and girls in these contexts needs to be perceived on women's own terms. The first idea they convey is that there are no innocents in the processes of violence. Women denounce the abuses to which they are subjected by insurgents, national and foreign security forces, staff of NGOs and UN agencies, local authorities or family members. On the other hand, many of the abuses and violence narrated are also beyond the concepts of the glossaries of *mainstream feminism* and include forms of disrespect and attack on dignity that are not perceptible if there is no mental space to identify and value these cognitive and emotional divergences on the subject. For example: is sex for food, to which many women are subjected, as serious or more serious than abandonment by husbands when we are faced

with forms of conjugality based, not on romantic love, but on lineages and the importance of complementarities that give them status and authority in the community? There are no deep and sensitive reflections on the matter, much less consistent research projects and methodologies. We note the absence of studies for the institution of true policies to reduce and eliminate violence against women of all ages without the prevalence of *dominant gender* bias, which is often adopted uncritically, appearing only as a mandatory item on the *checklist* of access to international financing, followed by proselytizing conferences on the subject aimed at the so-called "beneficiaries" who, in turn, continue to be confined in deafening silences.

4th absence: how to resignify orality as one of the tools available to say, create and inhabit the world and include it in the intervention protocols of the Triple Nexus?

The third of the absences identified is the irrelevance attributed to orality. In societies such as those that exist in Cabo Delgado, orality is central to all spheres of social life. Often, despite the growing acculturation through writing as a form of institutional communication, what matters most is the word that is said or the silence of the word that is not spoken. This is fully evident in the value given to conversation in the sense of conversing, that is, of verifying life through words with other humans. The *sessions*, as they are called here, are conversation circles that serve to exchange ideas, resolve conflicts, do group therapy, exchange confidences, plan and evaluate. The *women's sit-in* is a very important instance for them to make decisions, exercise their authority and make their aspirations and problems known, which are often expressed in the songs and dances they create together. The

importance of orality in social relations, and of oratory as literature, philosophy, art, pedagogy of values and transient ways of life, cannot simply be erased or obliterated by rationalities such as Western ones for which writing is central and the languages used in this writing are those that were inherited from the processes of political colonization. The lack of knowledge of local languages and the contempt for the value of orality are satisfied with an absence that can not only cause serious misunderstandings, but also does not respect the ways of saying, appropriating and inhabiting the world, which is fundamental for the construction of collective capacities.

5th absence: how to practice an attentive feminist reading of the actions of the 3Ns with respect to the various instances of their power to pressure and decide and which, to Western eyes, are invisible?

The idea that women and girls in Cabo Delgado are essentially victims and, in most cases, absent from decision-making processes and structures is only one layer of local social complexity. The generalization of this idea about women, in addition to making their diversity invisible, also disempowers them because it returns to society an imaginary of women and girls bent under the yoke of all kinds of evils and incapable, therefore, of reacting and participating in the transformations they desire. They themselves, through local leaders, who move between the two worlds – their own and that of humanitarian aid and development cooperation – have learned the lesson that it is worth repeating, in detail, their misfortunes before donors and authorities so that, in doing so, they are heard and have access to resources that would otherwise be denied to them. Without neglecting any of the violence committed against them and the discrimination to which they are subjected, in domestic,

community and public spaces, it is very important to try to understand what are the instances of power, legitimacy and authority of women in these territories in order to integrate them into actions and interventions related to the 3N or even contribute to questioning them. We have identified 4 of these instances of power that need to be better understood in order to understand their disruptive value of a Manichean vision that sometimes amalgamates them and transforms them into pure objects of the patriarchies of yesterday and today or celebrates them as heroines (Josina, Graça, etc.) who never fall and never cry.

1. The first is the kitchens. In the most traditional configuration of kitchens in Cabo Delgado, the kitchen is an annex space to the house. In them, women spend a lot of time providing food for the family. They describe that from the kitchens they see everything and everyone and are not seen (because no one notices them) and they hear everything. This allows them to have a panoptic view of the situation and gather all sorts of vital information to use in case decisions need to be made.
2. The second instance is the *sit-ins* where, in addition to doing some costume activity such as m'siro makeup, practicing xitiki⁵⁶, taking care of the corn cobs, preparing the matapa leaves or something else, they can talk about everything without being heard. This allows them to articulate joint actions of pressure and mutual support without attracting violence to them. The *sit-ins* also result as training spaces in the use of the word to be able to intervene in other more institutional moments.
3. The third is dreams. Women's dreams are considered a form of power that allows them to have privileged knowledge about what can happen and how to proceed in case of contempt or conflict. Women's dreams create realities that, even those who say they do not believe, are in

⁵⁶ Collective savings system. For more details, see; Cunha, Teresa (2011), *The Art of Xiticar in a World of Non-Ideal Circumstances*, in Teresa Cunha (ed.), *Ensaíos pela democracia. Justice, dignity and well-being*. Porto: Afrontamento, 73-97 Cunha.

alert mode so that what is announced in them does not happen. Not all dreams are valued nor are the dreams of all women; However, those who have the power of dreams, capable of translating tangible and intangible realities of everyday material life, are essential for the restoration of the harmony that disappears with any rupture. These dreams also indicate paths, methods, and warnings that are essential for decision-making in the family and in the community that concerns them or everyone.

4. El cuarto es la llamada *suegra* en el manejo de su sexualidad y maternidad. La decisión sobre el número apropiado de hijas e hijos, en muchos casos aquí en Cabo Delgado, recae en las mujeres. Contrariamente a lo que muchas veces pasa por el sentido común, que los embarazos son casi siempre una imposición de los hombres (que se deriva de la visión de las mujeres como meras víctimas), percibimos en diferentes momentos de la investigación cómo son ellas las que no solo deciden sino que, en caso de conflicto con su marido/pareja, llaman a sus madres y tías maternas -la *suegra*- restablecer su autoridad y legitimidad para llevar a cabo su decisión de volver a ser madre. Los argumentos de las mujeres para actuar de esta manera son varios, entre los que se encuentran dos principales: la construcción de la feminidad y la autoridad en la familia y la comunidad pasa por la maternidad⁵⁷ (biológica o no); y las hijas y los hijos son su seguridad en la vejez ya que el Estado no aporta nada a ello. También es importante comprender y saber que conocen varios recursos, que son accesibles para ellos, para interrumpir un embarazo si ese es su deseo. Conocen varias *medicinas* naturales⁵⁸, las más

⁵⁷Since the purpose of this paper is not to discuss the concept of motherhood, it is important to mention that it is not possible to assess or translate what we believe to be the Western ideals, both conservative and progressive, of what it means to be a mother and how it is practiced in these contexts. For more details, see: Sesma, Anne Gracia (2023), 'Economy, Power and Gender in Mozambique: Macua Women Creating Resistance in the Global Era'. Granada: University of Granada, Doctoral thesis.

⁵⁸ Among them is the water obtained by boiling the bark of the frangipani (*Plumeria rubra*) or the tea obtained by boiling the plant known here as *beso mulato*.

utilizadas en la provincia porque no requieren exposición ni gastos. De esto se puede inferir que tienen el conocimiento y los recursos para no llevar a cabo un embarazo que es profundamente no deseado. Sin embargo, la cautela aquí nos obliga a mencionar que en muchos casos la intensidad de la violencia contra ellos en contextos de extrema vulnerabilidad como secuestros, guerras, matrimonios infantiles que se les imponen, no pueden acceder a estos recursos ni siquiera decidir nada sobre su cuerpo y sexualidad. Sin embargo, esta no es toda la realidad y esto es muy importante destacarlo.

6th absence: ¿how to decolonize and revitalize the 3N learning from the local tools and dynamics of conflict resolution and peacebuilding that are based on rationalities and strategies different from those we defend from the outside?

This is a matter of utmost importance in the current context of Cabo Delgado and even the country that is currently experiencing a great upheaval. We know that each culture has its own collection of mechanisms for resolving conflicts and restoring the harmonies and conditions necessary to live collectively. Cognitive disregard for this epistemological richness, which potentially leads to its demise, drastically impoverishes the collective capacities to live in peace. We also know that the pluriversity of the rationalities present in the world is not governed or put into practice by a single ethic or a single narrative. The pedagogies and strategies that derive from these plural collections are also pluriform. On the other hand, different forms of this plurality circulate and dialogue at different times,

that is, they are not closed and immutable social constructions, but porous and reconfigurable both tactically and strategically according to the evaluation of each case.

The importance of endogenous cultural resources and social statuses

For peacebuilding, without which it is impossible to live well and which goes far beyond humanitarian aid, these endogenous resources and social statuses are identified that should be better understood in future collaborative research:

The importance of age and/or experience and the recognition of this by the community.

Among the Makuwas there are authority figures based on experience and/or age who come from the female lineage: the **humus/ndjomba**⁵⁹, the elder brother, and **untele ntale/nalombo**⁶⁰ if it is a sister or cousin on the mother's side. They can be people outside the family who are recognized as having this authority and experience as well. It is these people who are called to listen, mediate and facilitate various family and community conflicts.

⁵⁹ Ndjomba in makondes societies.

⁶⁰ The status of these ladies needs to be investigated further because they are above the matrons of initiation rites.

In the case of the city of Pemba, a woman – Maíncha Pitarra – was for decades the one who mediated and arbitrated many family and community conflicts and her recognition has always been public, highlighting that the scale of peaceful conflict resolution is not limited to the direct family or its male members.

The importance of lineages for intergroup dialogue, social cohesion and economies of reciprocity

Contrary to the centrality of the concepts of *ethnicity* or *ethnolinguistic* group (showing the need to decolonize our categories and concepts) to identify and categorize social groups in a closed and definitive way, the concept of lineage emerged in our PAR, being the most important social conformation in Cabo Delgado. Lineages, unlike ethnicity or ethnolinguistic group, are dynamic, hybrid, and polyphonic social entities where clans, languages, habits, and practices intersect to constitute a cohesive whole, with a strong sense of belonging and practices of reciprocity in the various spheres of material and spiritual life. All the collective capacities that arise from the processes of building a lineage seem fundamental for cohesion, dialogue, dealing with what is different without creating exclusive alterities.

In the context of northern Mozambique, lineages are constituted from the same ancestral maternal uterus (likola in Makonde / nihimo in Emakhuwa). However, the paternal lineage is not left aside either. For example, when someone asks about a person's lineage, the answer is usually: I am from Ku lykola (maternal part) and Ku kuvalekwa (paternal part).

The importance of sitting: sitting, talking to untie the knots and so that nothing is left unsaid

Among the Makondes there is a fundamental ritual to overcome conflicts: the yangalala. It is described as a *session* that is convened and held when there is a need to deal with a conflict or resolve a more serious problem between members of the same lineage. It is a safe and private space in which only people relevant to the topic to be discussed have a place. When referring to this practice, the expression is used, *untie the knots*, that is, to express anguish, doubts, resentments, desires so that, as we hear, *nothing is left unsaid* and an atmosphere of trust and respect is recreated among all and is the basis for a collective understanding and for the resolution of conflicts or problems that were installed. Something similar happens among the Makhuwas, who are called Muapua-rethe.

The Importance of the Materiality of Healing and Its History: Women's Bodies, Their Musical Creation and Collective Dance, as Therapeutic INTERRUPTIONS, the Expression of Divergent Memories, and a Form of Participation in Community and Public Space

A very powerful strategy for dealing with mental fatigue and/or trauma is the occasions created by them to dance and sing together. Stopping with daily obligations or the endless waiting (the wait to

return home, in the case of displaced women) to meet, sing, and dance represents, in itself, a therapeutic interruption of intense intersubjectivity and creativity. Dance is their bodies speaking which, with the words of the songs they create, are expressions of memories that they do not want to forget and that contradict the orthodoxy about them and their social irrelevance. It becomes even more significant when they wear the same capulans with which they cover their bodies and make their turbans. All equally, representing unity and cohesion, are speaking bodies that are understood, in their contexts, to be the ones that matter. They also respond by singing and dancing when they disagree with each other, using irony and argumentation. It was remarkable in a meeting between two groups of women who sing and dance, the way in which at a certain point they dialogued to show that they did not agree. One of the groups sang and danced to say that when the woman leaves the house to go weeding, she forgets the evils she went through in the war; The other group responded with another song and dance that said: even when you go weeding and go to sleep, you never forget the house you left because of the war. The first group, from a resettlement centre in Metuge, is made up of women who have already decided to stay and are rebuilding their lives there. The second in the Maringanha neighbourhood is for displaced women confined to a small space from which they have not been able to leave⁶¹. They sing and dance for themselves as well as for other audiences. It is in this way, in a safe way, that they also transmit their messages and actively participate in the construction of their history and that of their province.

⁶¹ See here the texts used in the different languages: **In Kimwani by women of Maringanha:** Siriwala, cukaia sirawala, kua mama siriwala; Pody to kuNipa insere tukwipika tukurya so cukaia siriwaaaa; Pody to kuNipa nhumba tokwikala so cukaia aturiwala. **In Portuguese:** I don't forget, I don't forget my house, I don't forget mom; You can give me rice, I eat it, but I don't forget it at home; You can give me a house, I'll live, but I don't forget my house. **In Emakhwa by women of Metuge:** Kina ona utchukula untchukulelani, ncouani vathiva; Utchisse ihipa urwe umatani ualime ikhoto uliyale. **In Portuguese:** I see you sad, because you are sad, get up from the ground; take the hoe, go to the field to weed to forget the war.

Social Shame vs. Punishment

Contrary to the prevailing logic in Western rationality that each crime, according to its gravity, corresponds to a punishment, either within the family or through judicial instances, among Makhwa societies there is a ritual that corresponds to a different way of dealing with conflicts arising from different crimes, namely, committed by men. This ritual is called *unannamuali*. In the first case, any man who is subjected to this ritual is exposed to a social shame that aims to be decisive for the drastic change in his behavior and to restore the expected serenity and harmony. The *unannamuali* is the highest ritual of women in which the elder sister is summoned to undress completely in front of the others, or in this case, before her brother. An older woman's nudity is bold and at the same time extremely touching and embarrassing. When he is forced to see his sister's genitals, he is humiliated and stripped of power. With shame past, he is expected to understand the strength of his power and his determination to stop the crimes committed by him and the conflicts that arise from it.

Advise to prevent

Unannamuali is also used as a counseling ritual for couples who intend to get married so that they can prepare for a life together and know the rules of good coexistence and mutual respect. It is a space for the prevention of conflicts at the marital level.

Irony and persuasion versus punishment

Social control of behaviors exists in all societies and is very important to maintain social cohesion and a harmony that means trust and security about what is expected and what is obtained from other people. In the event that the behaviors are considered deviant or inappropriate and may threaten this

harmony, the pedagogy of the *uvilo* can be used in Makonde societies. The *uvilo* is a type of *performance* that uses irony and is carried out by groups of people outside the family or members farther away from the family nucleus who are, with their attitudes and behaviors, breaking the desired peace. The outgroup inserts itself into the daily life of the separated family or community through the daily tasks it helps to carry out, during which it sarcastically reveals protagonists, conflicts, causes of conflicts, shedding light on the conflictive plot and increasing tension between the people involved in the conflict. This strategy aims to shame and persuade those responsible who hear and watch the whole action to change their attitude and do whatever is necessary to create the conditions for harmony and peace to be restored. If this is not achieved with this strategy, the *uvilo* proceeds with a second conflict resolution protocol that is carried out by calling those responsible for the disagreements to leave the group and start again in another place where the resentments they have provoked cannot affect them and so that the wounds of those who feel aggrieved can be healed.

The figure and role of Mbuadigwe Mwaly⁶²: care and protection among women

The transition from the childhood to the adult phase is covered in many mysteries and rituals for society to recognize and enshrine a person's adulthood. Growth, in this sense, escapes conventional Eurocentric or Western parameters because it is not synchronous and much less linear, since it does

⁶² The choice of a more detailed explanation of the figure and context of action of the *mbuana* or *mbuadigwe mualy* has to do with the widespread idea among liberal and Western feminisms that rites of passage are always instruments of patriarchal oppression of women. We do not intend to neglect in any way the discriminatory and oppressive elements that exist in these celebrations, but rather to present, in a more complete way, the contexts and *nuances spoken* by the people themselves in Makonde societies in order to better understand what resources for women's power and for the resolution of conflicts with a strong role for women are inscribed in them.

not depend on biological age, but on life experience, behaviors and the type of rituals to which the person has been subjected or has been subjected. This access to adulthood is not exempt from stereotypes that value the construction of masculinity to the detriment of the construction of femininity. For example, it is common to hear: *n'nume anachepa* (in Makonde) or *nlopuana kanheva* (in Emakhwa), which means that a man (in the sense of human male) is never small, no matter how small his body is. In Makonde societies, the status of adult, for both men and women, presupposes passage through necessary or even obligatory rituals, staggered over time and performed in culturally accepted spaces. These include *lykumbi* (male initiation rites) and *inğoma* (female initiation rites). However, it is important to mention that *inğoma* also means dance, since the word derives from another, *lygoma*, which means batuque or drum. Here we pay more attention to the *inğoma*, which is one of the most important educational spaces about female power and learning about what behaviors are considered disruptive. This feminine ritual is made up of three others, which are: the *shipitho*, which represents the passage from childhood to adulthood; the *nkamango*, which closes the educational cycle and the consecration of adult life; and ends with the *kudjaluka*, which represents the celebration of adult life and functions as a kind of final graduation. In this context, the figure of *mbuana* or *mbuadigwe mualy*, which literally translates as friend of the virgin or ceremonianda, can be equivalent to the idea of a *godmother who has numerous responsibilities in terms of the education, care and protection of her goddaughter* and, throughout her life, represents the union between women of several generations and an instance of protection and advice.

For several reasons⁶³, the figure of *mbuana* or *mbuadigwe mualy* is crucial in the process of pacification and peaceful resolution of conflicts involving women within the family or community,

⁶³ Although long, the more detailed explanation of the rituals in which this godmother intervenes and which are the source of her authority and legitimacy helps to understand the potential of her social role in the mediation of conflicts and also in the education and empowerment or control of women. One of the rites in which this role of protection and sisterhood is manifested is in the ceremony of jumping over the fire. Fire in this sense symbolizes the element of elimination of some childish attitude or behavior, typical of infantilism, which should not be repeated in the adult life of the girl. The jump of the

insofar as their duties are not limited to the transmission of knowledge and skills to live a happy adult life, since she is also a counselor during and after the rites of passage. She is the privileged interlocutor and mediator of the girls with their families when some type of conflict arises.

Living well means having, both with material and spiritual resources

There is a cognitive conflict between formulations of what development is, even those that are considered more progressive and/or critical, and the way in which people in Cabo Delgado, especially people from rural communities and/or the outskirts of cities, express their aspiration to a good life for themselves and for the country. The most commonly used expression in Portuguese is *Viver Bem* eu goes far beyond materialities and even what we consider social justice. In the way it appears in

fire is accompanied by blows with tree branches on the girl's body by members of her family, women and men, and which represent her bad behavior during her childhood. Her *mbuana* or *mbuadigwe* accompanies her throughout the ceremony, holding the girl's hand and printing speed to reduce the impact of punishments that come from the two rows of relatives and other community elements present. This ritual, in addition to representing sisterhood between women of several generations, as they go together to jump the fire and go through the torment of the whipping of tree branches, is meant to signify that life is made of obstacles and that willpower, often sacrifices, is needed to overcome or overcome them and, Also, that we are not alone in these difficulties. Obstacles publicly experienced during the shipitho will flow into *Nkamango*, which is a private place of female power of education for beginners and re-education for those who still maintain behaviors deemed undesirable. The *mbuana* or *mbuadigwe mualy*, during the entire period in which the ceremonies of passage of her *goddaughter* last (30 to 45 days), has to abstain from sexual relations, cannot leave the house where she stays with her *goddaughter* and has to devote herself completely to her education for adult life. The importance and power of this female figure and her status in Makonde society stems from the public recognition of her capacities for responsibility, self-discipline, and care for her *goddaughter*. This public recognition is done through an intermediary, i.e. in the *Shiitho ceremony*. It is the girl who will demonstrate that her *godmother* was faithful to the precepts of responsibility, sexual abstinence, protection and her education. In public, his forehead is anointed with a few drops of oil, which should run down the center of his nose and, without deviating, go to his mouth. This rite is performed on the day of *kudjaluka* and is called *Kupaka mautha*, which can be translated as rubbing the oil. If the oil deviates from the path, it means that the *godmother* has not properly exercised her role and is deprived of her power, leading her and her family to serious social embarrassment.

speeches, it is so important to have a school, a hospital and a job, to eat from your own farm⁶⁴, to sleep well, to live without fear, not to be forced to do things you don't want to do or to have the company of a husband. There is in this local meaning of *Living Well* a mixture between the benefits that Western modernity has brought or can bring and other elements that represent inalienable goods from which they do not want to be separated. It should be noted that concepts such as gender, gender equality or gender violence, security (in the military or police sense), growth, industries, wealth have never been used. The main finding unfolds in two closely related ones: it is necessary to listen carefully to what makes sense for the people here to live well and practice humble epistemology, without taking for granted that the word development can be reformed to the point of capturing everything to which everyone aspires.

Escaping the control of the modern state is a centuries-old form of conflict prevention

In Cabo Delgado, from the local perspective, the implementation of a modern and democratic state has been seen and felt as a strange form in relation to its customary systems of government. Moreover, the experience of the last 50 years of political independence has been extremely problematic⁶⁵. There is even a very explicit Makhwa proverb about attitude toward things or people that do not inspire complete confidence: *observe with one eye, listen with one ear, and respond with half the mouth*. One of

⁶⁴ The name given to the cultivated land where food and fruit trees are produced.

⁶⁵ On this assumption see, among many others: Cruz e Silva, Teresa; of Araújo, Manuel; de Souto, Amélia Neves (2015), *Coastal Communities: Perspectives and Realities*. Maputo: Centro de Estudos Sociais Aquino de Bragança e Fundação Friedrich Ebert Moçambique; Pérez, Jesús Marty (2005), 'Lineage, colonial administration and FRELIMO party: Anthropology of the power of the Makonde communities of northern Mozambique', Doctoral Thesis, University of A Coruña, Department of Humanities, Volume I.

the existing strategies for resolving conflicts is to escape their control in multiple ways: by systematically breaking rules and laws, maintaining their ancestral rituals, rejecting their mediation in many matters, not communicating with them or manipulating their institutions in their favor and interests. These ambiguities about the relations of populations with the State must be well understood in order to be able to better measure the dialogues between the institutions present in the territories.

8. Recommendations



At the political level

It is recommended that the organizations that carry out the actions of the Triple Nexus promote interventions with state actors and their institutions in order to make the State responsible for the need to implement concrete, consistent and adequate public policies for access to land, the democratization of society, full respect for the rights of citizens, the right to memory and truth and access to justice. to the equitable enjoyment of the Common Good. Without public policies in these and other areas, the 3N will be just a patch whose impacts will have neither sustainability nor transformative power;

- It is recommended that the triple nexus be a less technical and more political debate. Instead of instrumentalising the appropriation and localisation of aid in the interests of large donors, we must move towards approaches and frameworks that are more critical, more multi-scalable, less technical, more political and that better interpret the complexities of interests, actors and their actions;
- It is recommended to deepen the multiple meanings of local turn, ownership, resilience and localization of aid, and to take into account the risks of instrumentalizing local agency and
- international NGOs;
- It is recommended to be clear that the distortion of the objective of ceding 25% of international aid to local actors, which rather than promoting local ownership of HDP processes, is serving to make INGOs participate in the dominant agenda that is that of the global north;

For development as Living Well

- It is recommended to design alternative humanitarian aid protocols that mitigate as far as possible the deregulation of local economies with the consequent increase in the cost of living and that is never corrected after the emergency period. The market does not regulate itself and corruption is not regenerated from within;
- It is recommended not only to reflect deeply on the causes of dependency and its effects, but also to develop the social imaginary and the articulations and dialogues with the institutions of the national State, making it responsible and only complementing what it is responsible for doing, in order to overcome these mechanisms of dependence;

Securing a central place for women at 3N

It is recommended to place violence against women and girls at the center of the implementation of the 3N through intervention projects that start from and value the endogenous concepts of violence, dignity, happiness, emancipation of women, as well as their modes of resistance and overcoming through critical and decolonizing approaches to the *gender* perspective. In order to understand the experiences and give realistic meaning to the analyses made about war and violence, it is necessary to understand the living conditions and power relations between women and men that are concretely and culturally contextualized: Long before the war begins and how violence increases and is "normalized" after the peace agreements are signed;

- It is recommended to decolonize, to deepen the knowledge of the instances of power, legitimacy and authority of women within their cultures and ways of life in order to base intervention actions on their agency and knowledge. The generalization of the idea of women as mere victims of local patriarchies, in addition to making their diversity invisible, also disempowers them because it returns to society an imaginary of women and girls bent under

the yoke of all kinds of evils and incapable, therefore, of reacting and participating in the transformations they desire. The *gender mainstream* remains a deeply colonial view of the women of Cabo Delgado;

Epistemological and conceptual level

- It is recommended to reconfigure norms and procedures, pedagogies and work methodologies in the field that give due importance to orality and oratory as philosophy, art, pedagogy for the passage of values and ways of life, since they are intrinsically part of local social relations. It is also necessary to clearly question the imposition of writing as the only valid form of communication and registration and to create new instruments and supports that do not erase orality; The importance of working at the local level "from below" and from the particularities of each territory, and the importance of working on the triple nexus in the community and at the local level, but also at other national, regional and international scales;
- It is strongly recommended to translate a document like this into Emakwa, one of the most widely spoken languages in Mozambique so that more people, especially those who were directly and indirectly involved in this project, can have access to it and feel that they belong to these processes worked on here;

For the construction of Peace

- The decolonization of peace and development studies is recommended, *provincializing* the knowledge and norms that are being exported and imposing away from concrete contexts

for the implementation of the 3N. Governmental, non-governmental actors and communities do not have the same concept of peace. We know that each culture has its own collection of mechanisms for resolving conflicts and restoring the harmonies and conditions necessary to live collectively. Cognitive contempt for this epistemological richness, which potentially leads to its disappearance, drastically impoverishes the collective capacities to live in peace;

- Ethnic and religious differences are trying to be instrumentalized through hate speech by the opposing parties in the conflict, trying to create divisions where they did not exist. The importance of lineages and their strong sense of belonging for intergroup dialogue, social cohesion and material solidarity must be enhanced;
- We have to work on memory, truth, justice and reparation, relying on our own capacities. There are restorative practices, less punitive, based on alternative conflict resolution mechanisms;
- It is recommended to abandon minimalist approaches at the service of dominant agendas, and to bet on "do good" maximalist approaches with greater potential for the true ownership of peace and development processes by local societies.
- It is recommended that UN agencies and humanitarian civil society organizations and NGOs always allocate a portion of humanitarian aid resources to peacebuilding and mediation programmes between parties to conflict. One action should never be done without the other so that more structural and structuring changes can occur;

Final considerations

The African continent and, consequently, Africans, has been for the last 5 centuries the most vilified, oppressed and exploited place in the world. The crushing action of colonialism by occupation or the contemporary forms of colonization that befall it and its populations, among the many known impacts and misfortunes, have had, among others, the perverse effect of breaking or distorting people's self-esteem. Cabo Delgado and Mozambique are no exception. Cultural destruction has been one of the most pernicious forms of colonialism, leading the inhabitants of Cabo Delgado province to continue to refer to their languages as dialects and to label their ancestral practices and ways of life as things, or unimportant, or that must be overcome in order to "modernize". The shame they may feel when they reveal their rituals, their worldviews and social tools to be able to live well and in peace corresponds, symmetrically, to the happiness of discovering that everything they have learned since childhood in the family, after all, are valuable resources of diversity, of knowledge, not only useful, but necessary. They are ideals and concepts that enrich their lives and the lives of those who learn from them and from them. Hundreds of years of socio-political, economic and cultural annihilation must be substantially overcome. This is decolonizing thought, knowledge, and practices. As Amílcar Cabral always defended, *liberation is an act of culture*. On the other hand, we have learned that a feminist decolonization also impels us to problematize and reflect on everything that, due to the action of the Enlightenment and the positivist, and why not say it, patriarchal heritage, has been systematically devalued and qualified as *outdated, minor, laughable*. Territories and people have been described in this way, and among these, those who always suffer from a double ontological defect: women. How many rituals and cultural tools for the peaceful resolution and transformation of conflicts are still at the bottom of our cultures that could help us advance and revitalize our heritage to make peace? How many places of legitimacy and authority have been destroyed? As we have argued, the private sector is also political and, as such, the most sensitive or smallest tool of peace has, in itself, the potential to

be resignified and used at a broader social level, promoting better and greater dialogues between the institutions present in each context. The most invisible, because hidden, place of female authority is a field of power that cannot be wasted.

However, the tasks do not end with the recognition of what still exists, even if it is covered by centuries of indifference, abandonment, neglect and contempt. It is also essential that we do not neglect the discriminatory social and material elements contained or likely to be contained in local and/or customary practices. Therefore, it is up to us to carry out a double exercise of decolonization, which consists: firstly, in knowing and valuing what culturally remains active and decisive in the life of people, the meaning they make of the World of Life, renouncing an alleged universality of concepts and tools conceived from the outside in and from the top down; and, secondly, what is the most challenging and difficult path, which we still have to travel together, is to question and reinvent, from within and from below, these endogenous practices so that they can go further towards justice, inclusion and emancipation for and of all.

These are the challenges that we must clearly enunciate as a team and as comrades on the path of epistemological decolonization for global justice and a world where everyone fits in and can be happy.

There are no definitive and completed investigations. On the contrary, each of them incites us to more perplexities and questions such as:

- How to continue the path of epistemic and feminist decolonization for the creation of new paradigms and systems of knowledge that are mutually meaningful and that persistently combat the epistemological invasion and occupation of one part of the world over the other;
- How to deepen interscalar knowledge and practices; to develop tools that allow us to move between the family and community scale and the scale of broader public policies and to make the different spheres more effective and inclusive. What we can learn, both from what

culturally remains active and decisive at the local level and what needs to be done and guaranteed at the regional, national and even international level.

Although these debates are not new, they are still necessary to pursue a decolonial and feminist perspective, which is what our work has proposed from the beginning.

