

MOZAMBIQUE News reports & clippings

484 30 April 2020 Editor: Joseph Hanlon (j.hanlon@open.ac.uk)

Supplement on religion and voting in Cabo Delgado districts and administrative posts

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Religion is shaping Cabo Delgado civil war

Religion and voting patterns may give some indication of support or opposition to insurgents in Cabo Delgado. We use 2007 census replies for religion, which are available at the level of district and the next lower level, the administrative post (Table 1), and voting data, available only for districts (Table 3). In 2014 in Cabo Delgado there was a 23% vote for the opposition on a turnout of 49%. In 2019, there was a 26% vote for the opposition, on a turnout also of 49%.

Of those who declare a religion to census takers, 18% of Mozambicans say they are Muslim. Only the two northern provinces have an Islamic majority - Niassa (61%) and Cabo Delgado (54%). And in Cabo Delgado, only three districts have a Catholic majority - Muidumbe (67%) and Mueda (54%) in the north and Namuno (61%) in the south. Two other districts have significant catholic populations - Nangade (42% Catholic, 36% Muslim) in the north and Chiure (44% Muslim, 42% Catholic) in the South. And 12 have Muslim majorities, including Pemba; four are more than 90% Muslim. Coastal administrative posts are all over 75% Muslim and several over 90%.

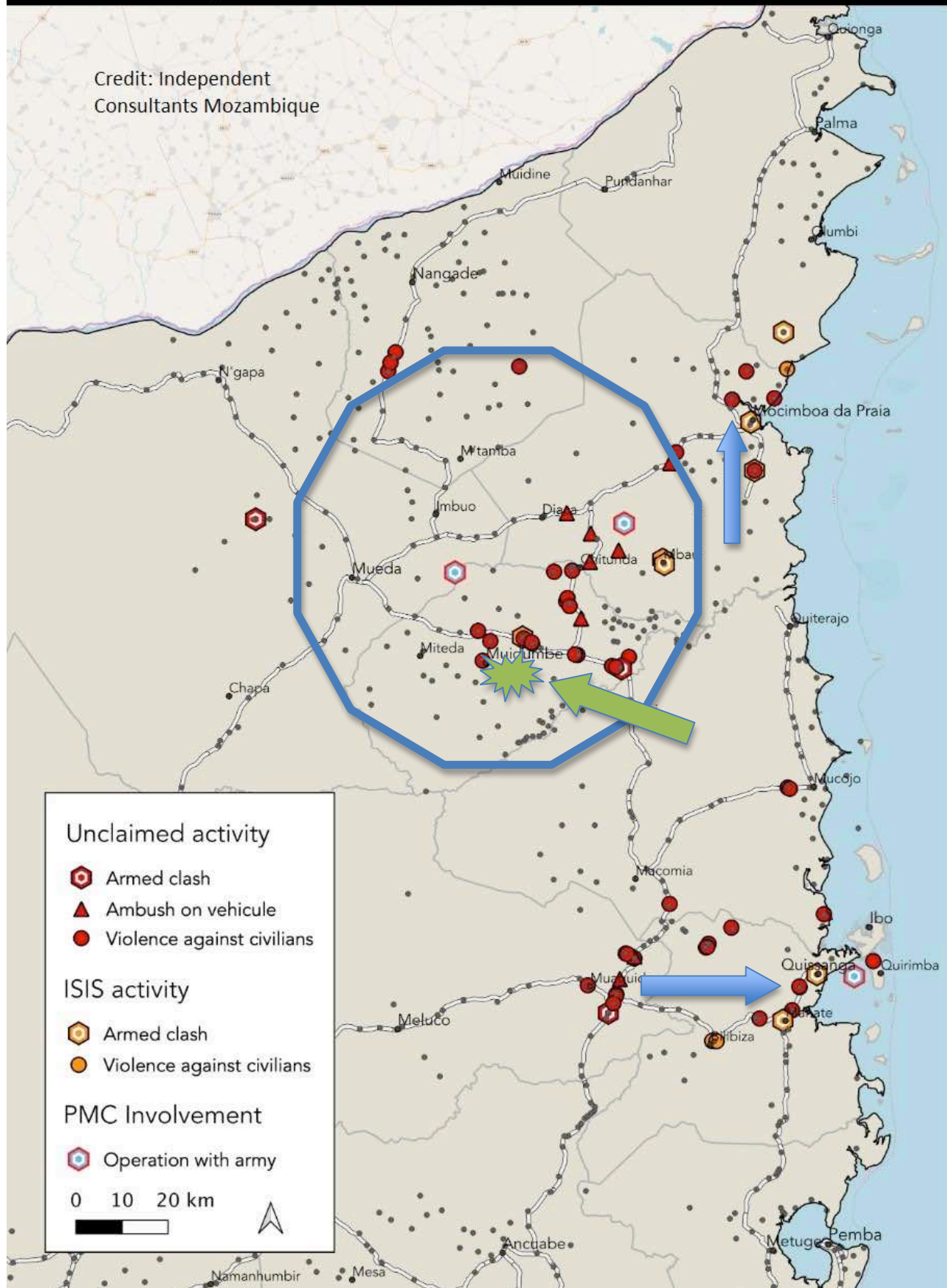
Importantly, some districts are divided - Nangage town has a Muslim majority, but the rural areas bordering Mueda have a Catholic majority. Mueda itself is divided and the lower western areas bordering the Rovuma River and Tanzania are majority Muslim. In Mocimboa da Praia, where the civil war started in 2017, the town is majority Muslim but in rural areas to the west more people are Catholic. Macomia district is majority Muslim, but the town of Chai bordering Muidumbe is more Catholic. And the tensions in these border areas will have been clear to census takers - in Chai, 48% of people refused to give a religion or said they were neither Catholic nor Muslim, and in Chitunda in Muidumbe which borders Chai it was 36%. In Diaca in Mocimboa da Praia 40% were not Catholic or Muslim or refused to say.

Despite their divisions, Nangade, Mueda and Muidumbe had the smallest vote for the opposition in 2019 and Nangade and Muidumbe had the highest turnouts. This points to these areas as Catholic, Frelimo strongholds. (Voting provides only limited guidance, however. Coastal Quisanga where the insurgents walked in unopposed is 94% Muslim but had a high 64% turnout in the elections and voted only the provincial average 26% against Frelimo.)

The Mueda plateau is the Makonde heartland and was a centre of the fight against Portuguese colonialism, and remains loyal to Frelimo. But the plateau does not correspond to the district boundaries. There is an extremely good relief map of the area on <https://bit.ly/Mueda-relief-map>. It shows how the Muslim parts of Mueda are not on the plateau, while much of Muidumbe as well as the western Catholic parts of Nangade and Mocimboa da Praia are on the plateau.

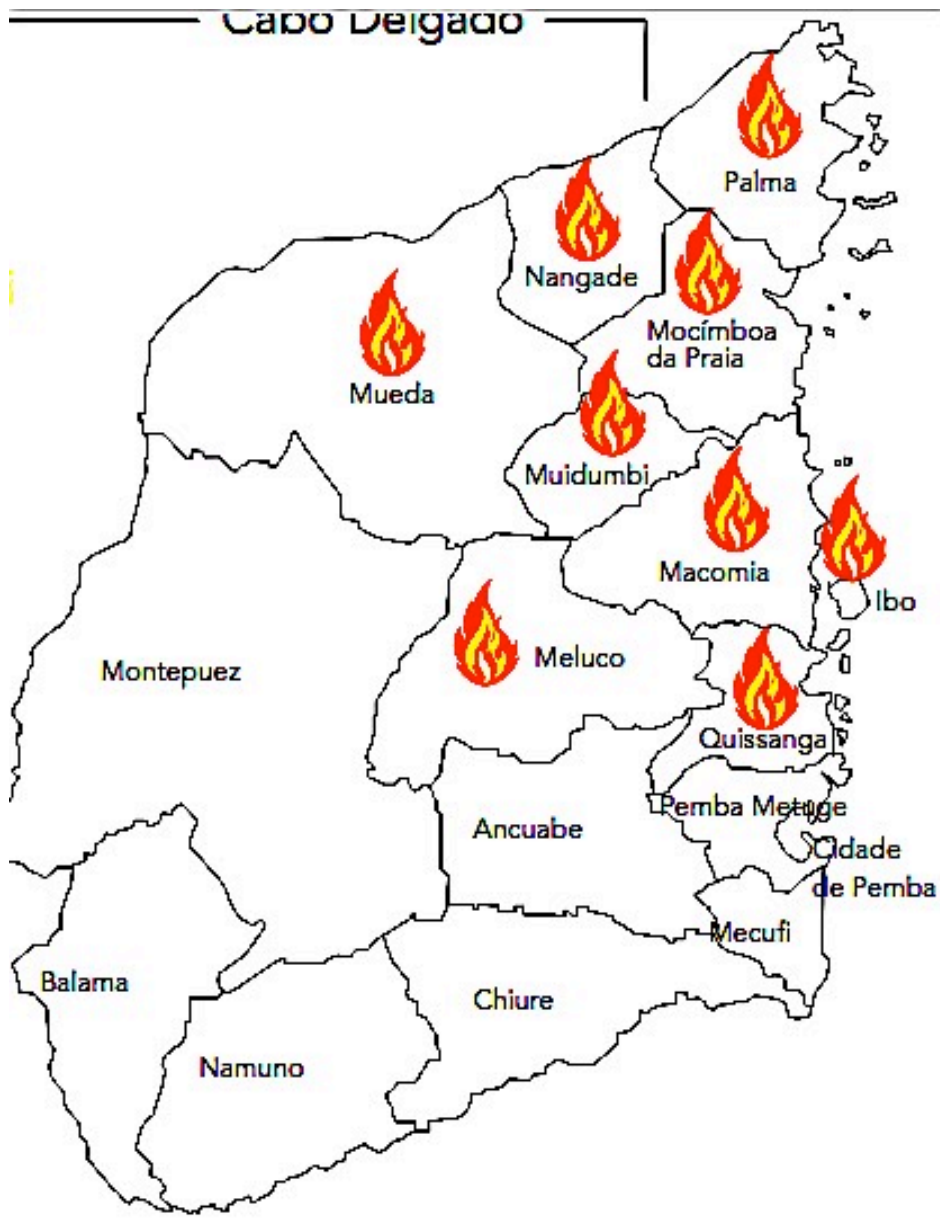
The map below is from Jasmine Oppermann, Africa Analyst at The Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED), and shows all the war events this year until 12 April. We have added a blue circle to show the Mueda plateau and a strong Catholic group defending Frelimo, blue arrows for successful advances, and a green arrow for a failed advance.

Mozambique - Security Incident in Cabo Delgado - 2020 as of April 12th



In the past three months there have been three major insurgent attacks. The two successful ones were the occupation of Mocimboa da Praia (24 March) and the move south and east from Macomia to Bilibiza to occupy Quissanga and attack Quirimba island (25 Jan - 10 Apr), and then to move south toward Pemba. Those two moves were successful, faced little government reaction, and were in Muslim areas. They also included hearts-and-minds operations, fraternizing with local people and distributing food and other goods. The other attack was through Chai up the Mueda plateau through Muidumbe (6-9 Apr). There was no attempt at winning support; this was a brutal attack. It failed and the insurgents suffered significant losses.

District map of Cabo Delgado



Source: CDD

Table 1. Religion by district and administrative post in Cabo Delgado, 2007 census

District	Admin post	Muslim	Catholic	Other none
Cabo Delgado		54%	36%	10%
Cidade De Pemba		72%	23%	5%
Ancuabe		60%	36%	4%
	Ancuabe PA	75%	21%	4%
	Metoro	75%	22%	3%
	Mesa	21%	75%	4%
Balama		64%	34%	2%
	Balama PA	71%	27%	2%
	Impiri	50%	47%	3%
	Kuekue	38%	61%	1%
	Mavala	87%	10%	3%
Chiure		44%	42%	14%
	Chiure PA	45%	40%	14%
	Chiure Velho	59%	31%	9%
	Katapua	45%	43%	12%
	Mazeze	79%	17%	4%
	Namogelia	31%	57%	12%
	Ocua	23%	52%	25%
Ibo		96%	3%	1%
	Ibo PA	96%	4%	1%
	Quirimba	97%	2%	1%
Macomia		64%	16%	20%
	Macomia PA	58%	21%	22%
	Chai	16%	36%	48%
	Mucojo	97%	1%	2%
	Quiterajo	94%	4%	3%
Mecufi		95%	3%	3%
	Mecufi PA	94%	3%	3%
	Murrebue	96%	2%	2%
Meluco		91%	7%	2%
	Meluco PA	89%	9%	3%
	Muaguide	94%	4%	2%
Mocimboa Da Praia		56%	27%	16%
	Mocimboa Da Praia PA	72%	20%	8%
	Diaca	17%	42%	40%
	Mbau	30%	44%	26%
Montepuez		61%	36%	3%
	Montepuez PA	63%	33%	4%
	Mapupulo	50%	48%	3%
	Mirate	81%	18%	1%
	Nairoto	98%	1%	1%
	Namanhumbir	30%	65%	5%

District	Admin post	Muslim	Catholic	Other none
Mueda		20%	54%	26%
	Mueda PA	6%	64%	30%
	Chapa	21%	51%	28%
	Imbuo	1%	65%	34%
	Negomano	84%	11%	6%
	N'Gapa	50%	33%	17%
Muidumbe		5%	67%	29%
	Muidumbe PA	1%	72%	27%
	Chitunda	13%	51%	36%
	Miteda	1%	76%	23%
Namuno		34%	61%	5%
	Namuno PA	22%	72%	6%
	Hucula	44%	54%	1%
	Machoca	33%	66%	1%
	Meloco	37%	50%	13%
	N'Cumpe	59%	40%	1%
	Papai	33%	66%	1%
Nangade		36%	42%	23%
	Nangade PA	56%	35%	9%
	M'Tamba	10%	50%	40%
Palma		81%	17%	2%
	Palma PA	76%	22%	3%
	Olumbi	91%	7%	2%
	Pundanhar	65%	31%	4%
	Quionga	90%	9%	2%
Pemba - Metuge		77%	17%	6%
	Metuge	79%	17%	4%
	Mieze	75%	17%	8%
Quissanga		94%	4%	2%
	Quissanga PA	94%	4%	3%
	Bilibiza	97%	2%	1%
	Mahate	92%	5%	3%

Source: National Institute of Statistics, Mozambique, 2007 census, from the Mozambique Data Portal, <http://mozambique.opendataforafrica.org/RDM2016/regional-data-of-mozambique-1990-2040>

Does 2007 reflect the current religious distribution?

The 2017 national population census published religion only by district, while the 2007 census went one level lower, to the administrative post. This is particularly useful in analysing this war. But there are other differences between the two. The 2007 census simply gives numbers of people saying they adhere to one of four religions, whereas the 2017 national census provides data on a broader range of religions and attitudes. We argue here that at provincial level the 2007 and 2017 religious affiliations match quite closely, if suitable adjustments are made. Table 2, below goes through the argument.

Table 2. Comparing 2007 and 2017 censuses

QUADRO 11. POPULAÇÃO POR RELIGIÃO, SEGUNDO ÁREA DE RESIDÊNCIA, IDADE E SEXO. PROVINCIA DE CABO DELGADO, 2017

ÁREA DE RESIDÊNCIA,	RELIGIÃO								
	TOTAL	ISLÂMICA	CATÓLICA	ANGLI-CANA	EVANGÉLICA/PENTE-COSTAL	ZIONE/SIÃO	SEM	OUTRA	DESCONHE
T O T A L	2267715	1192305	814443	7669	42665	9663	168352	19132	13486
URBANA	528695	317463	157432	1887	12487	2812	26696	6749	3169
RURAL	1739020	874842	657011	5782	30178	6851	141656	12383	10317

Source: Mozambique 2017 national population census

= no religion
= other
= unknown

Cabo Delgado, QUADRO 11. POPULAÇÃO POR RELIGIÃO, SEGUNDO ÁREA DE RESIDÊNCIA, IDADE E SEXO. PROVINCIA DE CABO DELGADO, 2017.xlsx

<http://www.ine.gov.mz/iv-rgph-2017/cabo-delgado/quadro-11-populacao-por-religiao-segundo-area-de-residencia-idade-e-sexo-provincia-de-cabo-delgado-2017.xlsx/view>

2017 calculated as percentage

Total	53%	36%	0%	2%	0%	7%	1%	1%
Urban	60%	30%	0%	2%	1%	5%	1%	1%
Rural	50%	38%	0%	2%	0%	8%	1%	1%

Urban = 23% of total population

From 2007 census:

	Muslim	Catholic	Protes-tant		Zionist	Other, no reli-gion, no answer	
	54%	36%	1%		0%	8%	

Source: Mozambique 2007 census downloaded from Mozambique Data Portal:

<https://mozambique.opendataforafrica.org/#>

The data for 2007 gives only four religions, while the 2017 data gives five as well as no religion and declined to answer. But most people in Cabo Delgado are either Muslim or Catholic, and if the residual is calculated by simply taking the number not identifying as Muslim or Catholic, the results are close. Therefore we feel that it is reasonable to use the older, 2007, data disaggregated by administrative post.

Table 3. 2019 voting data by district

Voting data by district for the 2019 election is only available for the provincial assemblies (because the district is the constituency). These tables are ranked in alphabetical order and by abstentions and votes for the opposition.

Despite the impact of cyclone Kenneth, registration was above average in Cabo Delgado. Although there are many refugees, the war does not appear to have had a significant impact on the vote.

Alphabetical

District	Turnout	Frelimo	Others
Cabo Delgado	49%	74%	26%
Pemba	51%	68%	32%
Ancuabe	44%	72%	28%
Balama	34%	69%	31%
Chiure	44%	58%	42%
Ibo	64%	74%	26%
Macomia	55%	84%	16%
Mecufi	56%	65%	35%
Meluco	67%	85%	15%
Metunge	54%	75%	25%
Mocimboa d Praia	53%	73%	27%
Montepuez	37%	64%	36%
Mueda	58%	95%	5%
Muidumbe	70%	97%	3%
Namuno	40%	69%	31%
Nangade	70%	88%	12%
Palma	61%	60%	40%
Quissanga	64%	74%	26%

By turnout

District	Turnout	Frelimo	Others
Cabo Delgado	49%	74%	26%
Balama	34%	69%	31%
Montepuez	37%	64%	36%
Namuno	40%	69%	31%
Ancuabe	44%	72%	28%
Chiure	44%	58%	42%
Pemba	51%	68%	32%
Mocimboa d Praia	53%	73%	27%
Metunge	54%	75%	25%
Macomia	55%	84%	16%
Mecufi	56%	65%	35%
Mueda	58%	95%	5%
Palma	61%	60%	40%
Ibo	64%	74%	26%
Quissanga	64%	74%	26%
Meluco	67%	85%	15%
Nangade	70%	88%	12%
Muidumbe	70%	97%	3%

By vote for opposition

District	Others	Frelimo	Turnout
Cabo Delgado	26%	74%	49%
Chiure	42%	58%	44%
Palma	40%	60%	61%
Montepuez	36%	64%	37%
Mecufi	35%	65%	56%
Pemba	32%	68%	51%
Balama	31%	69%	34%
Namuno	31%	69%	40%
Ancuabe	28%	72%	44%
Mocimboa d Praia	27%	73%	53%
Ibo	26%	74%	64%
Quissanga	26%	74%	64%
Metunge	25%	75%	54%
Macomia	16%	84%	55%
Meluco	15%	85%	67%
Nangade	12%	88%	70%
Mueda	5%	95%	58%
Muidumbe	3%	97%	70%

Source: Mozambique Political Process Bulletin
58 - 26 January 2020 <http://bit.ly/MozEIFinal>

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Background reading

Special reports

Mozambique heroin transit trade

English - LSE - <http://bit.ly/Moz-heroin>

Portuguese - Pt - CIP - <http://bit.ly/HeroínaPT>

Gas for development?

Gas_for_development_or_just_for_money?_2015 bit.ly/MozGasEng

Gás_para_desenvolvimento_ou_apenas_dinheiro?_2015 bit.ly/MozGasPt

Social protection report - 2017 Mozambique - <http://bit.ly/MozSocPro>

Special report on four poverty surveys: bit.ly/MozPoverty

2018 Constitution - <http://bit.ly/2KF588T>

Minimum wage and exchange rates 1996-2018 -- <http://bit.ly/MinWage18>

\$2bn secret debt - in English

Kroll - Full report on \$2bn debt - <http://bit.ly/Kroll-Moz-full>

Kroll report summary - <http://bit.ly/Kroll-sum>

Key points of Mozambique parliament report - Nov 2016 - <http://bit.ly/MozAR-debt-En>

Following the donor-designed path to Mozambique's \$2.2 bn debt - <http://bit.ly/3WQ-hanlon>

In Portuguese:

Parliamentary Report on the Secret Debt (complete) bit.ly/MozAR-debt

Eight books by Joseph Hanlon can be downloaded, free: <http://bit.ly/Hanlon-books>

Bangladesh confronts climate change (2016)

Chickens and beer: A recipe for agricultural growth in Mozambique (2014)

Há Mais Bicicletas – mas há desenvolvimento? (2008)

Moçambique e as grandes cheias de 2000 (2001)

Paz Sem Benefício: Como o FMI Bloqueia a Reconstrução (1997)

Peace Without Profit: How the IMF Blocks Rebuilding (1996)

Mozambique: Who Calls the Shots (1991)

Mozambique: The Revolution Under Fire (1984)

Two more will be available shortly to download:

Apartheid's 2nd Front (1986)

Mozambique and the Great Flood of 2000

These are still available for sale:

Galinhas e cerveja: uma receita para o crescimento (2014) (free in English)

Zimbabwe takes back its land (2013)

Just Give Money to the Poor: The Development Revolution from the Global South (2010)

Do bicycles equal development in Mozambique? (2008) (free in Portuguese)

Beggar Your Neighbours: Apartheid Power in Southern Africa (1986)

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Mozambique media websites, Portuguese:

Notícias: www.jornalnoticias.co.mz

O País: www.opais.co.mz

@Verdade: <http://www.verdade.co.mz>

Carlos Serra Diário de um sociólogo: <http://oficinadesociologia.blogspot.com>

Mozambique media websites, English:

Club of Mozambique: <http://clubofmozambique.com/>

Zitamar: <http://zitamar.com/>

Macauhub English: <http://www.macauhub.com.mo/en/>

AIM Reports: www.poptel.org.uk/mozambique-news

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