World Watch Research

Mozambique: Persecution Dynamics

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World Watch List 2025 – Top 50

Rank	Country	Private life	Family life	Community life	National life	Church life	Violence	Total Score WWL 2025	Total Score WWL 2024	Total Score WWL 2023	Total Score WWL 2022	Total Score WWL 2021
1	North Korea	16.7	16.7	16.7	16.7	16.7	14.4	98	96	98	96	94
2	Somalia	16.5	16.7	16.6	16.6	16.7	11.1	94	93	92	91	92
3	Yemen	16.7	16.7	16.7	16.7	16.7	10.6	94	89	89	88	87
4	Libya	16.0	16.2	15.9	16.2	16.4	10.6	91	91	88	91	92
5	Sudan	14.1	14.2	15.5	14.9	15.3	16.1	90	87	83	79	79
6	Eritrea	14.6	14.9	15.5	15.9	15.9	12.2	89	89	89	88	88
7	Nigeria	13.5	13.9	14.6	14.9	14.5	16.7	88	88	88	87	85
8	Pakistan	13.6	13.9	15.0	15.0	12.9	16.7	87	87	86	87	88
9	Iran	15.0	14.6	13.5	15.9	16.5	10.9	86	86	86	85	86
10	Afghanistan	15.6	15.9	15.9	16.4	16.7	5.0	85	84	84	98	94
11	India	12.2	12.9	13.3	14.9	13.9	16.5	84	83	82	82	83
12	Saudi Arabia	15.2	15.3	14.8	15.8	16.6	3.3	81	81	80	81	78
13	Myanmar	12.6	11.1	13.5	14.1	12.9	16.5	81	79	80	79	74
14	Mali	11.1	10.1	14.7	13.0	15.2	15.6	80	79	76	70	67
15	China	13.2	10.1	12.8	14.6	16.1	11.1	78	78	77	76	74
16	Maldives	15.6	15.3	13.7	15.8	16.5	0.7	78	78	77	77	77
17	Iraq	14.2	14.4	14.3	14.8	13.9	6.1	78	79	76	78	82
18	Syria	13.5	14.4	13.9	14.4	14.3	7.0	78	81	80	78	81
19	Algeria	14.7	14.3	11.5	14.7	16.0	6.3	77	79	73	71	70
20	Burkina Faso	11.7	9.7	13.2	11.5	14.0	15.6	76	75	71	68	67
21	Morocco	13.2	13.8	11.6	12.9	14.3	8.3	74	71	69	69	67
22	Laos	11.8	10.7	13.5	14.1	13.9	9.8	74	75	68	69	71
23	Mauritania	14.6	14.2	13.8	14.2	14.2	2.8	74	72	72	70	71
24	Bangladesh	12.4	10.6	12.7	11.3	10.4	16.1	74	71	69	68	67
25	Uzbekistan	14.6	12.7	13.5	12.4	15.5	4.4	73	71	71	71	71
26	Cuba	13.2	8.5	13.9	13.3	15.1	9.1	73	73	70	66	62
27	CAR	10.3	8.6	13.9	9.6	14.0	15.6	72	70	70	68	66
28	Niger	9.4	9.6	14.5	7.7	14.6	15.7	72	70	70	68	62



Rank	Country	Private life	Family life	Community life	National life	Church life	Violence	Total Score WWL 2025	Total Score WWL 2024	Total Score WWL 2023	Total Score WWL 2022	Total Score WWL 2021
29	Turkmenistan	14.3	12.3	13.6	13.9	15.3	1.5	71	70	70	69	70
30	Nicaragua	12.4	7.6	13.7	13.3	14.1	9.6	71	70	65	56	51
31	Mexico	11.7	9.0	12.5	11.8	11.0	14.6	71	68	67	65	64
32	Oman	14.5	14.1	10.9	13.8	14.1	3.0	70	69	65	66	63
33	Ethiopia	9.9	9.7	12.6	10.4	12.1	15.6	70	69	66	66	65
34	Tunisia	12.4	13.2	10.1	12.6	13.8	8.1	70	69	67	66	67
35	DRC	8.0	7.9	12.6	10.8	14.5	16.1	70	67	67	66	64
36	Bhutan	13.2	13.2	12.3	14.1	14.2	2.2	69	68	66	67	64
37	Mozambique	9.3	8.5	13.9	8.4	12.5	15.9	68	68	68	65	63
38	Kazakhstan	13.3	11.6	12.2	12.8	14.2	4.3	68	65	65	64	64
39	Tajikistan	14.1	12.7	12.7	13.2	13.7	1.9	68	66	66	65	66
40	Egypt	12.7	13.7	12.1	12.4	10.9	6.3	68	68	68	71	75
41	Qatar	14.2	14.2	10.5	13.2	14.4	0.7	67	67	68	74	67
42	Comoros	12.7	14.0	11.2	12.4	14.2	2.6	67	66	66	63	62
43	Cameroon	8.8	7.6	12.6	8.4	13.1	16.1	67	66	65	65	64
44	Vietnam	10.8	9.5	12.2	14.1	14.1	5.9	67	68	70	71	72
45	Turkey	13.0	11.7	11.7	13.2	11.5	5.4	67	64	66	65	69
46	Colombia	11.0	7.9	12.7	11.5	10.5	12.6	66	68	71	68	67
47	Kyrgyzstan	13.5	10.3	11.7	11.4	12.4	6.9	66	59	59	58	58
48	Brunei	14.8	14.8	10.8	10.8	14.0	0.6	66	66	65	64	64
49	Chad	11.0	8.2	10.2	9.9	10.3	15.9	65	61	58	55	53
50	Jordan	12.9	14.3	10.4	12.2	12.8	2.4	65	65	65	66	64



World Watch List 2025 - Ranks 51-78

51 52 53	Malaysia Azerbaijan	Private life 12.8 13.3	Family life 13.7	Community	National life	Church life	Violence	Total Score WWL	Total Score WWL	Total Score WWL	Total Score WWL	Total Score WWL
52	Azerbaijan		13.7	44 -				2025	2024	2023	2022	2021
		13.3		11.7	12.4	11.2	3.0	65	64	66	63	63
53	Kenya		10.2	9.6	12.2	13.7	5.6	65	60	59	60	56
		10.3	9.2	11.4	8.0	11.5	13.9	64	63	64	63	62
54	Nepal	12.2	10.6	9.5	12.6	12.3	5.9	63	62	61	64	66
55	Tanzania	9.3	10.8	10.3	8.6	8.7	15.4	63	62	63	61	58
56	Russian Federation	12.7	7.9	10.7	13.1	14.1	4.4	63	58	57	56	57
57	Djibouti	12.3	12.6	12.7	10.1	12.1	1.7	61	61	60	59	56
58	Kuwait	13.1	13.6	9.4	12.0	12.2	0.9	61	61	64	64	63
59	Indonesia	10.9	11.9	10.9	11.6	10.2	5.7	61	66	68	68	63
60	UAE	13.3	13.4	9.5	11.3	12.8	0.6	61	61	62	62	62
61	Sri Lanka	12.7	8.7	11.5	11.5	8.5	7.6	60	60	57	63	62
62	Palestinian Territories	13.1	13.3	10.3	10.7	12.1	0.2	60	60	60	59	58
63	Burundi	7.6	7.8	9.4	9.8	9.7	14.6	59	57	55	52	48
64	Rwanda	9.4	7.7	9.0	10.4	12.1	9.4	58	58	57	50	42
65	Honduras	7.9	4.7	11.7	7.3	9.9	13.1	55	55	53	48	46
66	Togo	9.2	6.7	10.4	7.1	11.5	9.3	54	52	49	44	43
67	Bahrain	12.0	13.2	8.6	11.3	8.5	0.6	54	55	55	57	56
68	Guinea	10.3	7.5	8.3	8.3	10.5	8.9	54	52	48	43	47
69	Ukraine	6.8	5.0	7.8	12.5	13.5	7.2	53	44	37	37	34
70	Angola	6.8	6.7	8.1	11.5	11.4	8.3	53	52	52	51	46
71	Venezuela	6.3	4.4	11.1	10.0	10.8	9.6	52	53	56	51	39
72	Uganda	8.1	5.0	7.4	6.7	8.8	16.1	52	52	51	48	47
73	Ivory Coast	12.0	6.5	8.7	5.9	8.0	9.6	51	44	44	42	42
74	Lebanon	11.5	10.1	7.0	6.2	6.7	7.2	49	48	40	35	34
75	Gambia	8.3	8.2	8.9	8.8	8.9	4.4	48	47	44	44	43
76	South Sudan	5.7	4.4	7.0	6.3	8.1	15.6	47	46	46	43	43



Rank	Country	Private life	Family life	Community life	National life	Church life	Violence	Total Score WWL 2025	Total Score WWL 2024	Total Score WWL 2023	Total Score WWL 2022	Total Score WWL 2021
77	Belarus	9.9	3.7	5.0	10.8	14.1	3.1	47	46	43	33	30
78	Philippines	9.2	6.6	6.6	6.1	5.7	8.5	43	40	32	34	26

Copyright, sources and definitions

World Watch Research has divided up the previously named Full Country Dossier into two separate documents:

- <u>Background country information</u> (published annually in summer)
- Persecution dynamics (published annually in January).

These documents are the property of World Watch Research (WWR), the research department of Open Doors International. They include data and analysis based around Open Doors World Watch List (WWL) and statistical information on world religions, Christian denominations and people groups prepared by the World Christian Database (WCD). Highlighted links in the text can be found written out in full at the end of each document under the heading "External links". These documents may be used and distributed free of charge, but please always acknowledge the source as: © Open Doors International.

The definition of persecution used in WWL analysis is: "Any hostility experienced as a result of one's identification with Christ. This can include hostile attitudes, words and actions towards Christians". This broad definition includes (but is not limited to) restrictions, pressure, discrimination, opposition, disinformation, injustice, intimidation, mistreatment, marginalization, oppression, intolerance, infringement, violation, ostracism, hostilities, harassment, abuse, violence, ethnic cleansing and genocide.

The latest update of WWL Methodology can be found on the research pages of the Open Doors website: https://www.opendoors.org/en-US/research-reports/wwl-documentation/.

Reporting period

The WWL 2025 reporting period was 1 October 2023 - 30 September 2024.

Brief country details

Mozambique: Population (UN estimate for 2024)	Christians	Chr%
34,858,000	19,973,000	57.3

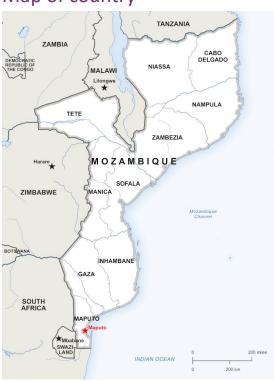
Zurlo G A and Johnson T M, eds., World Christian Database, Leiden/Boston: Brill, accessed May 2024



Mozambique: Religious context	Number of adherents	%
Christians	19,973,000	57.3
Muslim	6,220,000	17.8
Hindu	57,900	0.2
Buddhist	3,800	0.0
Ethnic religionist	8,443,000	24.2
Jewish	200	0.0
Bahai	4,400	0.0
Atheist	25,800	0.1
Agnostic	122,000	0.3
Other	8,200	0.0
OTHER includes Chinese folk, New religionist, Sikh, Spiritist, Taoist, Confucianist, Jain, Shintoist, Zoroastrian.		

Zurlo G A and Johnson T M, eds., World Christian Database, Leiden/Boston: Brill, accessed May 2024

Map of country





Dominant persecution engines and drivers

Mozambique: Main Persecution engines	Main drivers
Islamic oppression	Violent religious groups, Citizens (people from the broader society), including mobs, One's own (extended) family, Non-Christian religious leaders
Organized corruption and crime	Organized crime cartels or networks
Dictatorial paranoia	Government officials
Clan oppression	Ethnic group leaders

Engines and Drivers are listed in order of strength. Only Very strong / Strong / Medium are shown here.

Brief description of the persecution situation

In Mozambique, Christians face a multifaceted web of persecution stemming from violent Islamic militants, drug trafficking, government restrictions, conflict-related violence and social discrimination. The rise of radical Islam, particularly in northern regions like Cabo Delgado, has led to targeted attacks on Christian communities, with churches destroyed, pastors abducted, and lives lost as extremists aim to establish an Islamic state. The pervasive presence of drug trafficking exacerbates this hostility, as criminal cartels view church youth-workers opposing organized crime as a threat to their operations, leading to intimidation and violence. Government-imposed restrictions further hinder religious freedom through complex church registration processes, limitations on Christian education, and surveillance. The ongoing conflict between government forces and jihadists has worsened security, forcing many Christians to flee their homes and live in precarious conditions. Social discrimination also plays a significant role, particularly for converts from Islam, who often face severe opposition and ostracization from their families and communities.

Summary of international obligations and rights violations

Mozambique has committed to respect and protect fundamental rights in the following international treaties:

- 1. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)
- 2. <u>Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment</u> (CAT)
- 3. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)
- 4. Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)

Mozambique is not fulfilling its international obligations by regularly violating or failing to protect the following rights of Christians:

- In the North, Christians are killed for their faith (ICCPR Art. 6)
- Christian women are raped and abducted (ICCPR Art. 7)



- Christian women are forcibly married (ICCPR Art. 23 and CEDAW Art. 16)
- Converts to Christianity suffer from discrimination and violence in the north (ICCPR Arts. 18 and 26)

Specific examples of violations of rights in the reporting period

Examples of violence affecting Christians in the northern province of Cabo Delgado:

- January 2024 attacks in Mocímboa da Praia: Over two weeks in January, Islamic State affiliated militants attacked several villages in the Mocímboa da Praia district. The attacks began on 3 January in the village of Ntotoe, where three Christians were killed, and more than 60 houses and a church were burned down. Subsequent attacks in Chimbanga and another village resulted in the deaths of six more Christians and the destruction of over 110 homes (CBN, 26 January 2024).
- IS campaign: "Kill Them Wherever You Find Them": The Islamic State's "Kill Them Wherever You Find Them" campaign, launched on 4 January 2024, included brutal attacks specifically targeting Christians. The campaign was announced by the group's spokesperson and resulted in widespread violence, with images of the killings and burning properties published in IS's weekly magazine, Al-Naba (CBN, 26 January 2024).
- Targeting of Christian homes and businesses: Throughout the WWL 2025 reporting period, Christian homes and businesses were frequently targeted and set on fire, contributing to the ongoing displacement and economic destabilization of Christian communities in the region.

Christian communities and how they are affected

Communities of expatriate Christians: Expatriate Christians are not isolated from other Christian communities in Mozambique and are thus are not treated as a separate category in WWL analysis.

Historical Christian communities: This category includes Roman Catholic, Anglican and Orthodox churches. They are frequently targeted by ASWJ militants.

Converts to Christianity: This category includes converts from Islam or traditional African religions to Christianity. Persecution is particularly severe if the convert is from a Muslim background in the Muslim-dominated northern part of the country; such converts are likely to be targets for attack by radicalized Muslims.

Non-traditional Christian communities: This category includes Baptist, Pentecostal and various independent Christian groups. Due to their focus on outreach and evangelism, Christians in these churches are regularly threatened and attacked.

Areas where Christians face most difficulties

The persecution of Christians is severest in the northern Cabo Delgado province due to violent attacks by IS-affiliated militants.



Position on the World Watch List

Mozambique: World Watch List	Points	WWL Rank
WWL 2025	68	37
WWL 2024	68	39
WWL 2023	68	32
WWL 2022	65	41
WWL 2021	63	45

Mozambique has consistently scored 68 points in the three most recent WWL reporting periods, reflecting a persistent level of pressure and violence, particularly in the northern region where jihadist activity remains entrenched. Despite military intervention from various countries that have successfully recaptured several towns and cities from Islamic militants over the last two years, the militants' influence continues to pose a serious threat. Violence has escalated, rising from 15.0 points in WWL 2024 to 15.9 in WWL 2025, underscoring that violence against Christians continues at an extreme level. This plateaued score of 68 highlights the ongoing and unrelenting challenges Christians face in Mozambique amidst a volatile security landscape. Additionally, the presence of drug cartels in certain areas has further complicated life for Christians, particularly disrupting church initiatives aimed at engaging youth.

Persecution engines

Mozambique: Persecution engines	Abbreviation	Level of influence
Islamic oppression	10	Very strong
Religious nationalism	RN	Not at all
Ethno-religious hostility	ERH	Not at all
Clan oppression	со	Medium
Christian denominational protectionism	CDP	Weak
Communist and post-Communist oppression	СРСО	Not at all
Secular intolerance	SI	Not at all
Dictatorial paranoia	DPA	Medium
Organized corruption and crime	осс	Medium

The scale for the level of influence of Persecution engines in society is: Not at all / Very weak / Weak / Medium / Strong / Very strong. For more information see WWL Methodology.



Islamic oppression (Very strong)

Islam is a minority-religion in Mozambique with main <u>centers</u> in the north (Pew Forum, accessed 1 December 2020). From October 2017 onwards, there have been recurrent attacks against Christians by Islamic militants, causing thousands of residents to flee their homes. It is not unlikely that this jihadist violence could expand southwards and also into neighboring Tanzania and Malawi.

Organized corruption and crime (Medium)

Mozambique faces a very significant problem with organized crime. Drugs, illegal wildlife products such as ivory and illegal arms are widely traded at ports. Radical Islamic ASWJ has been involved in this illegal trade to fund the group's activities. The thriving drug-trafficking business affects Christian communities where threats are issued and acts of violence take place, especially where Christian workers evangelize among the youth and among groups involved in the supply or use of drugs.

Dictatorial paranoia (Medium)

The Constitution declares the nation to be secular and also protects the right to practice or not practice religion. Political parties are prohibited from using names containing references to any religious denominations or churches, and from using emblems that may be confused with national or religious symbols. Moreover, the Constitution bans all religious influence in public educational institutions. The state bureaucratic system and institutions that have been in place for decades also impose cumbersome registration requirements for religious groups.

Clan oppression (Medium)

In some remote areas, adherents to the indigenous belief system see the rise in Christian evangelistic activities as a threat. As a result, community leaders will often oppose such church action.



Drivers of persecution

Mozambique: Drivers of Persecution	IO VERY STRONG	RN	ERH	CO	CDP WEAK	СРСО	SI	DPA MEDIUM	OCC MEDIUM
Government officials								Medium	
Ethnic group leaders				Medium					
Non-Christian religious leaders	Medium								
Religious leaders of other churches					Weak				
Violent religious groups	Very strong								
Citizens (people from the broader society), including mobs	Medium								
One's own (extended) family	Medium								
Organized crime cartels or networks									Medium

The scale for the level of influence of Drivers of persecution in society is: Not at all / Very weak / Medium / Strong / Very strong. For more information see WWL Methodology.

Drivers of Islamic oppression

- **Violent religious groups (Very strong):** Violent Islamic militants are the major drivers of persecution. They are believed to have strong ties with al-Shabaab in Somalia and to be followers of a strict Wahhabi interpretation of Islam.
- Organized crime cartels/networks (Medium): Islamic militants are supported financially by working with drug cartels and through corruption involving some officials in the country.
- Family (Medium): In Muslim-dominated areas and in Muslim families, those who convert to Christianity face ostracization and discrimination.
- *Ordinary citizens (Medium):* All Christian groups in Muslim majority areas can face persecution from ordinary citizens and mobs. This is particularly true in the northern part of the country.



Drivers of Organized corruption and crime

• Organized crime cartels and networks (Medium): These groups threaten churches where these are involved in work among youth and criminal gangs. The country is also struggling to deal with the drug networks in the country. Islamic militants are supported financially by working with drug cartels. The stronger the militants become, the more likely Christians will be persecuted in Mozambique - as can be seen in the cases of Boko Haram and al-Shabaab elsewhere.

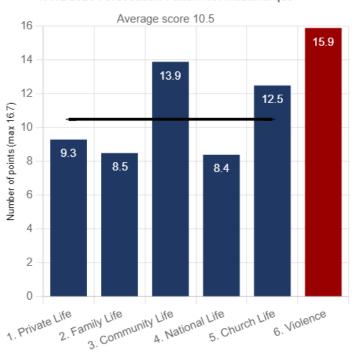
Drivers of Dictatorial paranoia

• **Government officials (Medium):** The government of Mozambique is not a true democracy. It is still repressive in many respects. It puts pressure on some church leaders and congregations to support government policies. It restricts freedom of association and freedom of expression.

Drivers of Clan oppression

• Ethnic group leaders (Medium): In Mozambique, there are certain groups who follow the traditional belief system and/or mix it with Christianity and Islam. The drivers are clan leaders (sometimes overlapping with non-Christian religious leaders).

The Persecution pattern



WWL 2025 Persecution Pattern for Mozambique

The WWL 2025 Persecution Pattern for Mozambique shows:

 Mozambique maintained an average pressure score of 10.5 points over the three most recent WWL reporting years (WWL 2023 - 2025), indicating ongoing high challenges for Christians, primarily due to the persistent threat of militant groups in certain regions.



- The Community sphere of life registered an extreme pressure level of 13.9 points, reflecting the severe impact of jihadist hostility on church and community life, especially in the northern regions, where the presence of extremist groups disrupts daily activities and social cohesion. The Church sphere scored a very high pressure level of 12.5 points, indicating adverse effects on church institutions and congregations due to jihadist presence, which often results in restrictions on religious gatherings, property destruction, and targeted attacks on church leaders.
- The score for violence reached an extreme level of 15.9 points in WWL 2025, a 0.9 point increase from 15.0 in WWL 2024, mirroring the continued threat of jihadist attacks, including abductions, killings, and widespread fear, contributing to an environment of insecurity for Christians.

Pressure in the 5 spheres of life

In each of the five spheres of life discussed below, four questions have been selected from the WWL 2025 questionnaire for brief commentary and explanation. The selection usually (but not always) reflects the highest scoring elements. In some cases, an additional paragraph per sphere is included to give further information deemed important. To see how individual questions are scored on a scale of 0-4 points, please see the "WWL Scoring example" in the WWL Methodology, available at: https://www.opendoors.org/en-US/research-reports/wwl-documentation/.

Pressure in Block 1 / Private sphere

Block 1.2: It has been risky for Christians to conduct acts of Christian worship by themselves (e.g. prayer, Bible reading, etc.). (2.75 points)

In Cabo Delgado, practicing Christianity privately at home can be dangerous, as militants have created a hostile environment toward Christian practices. Christians engaging in worship or expression in both communal and solitary settings face the risk of close monitoring and the potential for violent reprisals.

Block 1.5: It has been risky for Christians to display Christian images or symbols. (2.75 points)

The hostile atmosphere and widespread displacement caused by Islamic militants in Cabo Delgado have created conditions where even small acts of Christian expression, such as wearing a cross or displaying religious artwork, can attract unwanted attention. Militants often perceive such displays as defiance, using them as a pretext for persecution or violence.

Block 1.7: It has been risky for Christians to speak about their faith with immediate family members. (2.50 points)

For converts in Muslim communities, particularly in northern Mozambique, including Cabo Delgado, discussing one's Christian faith with immediate family members poses significant risks. These communities, deeply rooted in Islam, often view conversions to Christianity as acts of defiance or betrayal. Information about a family member's Christian faith can quickly spread, attracting the attention of community leaders or militant groups. Islamic militants enforce strict control over religious practices and impose severe consequences for perceived deviations from Islamic norms in northern Mozambique. This environment intensifies the risks for converts, who must exercise extreme discretion even in their private conversations with family.



Block 1.9: It has been risky for Christians to meet with other Christians. (2.50 points)

In Cabo Delgado, Christians meeting together face immense danger due to the active presence of Islamic militants and extremist groups operating in the region. These groups have intensified their surveillance of religious gatherings, viewing any Christian assembly, whether for worship, Bible study, or prayer, as a provocative act that could lead to violent consequences, such as attacks, kidnappings or even death. Militants frequently target such meetings as part of their campaign to enforce their ideology and suppress any non-Islamic religious expression. Kidnappings are common, with victims either held for ransom, forcibly converted, or subjected to inhumane treatment.

Pressure in Block 2 / Family sphere

Block 2.3: Christians have been hindered in celebrating a Christian wedding for faith-related reasons. (3.25 points)

While there are no formal legal prohibitions against registering marriages, the public celebration of these unions in accordance with Christian rites can attract significant attention and danger in regions like Cabo Delgado. The presence of armed militants, who view Christian practices as provocative, makes such events highly vulnerable to attacks, threats, or harassment. As a result, Christian weddings are often conducted in secrecy, with couples opting for private ceremonies attended by only a handful of trusted individuals. This shift reflects not only the threat of physical harm but also the broader erosion of community life as public gatherings associated with Christian identity become increasingly untenable. The fear of retaliation has deprived Christians of the freedom to celebrate one of life's most joyous milestones openly and safely.

Block 2.4: Christian baptisms have been hindered. (3.25 points)

Like the celebration of Christian weddings, baptism is also extremely challenging in certain parts of Mozambique, particularly in Cabo Delgado, where Islamic jihadists operate. Living in fear, Christians in these areas discreetly carry out their religious practices to avoid drawing attention. Public baptisms, especially for converts, are highly risky as Christians face the threat of attacks if discovered. The targeting of Christians, churches, and church properties has been a documented issue in northern Mozambique for several years and such attacks highlight the hostile environment in which Christians practice their faith, forcing them to carry out fundamental rituals like baptism in secret to safeguard individuals and communities from violence.

Block 2.9: Children of Christians have been harassed or discriminated against because of their parents' faith. (3.25 points)

In many parts of Mozambique, particularly in regions with a Muslim majority, Christian children face significant discrimination. This is evident in various aspects of daily life: Children from Christian backgrounds may face exclusion or bullying in playgrounds, which are not always safe spaces. In rural areas, where children often work alongside their families in agriculture or cattle herding, they may encounter hostility from community members who view their faith as incompatible with local customs or beliefs. Muslim peers, and in some cases, even educators, may ostracize or verbally abuse Christian children in schools because of their faith.



Block 2.12: Christian spouses of non-Christians have been excluded from the right or opportunity to claim custody of the children in divorce cases. (2.50 points)

Mozambique's Family Law of 2004 determines child custody in divorce cases based on the child's best interests, emphasizing criteria like emotional well-being, stability and safety. The law explicitly avoids discrimination based on the parents' religious beliefs, theoretically ensuring equal treatment for Christian spouses, including converts, in custody disputes. This legal framework reflects a commitment to impartiality in family matters. However, the lived reality often contrasts sharply with these legal provisions. Christian converts in particular face significant challenges despite the protections outlined in the law. Societal norms and local customs, especially in areas with strong religious or cultural biases, can informally undermine the rights of Christian parents. Converts often bear the brunt of persecution within their families and communities, facing pressure, exclusion, or even hostility that impacts their ability to maintain custody or provide a stable environment for their children.

Pressure in Block 3 / Community sphere

Block 3.11: Christians have been hindered in the operation of their businesses for faith-related reasons (e.g. access to loans, subsidies, government contracts, client boycotts). (3.75 points)

Christians face significant challenges in operating their businesses due to faith-based discrimination. These challenges often revolve around restricted access to financial resources such as loans, subsidies and government contracts, as well as potential boycotts by clients. The situation becomes even more precarious for Christians who use their businesses to voice criticism of organized crime or corruption, including drug trafficking. In regions influenced by Islamic dominance, as well as in conservative Catholic communities, Christians belonging to minority denominations face difficulties caused by societal pressure which often demands conformity to the practices of the majority religion, further limiting their ability to secure financial or governmental support. Although Mozambican law does not formally endorse these discriminatory practices, localized societal norms and informal pressure create significant barriers, undermining Christians' ability to conduct business effectively in these regions.

Block 3.3: Christians have been under threat of abduction and/or forced marriage. (3.50 points)

Abduction is prevalent and poses a serious threat to Christian communities in the country, especially in the northern regions where jihadist groups operate. In these areas, Christians face significant risks while traveling. Despite the presence of military forces from different parts of Africa, the crisis remains unresolved, and Christians continue to live under constant threat. Those who speak out against organized crime and corruption, including drug trafficking, are especially at risk, further exacerbating the dangers they face. In addition, converts from Catholicism to other Christian denominations in conservative Catholic communities are particularly vulnerable, facing threats of violence, forced marriage, and other forms of persecution.

Block 3.6: Christians have been hindered in participating in communal institutions, forums, etc., for faith-related reasons. (3.50 points)

Societal expectations to conform to dominant religious practices often result in exclusion from community involvement. In specific regions, particularly those influenced by Islamic extremism in the north or by conservative Catholic communities, Christians (in particular those belonging to minority denominations) face significant challenges in participating in communal institutions and forums due



to their faith. Furthermore, targeting and marginalizing Christians who openly oppose organized crime and corruption, such as drug trafficking, may result in additional unofficial restrictions on their community participation. Mozambican law does not officially endorse such hindrances, yet they mirror localized societal pressure and norms that disproportionately affect Christians in these areas.

Block 3.5: Christians have been put under pressure to take part in non-Christian religious ceremonies or community events. (3.25 points)

Christian groups face certain pressure to attend rituals or ceremonies that do not align with their values and principles, particularly in northern regions where Islamic extremism is prevalent and also in conservative Catholic communities. This pressure often stems from societal expectations to conform to dominant religious practices, with non-compliance resulting in social exclusion or other repercussions. For those who publicly challenge organized crime and corruption, including drug trafficking, the pressure intensifies. Coercion to participate in non-Christian ceremonies may serve as a social punishment or further marginalization in such cases. These dynamics illustrate the broader difficulties encountered by Christians in navigating societal expectations that conflict with their faith.

Pressure in Block 4 / National sphere

Block 4.9: Christian civil society organizations or political parties have been hindered in their functioning or forbidden because of their Christian convictions. (3.50 points)

Christian organizations in Mozambique face significant limitations in their ability to operate, largely due to pressure from organized crime, widespread corruption, authoritarian government paranoia, and threats posed by Islamic jihadist groups. These challenges compel organizations to exercise extreme caution in their activities, often prioritizing safety over outreach. Another layer of difficulty arises from government surveillance, which closely monitors Christian organizations and expects them to align with official policies to avoid conflict with authorities. This scrutiny restricts their operational freedom and forces them to navigate a complex environment of mistrust and suspicion. Furthermore, the widespread impact of organized crime and jihadist groups creates an atmosphere of fear, which makes it harder for these groups to assist local communities without facing major risks. As a result, the work of Christian organizations has become heavily constrained, with their activities and reach significantly reduced.

Block 4.4: Christians have been hindered in travelling for faith-related reasons. (3.25 points)

Travel for Christians in Mozambique is highly restricted, particularly in the northern regions where Islamic extremism poses significant threats. The presence of militant groups creates constant danger, with Christians facing risks of abduction, violence, or persecution. In these areas, movement is often limited not only by physical threats but also by a pervasive atmosphere of fear that discourages travel altogether. Even beyond the northern regions, vocal Christian figures often encounter travel restrictions imposed as national security measures. While framed as necessary for maintaining public order, these restrictions frequently exceed what the situation requires, creating unnecessary barriers. This is especially problematic for Christians engaged in ministry, advocacy, or humanitarian efforts, as their mobility and capacity to carry out their work are severely affected.



Block 4.5: Christians have been discriminated against when engaging with the authorities (local administration, government, army, etc.) for faith-related reasons. (3.00 points)

Discrimination against Christians is evident in their interactions with various authorities, including local administrations, government bodies and security forces. This discrimination often stems from "dictatorial paranoia" and societal factors rather than official legal sanctions. The atmosphere of suspicion and control can lead to biased treatment and barriers when Christians seek to engage with or receive services from these authorities, reflecting broader patterns of repression and intolerance in the region.

Block 4.10: Media reporting has been incorrect or biased against Christians. (3.00 points)

Media reporting in Mozambique often exhibits significant bias, reflecting the influence of political, religious, and societal dynamics. Media outlets that align closely with the government tend to favor narratives supportive of state policies, while portraying Christian groups—particularly those perceived as not openly endorsing the government—in a negative light. This approach creates an environment where certain Christian communities are marginalized or misrepresented. In Muslim-dominated areas, media coverage frequently reflects a bias against Christians, often downplaying their concerns or portraying their activities in a critical manner. Similarly, in regions dominated by Catholicism, there is a marked bias against Protestant groups.

Pressure in Block 5 / Church sphere

Block 5.1: Church activities have been monitored, hindered, disturbed, or obstructed. (3.50 points)

Church activities in Mozambique face significant monitoring and hindrance due to various factors, including authoritarian tendencies, organized crime, corruption, and the presence of jihadist groups, particularly in the northern regions. The government, driven by an authoritarian need to control messaging, often imposes restrictions to dictate what churches can say, especially on matters that could challenge political narratives or authority. This restrictive governance targets Christian institutions to limit their influence over public discourse. In addition to government interference, organized crime and corruption also focus on Christian churches, closely monitoring their activities, particularly their outreach to youth and teachings on morality. Churches that address sensitive issues such as drug abuse, corruption and the exploitation of young people are seen as a threat by these networks. In the northern regions, the presence of jihadist groups and their supporters adds another layer of obstruction, as these groups actively disrupt Christian activities and target churches as ideological adversaries.

Block 5.5: Churches have been hindered from organizing Christian activities outside church buildings. (3.50 points)

Organizing Christian activities outside church compounds in Mozambique is filled with challenges, often leading to heightened tensions and risks. Meetings held outside registered church premises tend to provoke an atmosphere of hostility, drawing suspicion from government authorities who view such gatherings as a potential threat to public order. This scrutiny can escalate into severe repercussions, including forced dispersals or accusations of unlawful assembly. In areas dominated by jihadist groups, the situation is even more precarious. Christians attempting to hold gatherings outside church compounds risk violent attacks, as such activities are often interpreted as open opposition to extremist



ideologies. Reports of churches being damaged, destroyed, or forcibly closed illustrate the broader threats faced by Christians in these regions. These limitations significantly restrict their ability to practice their faith freely, leaving little room for communal worship or outreach beyond designated places of worship.

Block 5.18: Churches have been hindered in establishing, managing, maintaining and conducting schools, or charitable, humanitarian, medical, social or cultural organizations, institutions and associations. (3.50 points)

Christian institutions in Mozambique face significant challenges in their efforts to engage in community-building and service-oriented initiatives. These difficulties affect their ability to establish, manage, and operate schools, as well as charitable, humanitarian, medical, social and cultural organizations. These challenges are part of broader concerns expressed by Christians, including the closure and damage of churches and restrictions on assembly, particularly in northern regions, where the environment is especially hostile. The obstacles encountered in setting up and running these institutions raise critical questions about religious freedom and the ability of Christians to contribute meaningfully to societal development.

Block 5.20: It has been risky for churches or Christian organizations to speak out against instigators of persecution. (3.50 points)

Those who attempt to voice opposition to acts of persecution face significant risks, as persecutors often retaliate with violence, harassment, or other severe consequences. The threat of such retaliation creates an environment where addressing injustices openly becomes nearly impossible. Churches and their leaders are particularly vulnerable, often forced to endure the pressure and hostility in silence. Living under constant fear, they must carefully navigate these challenges without openly opposing the individuals or groups responsible for their suffering.

Violence

Violence is defined in WWL Methodology as the deprivation of physical freedom or as bodily harm to Christians or damage to their property. It includes severe threats (mental abuse). The table is based on reported cases as much as possible, but since many incidents go unreported, the numbers must be understood as being minimum figures. The following points should be considered when using the data provided in the Block 6 table:

1. Some incidents go unreported because the Christians involved choose not to speak about the hostility being faced. Possible reasons for this may be:

- Doing so would expose them to more attacks. For example, if a family member is killed because of his/her faith, the survivors might decide to keep silent about the circumstances of the killing to avoid provoking any further attacks.
- In some circumstances, the reticence to pass on information may be due to the danger of exposure caused by converts returning to their previous faith.
- If persecution is related to sexual violence due to stigma, survivors often do not tell even their closest relatives.
- In some cultural settings, if your loved one is killed, you might be under the obligation to take revenge. Christians not wishing to do that, may decide to keep quiet about it.

2. Other incidents go unreported for the following possible reasons:

• Some incidents never reach the public consciousness, because no one really knows about it; or the incident is simply not considered worth reporting; or media coverage is deliberately blocked or distorted; or media coverage is not deliberately blocked, but the information somehow gets lost; or the incidents are deliberately not reported widely for security rea-



- sons (e.g. for the protection of local church leaders).
- In situations where Christians have been discriminated against for many years, armed conflict can make them additionally vulnerable. Christians killed in areas where fighting regularly takes place are unlikely to be reported separately. Examples in recent years have been Sudan, Syria and Myanmar.
- Christians who die through the deprivation of basic necessities such as clean water and medical care (due to long-term discrimination) are unlikely to be reported separately. Christians are not always killed directly; they can be so squeezed by regulations and other oppressive factors that they die not at once, but in the course of years. This often includes the deprivation of basic necessities such as clean water and medical care, or exclusion from government assisted socioeconomic development projects. These numbers could be immense.

3. The use of symbolic numbers:

• In cases where it has been impossible to count exactly, a symbolic round figure (10*, 100* etc.) is given and indicated with an asterisk. A symbolic number of 10* could in reality even be 100 or more but the real number is uncertain. A symbolic number of 100* could go well over 1000 but the real number is uncertain. A symbolic number of 1,000* could go well over 10,000 but, again, the real number is uncertain. The same applies for symbolic numbers 10,000*, 100,000* and 1,000,000*: Each could indicate much higher numbers, but WWR chooses to be cautious because the real number is uncertain.

Mozambique: Violence scores per Block 6 question in questionnaire	WWL 2025	WWL 2024
6.1 How many Christians have been killed for faith-related reasons (including state sanctioned executions)?	56	10 *
6.2 How many churches or public Christian properties (schools, hospitals, cemeteries, etc.) have been attacked, damaged, bombed, looted, destroyed, burned down, closed or confiscated for faith-related reasons?	100 *	10 *
6.3 How many Christians have been detained for faith-related reasons?	6	0
6.4 How many Christians have been sentenced to jail, labor camp, sent to psychiatric hospital as punishment, or similar things for faith-related reasons?	0	0
6.5 How many Christians have been abducted for faith-related reasons (including Christians missing in a persecution context)?	13	0 *
6.6 How many Christians have been raped or otherwise sexually harassed for faith-related reasons?	100 *	10 *
6.7 How many cases have there been of forced marriages of Christians to non- Christians?	14	10 *
6.8 How many Christians have been otherwise physically or mentally abused for faith-related reasons (including beatings and death threats)?	100 *	100 *

(table continues below)



Mozambique: Violence scores per Block 6 question in questionnaire	WWL 2025	WWL 2024
6.9 How many houses of Christians or other property (excluding shops) have been attacked, damaged, bombed, looted, destroyed, burned down or confiscated for faith-related reasons?	100 *	100 *
6.10 How many shops or businesses of Christians have been attacked, damaged, bombed, looted, destroyed, burned down, closed or confiscated for faith-related reasons?	100 *	100 *
6.11 How many Christians have been forced to leave their homes or go into hiding incountry for faith-related reasons?	1000 *	100 *
6.12 How many Christians have been forced to leave the country for faith-related reasons?	10	10 *

5 Year trends

The following three charts show the levels of pressure and violence faced by Christians in the country over the last five WWL reporting periods.

5 Year trends: Average pressure

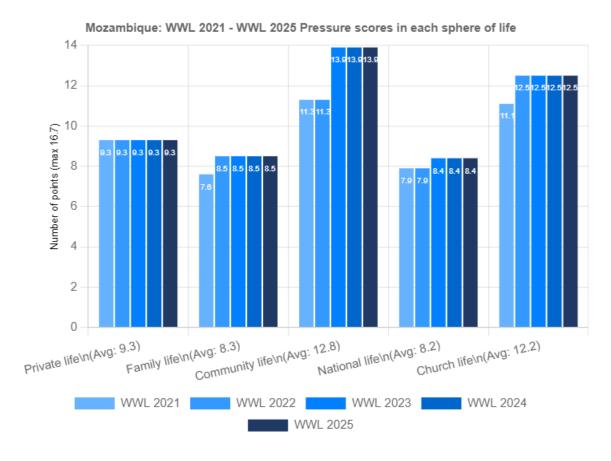
Mozambique: WWL 2021 - WWL 2025	Average pressure over 5 Spheres of life
2025	10.5
2024	10.5
2023	10.5
2022	9.9
2021	9.4

The score for average pressure on Christians over the last five reporting periods has leveled off at 10.5 points.

5 Year trends: Pressure in each sphere of life

As can be seen in the blue chart below, the *Community sphere* registers the highest pressure, with an average score of 12.8 points, followed by the *Church sphere* with 12.2 points.





5 Year trends: Violence against Christians





Over the span of five WWL reporting periods, the average violence score stands at 15.6 points, and has consistently remained at or above the 15.0-point mark each year. These extremely high scores reflect the tremendous violence inflicted by jihadist groups and their supporters against Christians, targeting their properties, churches and communities.

Gender-specific religious persecution / Female

Mozambique Female Pressure Points

Most frequently recorded PPs: WWL 2019 - WWL 2024

Abduction
Denied custody of children
Denied inheritance or possessions
Forced marriage
Trafficking
Violence – physical
Violence – sexual

According to local sources, the most common violations affecting Christian women and girls in the country are sexual harassment and rape - attributed to the incursion of Islamic militants - and forced marriage to militants. A country expert explains: "Young Christian women are forced to get married with insurgents' leaders and other women are forced to work as slaves." Mozambique also has one of the highest rates of child marriage in the world, with 53% of girls being married before they reach 18, often fueled by low education and employment opportunities for women and girls (Girls Not Brides Mozambique, accessed 13 January 2025). Despite the continued prevalence of child marriage in the country, things are changing for the better. Since 2019, a global initiative of the United Nations has been supporting the approval and implementation of Mozambican laws that protect women and girls from gender-based violence and harmful practices, such as early marriages (UN News, 16 October 2022). Cultural pressure to conform to community norms is so high that some Christian girls have reported being forced by their parents into unions with Muslims, primarily, for the prestige of having a married daughter "even when it was known that this would have implications on their faith." Victims of forced marriage and rape have been psychologically and emotionally traumatized by these events. Young women and girls have seen their vulnerability to specific Pressure Points compounded by the ongoing conflict in northern Mozambique, with many being forced to abandon school and even their homes, leaving them at risk of further harm and abuse.

The rise in violence in the north of the country has exacerbated other forms of violence against women and girls and is reported as one of the main drivers of <a href="https://www.human.com/human.



married." Additionally, women are prone to domestic abuse, emotional and mental mistreatment, forced marriages, sexual assaults, abductions, and even killings. The situation highlights the multifaceted nature of persecution faced by women and girls, encompassing various forms of violence, discrimination and exploitation.

There have been several reports of abductions across areas of the country where jihadists and their cells exert influence. One country expert noted: "Christian girls were taken as war trophies." In addition to marriage, girls are also used for forced labor. The practice of viewing women as domestic slaves and tools of sexuality has fueled the abduction of women by insurgents to use for sex as well as domestic chores. "Over 800 women are said to have been sent to jihadist camps for forced labor or sex", a country expert disclosed. In Muslim-dominated areas like Cabo Delgado, Christian women and girls are required to comply with the Islamic dress code in all Muslim schools and in communal areas. Converts from a Muslim or African Traditional Religion background are particularly vulnerable to persecution from within the family sphere. Many Muslim families living in Mozambique force suspected female converts to marry a Muslim man to ensure that they cannot get involved in Christian activities. Objection to these marriages can prove fatal for young women in particular. If already married, converts face the threat of divorce and the loss of custody of their children. They may also be denied their due inheritance.

Gender-specific religious persecution / Male

Mozambique Male Pressure Points

Most frequently recorded PPs: WWL 2019 - WWL 2024

Military/militia conscription/service against conscience Violence – death

According to country experts, *Islamic oppression* continues to be is the most common motor for persecution for Christians in Mozambique, which has evidently been exacerbated by the ongoing rise in violence, particularly in the north of the country. It is reported that Christian men and boys have been targeted by insurgents and killed or chased out of their homes. A country expert describes the situation as follows: "Christian women who are abducted are married off as brides to jihadist's to bear children whilst the men are usually killed off if they do not renounce their faith". Conversion to Christianity is opposed and punishable. The country expert goes on to say that "young men are recruited to join the insurgents, older men are killed because they are regarded as weak and cannot join the insurgent's army". Young boys are thus vulnerable to abduction and forcibly recruited into militias. This practice has been <u>confirmed by multiple reports</u> published by Human Rights Watch (HRW, 24 November 2022).

Church leaders who have been critical of the government and denounced the instigators of persecution have been harassed by government officials. In recent years, pastors have also reported being denied exit visas and incarcerated for up to three years in re-education camps.



Persecution of other religious minorities

According to the US State Department (IRFR 2023 Mozambique):

• In September [2023], ISIS-M launched an attack on a village in Cabo Delgado's Mocimboa da Praia District, reportedly killing at least 11 Christians. According to survivors, the attackers separated villagers based on their names, identifying Christians and Muslims, and then opened fire on those they believed to be Christian. While ISIS-M propaganda claimed to specifically target Christians and Christian villages, reports indicate that the group often did not differentiate much among its victims. Media accounts highlighted that Muslim communities were also among those affected by the often indiscriminate attacks in rural areas.

A significant number of the population still follow traditional African religions. Most adherents live in remote parts of the country and there are no reports of persecution. Many are converting to Christianity.

Trends Summary

1) Government stability depends on many factors

Mozambique's history has been defined by cycles of instability, marked by a brutal civil war that lasted from 1977 to 1992, leaving a legacy of fear that continues to shape the nation's political and social fabric. The end of the war brought hopes for peace, but the transition to democracy has been fraught with challenges. Electoral processes have frequently been marred by allegations of fraud and violence, deepening mistrust between the ruling FRELIMO party and opposition groups like RENAMO. Beyond politics, the country grapples with armed insurgencies in its northern provinces, driven by violent Islamic militants who exploit socio-economic vulnerabilities. This persistent insecurity, combined with periodic natural disasters and widespread poverty, perpetuates a sense of fragility, making stability in Mozambique elusive and fears of renewed conflict an ever-present reality.

The October 2024 elections in Mozambique have further intensified the country's long-standing political tensions, reflecting both continuity and new challenges. The ruling FRELIMO party, in power since independence in 1975, retained control amidst widespread allegations of electoral fraud and irregularities. Daniel Chapo, the party's candidate, secured the presidency with over 70% of the vote, extending FRELIMO's five-decade dominance. However, the results have been fiercely contested by opposition groups, particularly Venâncio Mondlane, who garnered 20% of the vote and accused the ruling party of systematic vote rigging. The election process was marred by accusations of tampered vote counts, procedural inconsistencies, and violent suppression of dissent. Protests erupted across major cities like Maputo as opposition supporters rallied against what they perceive as a stolen election. The response from security forces, including the use of tear gas and live ammunition, exacerbated tensions, leading to injuries, deaths and heightened fears of broader instability. The murder of key opposition figures, including a Podemos lawyer and spokesperson, further underscores the fraught political climate. The election not only highlights deep-seated issues within Mozambique's governance structures but also mirrors the broader insecurity faced by the state. Islamist insurgencies in the northern provinces, climate shocks, and a worsening economic crisis compound the challenges for the incoming administration. For Mozambique, the aftermath of this election signifies a pivotal



moment, with the potential to either deepen political and social divides or offer a path toward genuine reform and stability.

2) Risk of Islamic insurgency expanding

The efforts of Mozambican and allied forces have pushed back jihadists, yet the threat remains significant, especially in northern Mozambique. Radical Islamic group al-Sunnah wa Jama'ah (ASWJ), labeled a 'Foreign Terrorist Organization' by the USA, continues to exert influence. The US embassy has deployed Special Forces trainers to support Mozambique's military, while SADC forces have been actively involved in stabilizing the region. However, without comprehensive strategies addressing the conflict's root causes, there is a risk of jihadists adapting and spreading their influence further. Reports of attacks outside Cabo Delgado highlight the potential for the conflict to expand, necessitating a holistic approach encompassing social, economic and political dimensions to protect vulnerable communities, including Christians.

3) Regional military intervention and its future

The international military presence in Cabo Delgado is at a crossroads. SADC and several countries are pulling out their troops. However, South Africa plans to keep its forces in the region until the end of the 2024, with additional personnel staying until March 2025 to combat maritime threats. Rwanda is increasing its troop presence, aiming to compensate for the end of the SADC mission. These moves underscore the complex and uncertain future of foreign military intervention in Mozambique. The effectiveness of these new arrangements in maintaining security and preventing insurgent resurgence remains to be seen, with concerns about the long-term sustainability and transparency of these deployments.

Further useful reports

Further background information per country and a selection of in-depth reports and smaller articles are available on the Research & Reports pages of the Open Doors website:

- https://www.opendoors.org/en-US/research-reports/wwl-background/
- https://www.opendoors.org/en-US/research-reports/.
- Mozambique Islamic militancy July 2020

External Links

- Copyright, sources and definitions: Background country information https://www.opendoors.org/en-US/research-reports/wwl-background/
- Summary of international obligations and rights violations: International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/ccpr.aspx
- Summary of international obligations and rights violations: Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/cat.aspx
- Summary of international obligations and rights violations: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women - https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CEDAW.aspx
- Summary of international obligations and rights violations: Convention on the Rights of the Child https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx
- Specific examples of violations of rights in the reporting period: CBN, 26 January 2024 https://www2.cbn.com/news/world/islamic-state-claims-responsibility-killing-christians-burning-church-and-homes



- Specific examples of violations of rights in the reporting period: CBN, 26 January 2024 https://www2.cbn.com/news/world/islamic-state-claims-responsibility-killing-christians-burning-church-and-homes
- Church spectrum today additional information: IRFR 2023 Mozambique https://www.state.gov/reports/2023-report-on-international-religious-freedom/mozambique/
- Persecution engines description: centers http://www.globalreligiousfutures.org/countries/mozambique#/?affiliations_religion_id=0&affiliations_year=20

 10®ion_name=All%20Countries&restrictions_year=2016%20
- Gender-specific religious persecution Female description: Girls Not Brides Mozambique https://www.girlsnotbrides.org/learning-resources/child-marriage-atlas/regions-and-countries/mozambique/
- Gender-specific religious persecution Female description: UN News, 16 October 2022 https://news.un.org/en/story/2022/10/1129542
- Gender-specific religious persecution Female description: human trafficking https://www.state.gov/reports/2022-trafficking-in-persons-report/mozambique/
- Gender-specific religious persecution Male description: confirmed by multiple reports https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/11/24/five-years-justice-still-dream-cabo-delgado-victims
- Persecution of other religious minorities: IRFR 2023 Mozambique https://www.state.gov/reports/2023-report-on-international-religious-freedom/mozambique/
- Further useful reports: Mozambique Islamic militancy July 2020 https://opendoorsanalytical.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/Mozambique-Islamic-militancy-WWR-July-2020.pdf