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Angola's Migration of Thirst: The 2013 Drought

At the end of 2012 and the beginning of 2013 the worst drought[1] in 30 years hit large parts of Angola after years of low rainfall (ACAPS, 2013). The drought had devastating impacts on the population, causing food insecurity, and leaving many people malnourished and without a sustainable livestock (European Commission, 2013). The drought began in 2011 as rainfall dropped below average and gradually moved towards the south of the country, especially affecting the provinces Cunene and Namibe (UNICEF, 2013). From 2011-2012, rainfall was estimated to be 60% below the normal and this decreasing trend continued in 2013 where parts of the country received almost no rainfall at all leaving these provinces in a state of a comprehensive drought (European Commission, 2013). Overall, this disaster attracted little attention from the media although it has resulted in complex migration patterns within Angola and to its neighboring countries, especially Namibia (ACAPS, 2013; BBC, 2013; Tran, 2013).

Environmental disasters are not uncommon in Angola. Due to its geographical location, the country is vulnerable to cyclic natural disasters, especially drought and floods, which weakens the possibilities for sustainable livelihoods (IOM, 2013). It fosters diseases, causes injuries and deaths (NRC, 2008) and the destruction of economic assets lead to food insecurity which is triggering internal migration[2] (IOM, 2013) or forced migration[3] across borders, as people cannot carry out a sustainable lifestyle in the areas affected by the crisis. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) estimates that in 2011 alone, there were 227,000 Internally Displaced Persons[4] (IDPs) in Angola due to extreme natural events, thus making it the first-ranking African country in terms of displacement of its population produced by natural disasters, and the twelfth country globally (IOM, 2013).

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1. A prolonged period of abnormally low rainfall, leading to a shortage of water (Oxford dictionary, 2012).

2. Internal Migration refers to "a movement of people from one area of a country to another for the purpose or with the effect of establishing a new residence. This migration may be temporary or permanent. Internal migrants move but remain within their country of origin (e.g. rural to urban migration) (IOM, 2004).

3. Forced migration is "a general term used to describe a migratory movement in which an element of coercion exists, including threats to life and livelihood, whether arising from natural or man-made causes (e.g. movements of refugees and internally displaced persons as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development)" (IOM, 2004).

4. Internally displaced persons (IDPs) are "persons or groups of persons who have been forced IDPs or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border" (IOM, 2004).

When looking at the State's rapid economic growth, being one of Africans fastest growing economies with large petrol and mineral reserves, the country could have the resources necessary to promote and ensure a sustainable migration framework dealing with the people displaced by environmental hazards, and enforce the environmental policies in place. However, Angola is a post-conflict state that is still fragile and prone to conflict, with poor infrastructure and high levels of poverty affecting the majority of the population (BBC, 2013; Tran, 2013). According to the latest UNDP Human Development Index, Angola is ranked as the 148th out of 187 countries, placing it within the low human development category (OCHA, 2014). Migration within Angola is therefore often linked not solely to environmental causes, but also to other social, political and economic factors, sometimes a combination of all these features (IDMC, 2013) making it difficult to map the migration patterns within the country and sufficiently address the issue.

This paper aims to investigate the 2013 drought that hit Angola and its impact on the population in terms of migration. Firstly, it addresses how the drought and the following floods have affected the local political, economic and social circumstances. Secondly, it analyzes the current policy responses that have been implemented in order to deal with the cause of environmental migration. Thirdly, recommendations to the existing policy challenges will be suggested as to how the country can improve its framework in regards to environmental policies and migration in terms of stricter environmental policies, inter-sectorial cooperation on environmental issues and improved resettlement[5] solutions to ensure the safety of vulnerable groups[6].

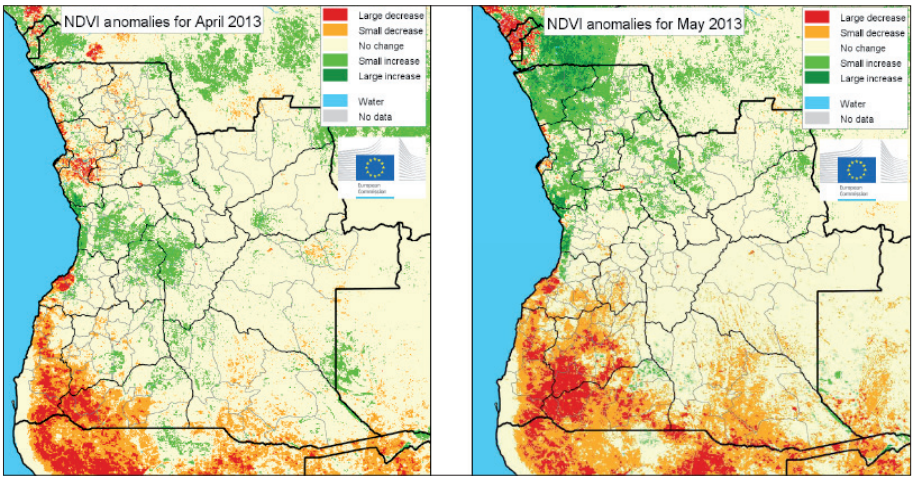
1. ANGOLA AND THE 2013 DROUGHT POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL IMPACTS

Since 2000, Southern Africa has been affected by approximately 50 emergencies that required international assistance (UNOCHA, 2013), many of which have been linked to the difficult climate of the area. Southern Africa is indeed very prone to environmental crises, especially drought and floods, as numerous of Africa's driest countries are located here, including Angola (IFAD, 2011). The governments in question have often been criticized for doing relatively little in order to prevent these oncoming disasters and the devastating results of natural hazards. According to Enrique Paz, The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) head of child survival and development in Angola, as quoted by the Guardian, the drought that hit Namibia and Angola was a result of three years of poor rainfall (Tran, 2013). It was therefore evident in the years before the extreme drought that a crisis was emerging, causing many people to leave their homes in search for food, water and nourishment for their cattle as well as treatment for malnutrition and other diseases (ASAP, 2013). These slow onset disasters can be tackled by preventative measures before they lead to such severe environmental destruction as witnessed in Angola in 2013. Thus, preventative measures implemented on an early stage are crucial considering that such events will only become more regular in the future as environmental disasters are occurring more frequently than ever before (IOM, 2013).

5. Resettlement is "the relocation and integration of people (refugees, internally displaced persons, etc.) into another geo- graphical area and environment, usually in a third country. The durable settlement of refugees in a country other than the country of refuge. This term generally covers that part of the process which starts with the selection of the refugees for resettlement and which ends with the placement of refugees in a community in the resettlement country" (IOM, 2004).

6. Vulnerable groups are categorized as "any group or sector of society that is at higher risk of being subjected to discriminatory practices, violence, natural or environmental disasters, or economic hard- ship, than other groups within the State; any group or sector of society (such as women, children or the elderly) that is at higher risk in periods of conflict and crisis (IOM, 2004).

Figure 1. Absolute Normalized Difference Vegetation Index (NDVI) Anomalies for April and May 2013

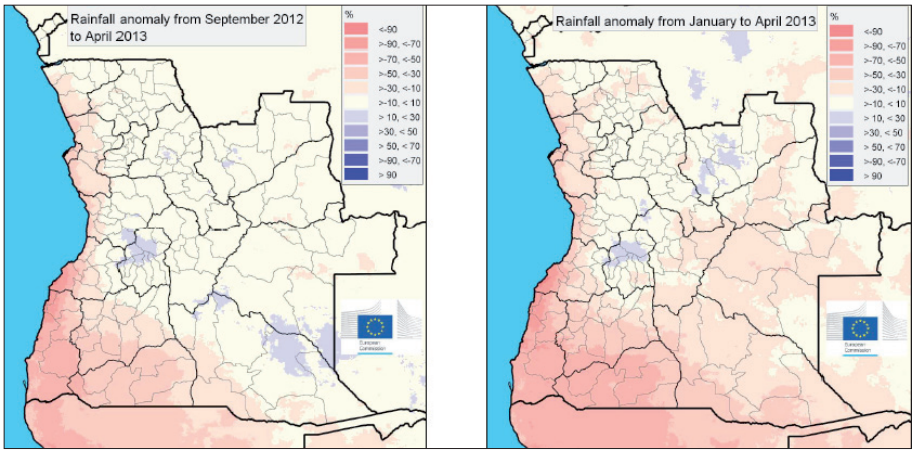


Source: European Commission (2013)

These Figure ures illustrate the onset of the drought and its development in 2013 based on the Absolute Normalized Difference Vegetation Index (NDVI) which shows the anomaly for the main crop season. There is a drastic increase from April to May 2013 [The European Commission 2013; Tropical Applications of Meteorology using SATellite data and ground-based observations (TAMSAT, 2013)].

Rainfall Anomaly from September 2012 to April and from January to April 2013

Figure 2



Source: European Commission (2013)

The Figure ures above illustrate (left) estimated rainfall from September 2012 to April 2013 and (right) the second half of the rainy season from January 2013 to April 2013. Based on this data obtained from the European Commission (2013) and TAMSAT (2013) the main reason for the total seasonal deficit is due to negative rainfall anomalies in the second half of the rainy season.

As Angola is amongst the most unequal societies in the world, according to Southern African Open Societies (OSISA) 2011 report, environmental crises can be extremely disastrous. Currently, approximately 40% of the population is living below the poverty line and the child mortality rate is extremely high - close to 1 out of 5 children are estimated to die before the age of 5. Thus, the majority of the population is ill equipped to deal with environmental disasters, and migration becomes for many a difficult and dangerous process (OSISA, 2011). Unsurprisingly, the drought has had its effects politically, economically and socially within the country, especially on the southern regions that were hit the hardest (see Figure ures 1and 2).

1.1. Political Impacts

In a post conflict country like Angola, natural hazards such as droughts can be dangerous as they can have unpredictable effects on the political climate. Droughts can increase poverty as it robs the population of their livelihood, and thus results in political instability fuelling problems between the population and the government. In Angola, the government carries strict not to say "authoritarian" politics (Human Rights Watch, 2013; Tran, 2013) that at times can negatively affect human rights. It has been heavily criticized for its slow response to the environmental crisis in comparison to its neighbor Namibia, a country that was hit hard by the disaster (Tran, 2013; UN Radio, 2013) and the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) still categorized the situation as severe (June 2014) as large parts of the population still suffer from food insecurity.

The different approaches adopted by Namibia and Angola in reaction to the drought and flood management left many puzzled as both country's suffered immensely. Nevertheless, despite the two different policies regarding the crisis, the situation fuelled little political unrest in the Angola. This is rather surprising since the international humanitarian aid distributing was vastly unfair for the Angolan population in the affected areas, in comparison with the Namibian (UNICEF, 2013), a factor that can easily contribute to political unrest and upheaval. There are two main factors that might have contributed to this overall lack of political reaction to the drought, which will be discussed in the section below.

By 2013 the drought situation was severe in both Namibia and Angola. Approximately 780,000 people one third of the country's population- were food insecure in Namibia in the first months of 2013 (UNOCHA, 2013). On May, 17th the Namibian government declared a state of emergency, pledging for $20 million in relief aid in order to assist the worst affected population as the country was unable to meet their peoples basic needs (Think African Press, 2014). United Nations Organizations such as the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) became heavily involved in the crisis raising 7.4 million dollars in order to treat the 109,000 children under five at risk of malnutrition (UNICEF 2013; UNHCR, 2013; UN Radio, 2013). The Namibian Red Cross Societies and other humanitarian agencies also aided the government in handling the crisis as people were finding it increasingly difficult to survive (UNOCHA, 2013).

In Angola the drought hit the country's southern part with equally devastating impacts. Food insecurity affected approximately 1.8 million people in five provinces (UNOCHA, 2013). In June 2013, Caritas estimated that 250, 000 people in the Namibe province were in urgent need of support as close to 70 per cent of the annual crops had failed (UNOCHA, 2013). UNICEF (2013) requested for $14.3 million for the worst-affected provinces of Cunene, Namibe and Kuando Kubango as well as in the southern parts of Benguela and Huila (UNICEF, 2013; UNOCHA, 2013).

Nevertheless, the government remained quiet about the devastating effects of the drought, not appealing to the international community for help, a policy that differed severely from that of Namibia. The call for relief aid in Namibia might have dampened any political unrest resulting from the drought given the government

active participation in crisis management. In Angola however, only a special inter-ministerial commission was created to handle the disaster by distributing emergency food aid and creating new boreholes[7] (Tran, 2013), aid that according to relief organizations was insufficient and which led many people to leave their home, thus becoming IDPs within Angola itself, or crossing national borders into neighboring Namibia where relief aid was more frequently distributed (UNICEF, 2013; UN Radio, 2013).

Regardless of this lack of response to the crisis, there was little political pressure on the Angolan government, both from international and internal actors, allowing the crisis to continue in silence. This might be related to the country's poverty statistics which reveales that large parts of the country live in severe poverty (The World Bank, 2012). According to IFADs 2014 report on poverty in Angola "It is estimated that 68 per cent of the population is living below the poverty line and 15 per cent of households are living in extreme poverty. Poverty is more widespread in rural areas where 94 per cent of households are categorized as poor" (IFAD, 2014; 3). Thus, this fraction of the population is inadequately equipped to challenge the political authorities in order to claim their basic human rights. However, the question remains, why did Namibia who carried similar poverty statistics to Angola (The World Bank, 2014) chose such a different strategy in order to deal with the consequences of the drought. The Namibian population living in the areas affected by the population is also ill equipped to challenge the government and foster political change. However, the countrys government chose to make it an internationally acknowledged crisis, while Angolans were suffering in silence.

The answer may thus lie in the different financial interests threatened by the crisis. As Angola is a booming economy, the country do not want to have a negative 'external' image and thus might have chosen to silence the crisis to protect its international image. Moreover, many foreign companies and countries that have their own agenda in Angola, especially related to the oil sector (Tran, 2013; OSISA, 2013). As the protection of human rights and financial profit does not always go hand in hand, and with little international attention being given to the disaster, a financial and right based clash might have been avoided by silencing the crisis on an international level. Publicly challenging the government in its poor response to the drought might have resulted in an unwanted backlash hindering profitable resource deals for external actors. It is therefore possible that the silencing of the 2013 drought was a result not only of the governmental policies, but equally constructed by foreign countries and investors with their own agenda in Angola, agendas that differs vastly from that of Namibia.

1.2. Economic impacts

Angola is a country that possesses vast oil wealth and natural minerals; at the same time, it is one of the poorest countries in the world, still recovering from the social, political and economic hardships it faced during the 27-year civil war that ended a little over a decade ago (NRC, 2008). The economy is nevertheless growing as oil exports and foreign loans have aided a rapid reconstruction and improvement of infrastructure, but as most economies worldwide, Angola was affected by the financial crisis, something that can be mirrored in the response to the 2013 drought that hit the country.

At the national level two trends can be observed. Firstly, the financial crisis affected drought prevention, which allowed the onset of this slow disaster as the country had less resources to deal with the oncoming disaster; secondly the

7. A borehole is a "a deep, narrow hole made in the ground, especially to locate water or oil" (*Oxford dictionary,* 2012).

drought itself has influenced and in turn affected the country's economy. Mundial (2013) points out that "from 2009 to mid-2011 GDP growth stagnated due to a decline in global oil prices and a slowdown in domestic oil production. The resulting drop in oil revenues, the primary source of government revenue, impacted the non-oil economy through diminished private consumption, cuts to public spending and the accumulation of substantial arrears to domestic firms" (Mundial, 2013; 6). This drop affected the agricultural and construction sectors profoundly.

The lack of jobs due to cuts in public spending is likely to have left the rural population in a position where it would have to rely on the already overused land for survival, leading to soil over-productivity as well as biodiversity loss. Moreover, as these budget cuts caused a regular downsizing of experts and workers within the environmental sector, a sector that was already poorly funded as this is far from a priority issue within the country that focuses mostly on rapid economic growth based on its oil and mineral industry. This prioritizing is usually done at the expense of both social and economic policies that will benefit the population in the long term such as greater investment in the agriculture sector (Mundial, 2013).

There was a 5.5 % real GDP growth in 2013, which is lower than the 2012 (US Department of State, 2013) the drought itself has arguably influenced the country's economic growth, although other important factors also influenced this financial drop, and it is thus uncertain to what extent the drought has had an impact. Nevertheless, this decline in economic development will make it harder for the country to finance relief aid to the people affected by the drought and the floods, and to those who have to migrate as a result of the disaster.

Yet, the financial crisis alone cannot justify the lack of assistance provided to the population affected by drought. In fact, there was no serious financial problems in the year before the drought hit due to the country's fruitful oil industry, thus more investment could have been put towards drought management to prevent it from taking place. It was clear already in 2009 that the south of the country was in great danger of being affected by drought and floods as it has happened repeatedly before, leaving the most fragile provinces devastated multiple times (Mundial, 2013).

In fact, International Organizations and NGOs have blamed the government for downplaying the crisis as it threatens the country's image as a booming economy (Tran, 2013; UNICEF,2013) and thus possibly its attraction for foreign investment. The large amount of oil funds could be used to ensure domestic growth and that the people of Angola human rights are protected which is unfortunately not currently the case according to many International Organizations and NGO's in the field (Tran, 2013; UNOCHA, 2013). Much of the country's wealth is disappearing due to corruption, leaving the country with a large gap between a small rich elite and the poor majority (OSISA, 2011).

On an individual level the drought has had devastating economic impacts. Although agriculture only accounts for approximately 8% of Angola's GDP, it is the primary source of employment (European Commission, 2013). Crop production, which is the main source of production in Angola, relies on a sustainable rainy season from September to late April and May. Thus, if rainfall is far below average, crops are at stake, implying potentially fatal consequences, especially for the south. "The south is home to about 95 % of the country's livestock, with about one-third of the country's cattle being found in Cunene Province alone" (European Commission, 2013) - a province that has been severely affected by both drought and floods during the last year. Hence, with the lack of an effective agricultural policies and a government that successfully manages the economic hardships facing people during environmental crises such as droughts and floods, many are left with no means to stay.

1.3. Social and Health Impacts

The population has suffered immensely due to the severe drought, and the disaster has had many social consequences. As quoted by UNICEF (2013), their Regional Director for UNICEF Eastern and Southern Africa Steven Allen stated that "reports from the field already indicate that children are dropping out of school and are being separated from their parents, a clear sign of the stress and vulnerability families face as they try to cope with the drought" (UNICEF, 2013). UNICEF (2013) has published several reports discussing the fact that children are currently digging wells, that unclean water is being used for drinking and cooking purposes, and that child protection in the state is fragile as child migration within and between borders is increasingly being observed.

Food security is also a large problem in the country. According to The Assessment Capacities Project (ACAPS) Global Emergency Overview, 700,000 are at risk of food insecurity in Angola. The same report highlights that people are migrating in search of water, food and pasture for their cattle. Because livestock and crops have perished during the drought and the floods that followed, families are selling many of their assets and skipping meals. School attendance has dropped in the regions affected by the disaster (UNICEF, 2013) as families can no longer afford to support their children's education. Cunene is the most impacted province when looking at both the economical and the social results of the drought, as rainfall was the lowest on record in March since 1989 (European Commission, 2013). According to the provincial governor Antonio Didalelwa, almost the entire population of the province are at risk of malnutrition as farming is threatened and the cattle do not have access to food and water (Reuters, 2013).

In terms of the social issues that arose due to the drought, the health impacts are the most severe. The first and most evident result of the drought, and the floods that followed, was that of cholera outbreak in the province. In December 2013, Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN) reported that 1,000 people were infected and 48 confirmed dead over a two-week period due to a cholera outbreak in the drought affected the area (IRIN, 2013) The cholera pandemic continued to spread within the province as the drought left many without proper living conditions, food insecure and without access to a safe water source (ACAPS, 2013).

Cholera is a highly contagious disease that usually affects people in areas where there is poor sanitation and unsafe drinking water, and the outbreak can therefore be directly linked to the drought. By the end of 2013 acute malnutrition with rates as high as 25 % had become a reality for the people living in drought affected areas, leaving people, especially children, highly vulnerable to waterborne illnesses such as cholera. As quoted in IRIN (2013), Manuel Eduardo who is working as a consultant for UNICEF in Cunene states that "what's needed is a strong program in terms of people being able to treat water at home, and construction of more boreholes. There are boreholes, but some have dried up and others haven't been maintained." (IRIN, 2013). Due to the lack of safe water sources, cholera outbreaks were reported even prior to the rainy season in October 2013. As the raining season hit and floods became more frequent, the few existing clean water sources were quickly contaminated and there was a slow onset response to the cholera crisis, treating the first cases as diarrhea (UNICEF, 2013).

2. ENVIRONMENTAL MIGRATION AND THE CURRENT FRAMEWORK

There is evidence that environmental migration was taking place due to the 2013 drought in Angola and the floods that followed as people did not have the sufficient means to stay, and thus started to migrate as a survival strategy. The analysis below will illustrate how this migration was handled within the current environmental and migration framework in Angola.

There are indications that people were arriving in the governmental camps close to the affected areas in the south of the country (ACAPS, 2013). The government was dealing with the issue by creating displacement camps in the provinces that are hit the hardest (IOM, 2013). In Cunene for instance, the government has established an emergency plan to provide assistance to roughly 640,000 people were affected by the droughts (ACAPS, 2013).

The drought and floods also led to international migration between Namibia and Angola (UNICEF, 2013). According to UNICEF (2013), between June and July 2013 people were crossing the border from Angola to Namibia through the Kunene River in order to receive treatment for cholera, as it was not provided in Angola. There are similar accounts for treatment of malnutrition. Between March and July 2013, the Engela District of the Ohangwena Region faced a 76% increase in hospital admission regarding malnutrition for children under 5 years of age (UNICEF, 2013). We note also that amongst malnourished patients under 5 years of age, 53% of admissions and 11% of in-patient deaths were from Angola. The families of the patients claimed to seek treatment on this side of the border (UNICEF, 2013).

In Angola environmental migration is particularly worrisome due to the environmental devastation left by the civil war, destruction that is still evident within the county. When the country reached its independence in 1975, after a period of almost 15 years of liberation war, the state was yet again damaged by internal conflict from 1975 until 2002, a conflict that took its tall on the already fragile environment of the country. Thus, although the country today shows great economic progress, its war ravaged history has damaged the environment greatly, leaving the population with less means to deal with environmental hazards. The land is indeed often left in unusable condition, polluted with landmines or destroyed due to the war and the massive dislocation of people. Thus, Angola is facing many additional challenges related to development and disaster risk management, adding to the complexity of the situation (IOM, 2013).

There government does recognize the fact that environmental factors pose a threat to the country's future and that they need to aid population that has been displaced due to environmental factors. Displacement camps have been constructed for short-term relief and the government has signaled that they are prepared to invest in long term measures to battle the constant threat of environmental issues by working with UN-backed institutions on matters of risk reduction and disaster management (IOM,2013). In 2009, the Government of the Republic of Angola enacted a national four-year civil protection strategy. This strategy was the first scheme to deal with natural disasters and centered its main focus towards emergency response capacity (IOM, 2013). According to IRIN (2014) "the government has initiated an emergency program, totaling $43 million, to provide food and water as well as agricultural inputs to affected families". However, it is still unclear if the funds for the program were released, and how much was invested in the projects dealing with the drought (ibid.).

The IOM (2013) highlighted that the results of the drought management are still limited largely due to a lack of disaster statistics and trained human resources to properly deal with environmental issues. And there is little doubt that handling and controlling droughts, as well as the migration related to droughts, is a challenging task since people rarely move as a mass, but rather as individuals and families after the peak of the drought (Gemenne, 2013).Therefore, precise data is difficult to obtain on the issue.

However, as environmental issues are common in Angola prevention must be done and judging by the 2013 crisis it is evident that not enough has been invested in the risk reductuin section leaving the affected areas in an extremely difficulties situation dealing with both drought and the floods. The same accounts for the country's capital, Luanda, where poor infrastructure, informal settlements and local slums are

very vulnerable to flooding as there is a lack of drainage systems and other essential infrastructure that evacuates water appropriately and reduces the spread of water-borne diseases (IOM, 2013). This is an increasing problem because insecurity in rural areas as a result of the many environmental hazards has led to an escalating urbanization. Rapid urban growth is dangerous for commercial agriculture as it reduces the number of people available to work in this sector, leaving the country with very high population density in the cities (World Bank, 2013).

More public spending in the agricultural sector is essential in Angola where over two-thirds of the labor force is employed in agriculture, where less than 30 % of the country's arable land is currently under cultivation and where natural hazard put great pressure on the industry. The agricultural industry was brought to a near standstill during the war, but has great potential today, and is indeed a necessity for the population. This means that the environmental and agricultural policies of the country are crucial to its future and must therefore be prioritized **(**Walmsley and Tshipala 2007).

If used correctly, this availability of land has great potential as it can improve agricultural outputs in many rural areas. And although the government has, according to Mundial (2013), implemented many successful agricultural policies that have led to overall increase in the country's food production, it is important that the agricultural sector is attended to with more precise measures in order to perceive the resources available and avoid loss of arable land. According to the European Commission (2013), five provinces in Southern Angola that were severely affected by the rainfall deficit starting in late 2012 and continued in 2013, presented a great danger for the agricultural sector and natural vegetation, resources that are very valuable to the country's economy and crucial to the populations livelihood. A lack of a precise disaster risk and reduction policy framework can therefore have overall economic consequences for the country's economy as well as on the country's population.

With oil alone accounting for over 95% of Angola's export revenue, it comes as no surprise that this sector is heavily prioritized within the country. Nevertheless, it is important that strong investment is put towards the development of the non-oil areas to obtain a more stable economy. In order for Angola to properly handle and prevent the occurring environmental migration, it is crucial that the country avoid the so called Dutch Disease.[8]

As long as the oil industry has such a strong influence on the public budget, the environmental problems of the country is likely to be down-prioritized and overturned by more economically beneficial policies for the bebefit of the industry, and not for long terms policies that benefit society as a whole, but do not give an immediate economic return.

It thus becomes evident that one of the most important policy questions currently facing Angola is how to convert its oil wealth into sustainable economic, social and environmental development policies that aid the population and promote the agricultural sector, which is where the majority of the population will benefit. The following section will propose recommendations regarding how the country's wealth can also benefit those outside of the oil sector.

8. The Dutch Disease refers to a decline of certain sectors, such as manufacturing and agriculture, while there is an increased in the economic sector related to natural resources, which thus leads to mismanagement (OSISA, 2011).

3. POLICY CHALLENGES

This paper's analysis shows that environmental considerations are not yet a vital part of Angola's socio-economic framework, and there is a lack of policy programs to deal with environmental degradation, including the issue of environmental migration and emergency response. Article 39 of the Constitution states that "Everyone has the right to live in a healthy and non-polluted environment" and that "the State shall adopt the necessary measures to protect the environment and the rational exploitation of natural resources within a sustainable development framework", thus ensuring environmental protection for the population of Angola (Constitution of the republic of Angola, 2010). This is not currently the case as large parts of the population have migrated in order to seek land that allows them to live sustainably although the country has a Ministry of Environment, which is the body responsible for the environmental protection and implementation of environmental laws in Angola, based on the 1998 General Environmental Law (OSISA, 2011).

This framework and Angola's current environmental policies exist but they are fragile, as they do not sufficiently deal with the main environmental issues in an adequate manner. Misuse of land as well as oil spills and other pollution of the waters go unreported. There is currently an overuse of pastures and soil erosion is common, which attribute to population pressure. Deforestation and desertification are major issues leading to a great loss of biodiversity and soil erosion is currently polluting the water sources. Rivers and damns are becoming heavily polluted and as there are a lack of supplied for clean portable water, the population no means to stay and continue a sustainable living (CIA, 2014).

The question remains therefore on the means available and to be implemented to tackle those challenges. Information gathering is a fist step. There is a need for a well-functioning information framework regarding the state of the environment within the country will help inform better and updated environmental policies. Once an overview of the migration has been collected a second step would be to prioritize and integrate environmental strategies, and policies dealing with environmental migration, in the economic and social policies of the country. This data collection should be carried out as soon as possible in order to gain a better understanding of the situation and the migration framework that has occurred before, during and after the 2013 crisis. The current institutional capacity for environmental management is still insufficient in training of human resources and in the on-going data gathering to properly handle the environmental hazards, and coordination amongst actors remain difficult, as the issue is not yet a national priority. A education campaign centered towards the population, especially the rural societies, on environmental issues should be integrated as it will promote environmental management of the natural resources that will allow the population to deal with drought in a more sustainable manner. Finally the development of a framework of preventative measures that can hinder the most devastating effects of hot spells and cyclical drought could help damper the most sever affects of the drough (Russo, Roque and Krugmann, 2002; OSISA, 2011).

Thirdly, it is important that national actors as well as international aid organizations have access to the country's vulnerable population and is allowed to aid people in drought-affected areas. A greater presence of both local NGOs and International Organizations, coordinated with the national actors dealing with environmental issues and disaster risk management, could support rural livelihoods and prevent potential environmental migration taking place as people would have greater access to medical care, clean water and food. Because the government has limited means to prevent environmental hazard it does not attend to the population affected by the drought and flood areas on a large scale. This, along with the lack of national and foreign humanitarian aid in the country, means that a sustainable policy has not

yet been achieved (Tran, 2013; UNICEF, 2013). National and local NGO's, and external actors such as International Organizations can thus possibly help to kick-start the process of a better and more sustainable environmental framework that hinders environmental migration as this is a very difficult issue, especially in Angola due to its location and history. Consequently, a greater presence of humanitarian aid could help prevent and manage environmental migration until the national environmental policies and framework is completed and data collected.

It is however important to note that for development of long term projects, the general rule is that local actors, whether local authorities or local associations or other civil society actors, should be the ones that are reinforced, rather than bringing in foreign actors. Thus, it is recommended that the strategies implemented are to rely on foreign expertise to train local actors and reinforce governmental agencies. This could be a mean to make this sector more prioritized in Angola

Fourthly, rural livelihoods should be made resilient against climate changes, something that can be achieved through a variety of measures. Seed conservation banks and reimbursement schemes should be implemented based on the IOM model proposed in their report on Angola in 2013, allowing for the development of new crops (IOM, 2013). It is crucial that water resource management is properly funded and developed allowing the population to carry portable water for their crops and their animals, as well as to hinder the spread of disease.

On a local level, aiding micro-businesses in the areas affected by drought could develop the local economy by selling basic necessities for household activities. This could reduce reliance on wood, which leads to deforestation and thus fosters drought. From a health perspective, community volunteers should be trained to handle sickness and emergencies. An example suggested by IOM (2013) is to develop community-based management of acute malnutrition, something that would aid the population in the affected areas. Many have been observed crossing the border to Namibia in order to get proper medical care for their children (UNICEF, 2013).

All these steps are reachable with political will and economic investment to promote the environment and agricultural policies that will help the most vulnerable population and thus moving away from the completely oil dominated economy. However, a current lack of transparency, economic mismanagement and corruption makes it difficult to achieve a workable environmental policy (Mundial, 2013; IOM, 2013). The main obstacle is thus a focus on the country's natural resources and the wealth it brings for a variety of reasons.

Foreign investment in the country is not always coordinated in accordance with sectors such as the construction and agricultural sector, causing density forestation on land that could be used in a more sustainable matter when looking at the development of a non-oil economy (Mundial, 2013). This occurs in response to the international demand for timber and other resources (ACAPS, 2013). The many economic policies currently in place, aimed at attracting foreign investors, result in significant biodiversity loss, harming the population by destroying their livelihoods as they rely on this land for their cattle and grains. The government must therefore enforce strict environmental regulations on national as well as foreign companies in the country, regardless of their economic interests, in order to prevent the loss of valuable productive land. These policies are not being enforced, although they do exist on paper (OSISA, 2011).

The country's oil production, and the wealth that comes with it, poses a great threat on the environment because of the economic and political power Sonangol, the state-owned oil company, holds in Angola as well as the multinational companies that invest in the country without much concern for the environment. Multinationals that want to do business are obliged by law to associate with Sonangol in the form of a joint venture or agreements about production sharing (OSISA, 2011). They state that "to win contracts, multinationals must pay signature bonuses that

can run into billions of dollars – and are not publicly disclosed (....) evidence points to Angolan public officials' beneficial ownership of, and shareholdings in, Angolan companies that have been awarded oil contracts – in violation of Angolan and international law" (OSISA, 2011;1). The system of checks and balances within the country is thus weak, especially concerning the state owned oil company that is only accountable to the president, allowing the elite and high ranking public officials to gain large profit of the political and legal obligations of multinationals in order for them to contract with Angola's oil company.

All in all, Angola does have the power and economic wealth to prevent some environmental degradation and the migration that follows by enforcing disaster management and prevention policies. However, currently it seems as though there is a lack of political will to deal with the issue due to the petrol industry that is being prioritized since it is benefiting the country's elite and foreign investors. This is down-prioritizing the environmental policies that do not lead to rapid economic growth, but rather a security net for the population creating stabilization and resilience. Overall, there is a lack of a long-term vision to deal with environmental hazard and the migration that follows. Since the oil sector and its auxiliary industries do, in most cases, offer a very high return to in terms of financial and human capital, this sector will continue to dominate the policies in place, leaving little room for the other industries to influence the policy framework. These are currently the main obstacles to sustainably dealing with the aftermath of the 2013 drought, which is currently affecting the country.

4. CONCLUSION

This paper evaluates the impact of and the policies in place to deal with the 2013 drought, which hit Angola due to years of low rainfall. The drought has had devastating impacts on the economic and social situation for the population, leaving many food insecure, malnourished and without a sustainable livestock, thus forced to migrate in order to sustain a living.

Angola has adopted a range of different policies in order to deal with the environmental issues and the migration issues that arose due to drought and other environmental hazards. However, these policies are often inadequate and difficult to analyze due to a lack of data. The environmental migration policies are not sufficiently coordinated with the economic and social policies of the country as most of them concern displacement camps for IDPs and are focused on short-term rather than long-term preventative measures. There is poor inter-sector coordination between the environment sector and others sectors related to oil, industry, mining and agriculture, leading to miscommunication. As the environmental ministry is rather weak and down prioritized, they have to work in an environment that is extremely difficult.

Unless the underlying factors that make the country so prone to drought are addressed, environmental migration in Angola will continue to be an issue. The population is currently ill equipped to handle these environmental hazards and often end up as IDPs in poorly constructed and unsuitable governmental camps. Preventing forced migration can be achieved by building the capacity of national actors involved by distributing micro-loans to develop private businesses and foster employment, involving other actors such as national NGOs, International Organizations and local actors as well as promoting more agricultural policies aiding the rural population in their farming industry, improving disaster management and prevention systems. It is crucial that programs are created that give the population tools to build resilience against drought and the floods that often follow.

However, the government and the multinational companies in Angola do relatively little to enforce the existing laws, which would protect the public and the

environment, since the priorities lies with the economic growth of the country that mostly benefits the elite, over an inclusive and sustainable development of Angola as a whole. Thus, environmental standards are deficient and there is little attention paid to pollution control, which allows multinational organizations to report their own activities, without a real enforcement mechanism by the body in charge. Thus it seems as if the main obstacle in regards to environmental migration in Angola is the country's reliance on oil and the presence of fairly unregulated multinational companies that hold great political and economic power in relation to other industries such as agriculture, which is the industry most crucial to the country's population and vital in hindering environmental migration. ♦

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