



‘THAT SUFFERING HAUNTS ME EVEN HERE’

THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE ANTANDROY PEOPLE
DISPLACED BY CLIMATE CHANGE FROM SOUTHERN MADAGASCAR

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Cover photo: photo taken at the Tsenavao market bus station in Ambondromamy municipality, Boeny region, north-western Madagascar. The image shows some internally displaced persons from the Antandroy people disembarking from a bus that arrived from Androy on 30 November 2024, following drought-related displacement. © Andriamisainamiharintsoa Toky for Amnesty International, 2024

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ACRONYMS

WORD	DESCRIPTION
ACHPR	African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights
AU	African Union
BNGRC	National Office for Risk and Disaster Management
CBDR-RC	Common but Differentiated Responsibilities and Respective Capabilities
COP	Conference of the Parties
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
NAP	National Adaptation Plan
NAPA	National Adaptation Programmes of Action
NDC	Nationally Determined Contributions
SMI	Solutions and Mobility Index
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
WWA	World Weather Attribution

GLOSSARY

WORD	DESCRIPTION
INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT	“The involuntary or forced movement, evacuation or relocation of persons or groups of persons within internationally recognized state borders.” ¹
INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS	“Persons or groups of persons who have been forced 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.” ²
ARBITRARY DISPLACEMENT	“Includes displacement caused by generalized violence or violations of human rights.” ³
FORCED EVICTIONS	“The permanent or temporary removal against their will of individuals, families and/or communities from the homes and/or land which they occupy, without the provision of, and access to, appropriate forms of legal or other protection.” ⁴
RESETTLEMENT	“Planned relocations” and “resettlement” are often used interchangeably in scholarly literature and standards. The term “resettlement is understood as the relocation of a group of people, large or small, to a new location where they re-establish their habitual place of residence and rebuild their lives and livelihood.” ⁵

¹ African Union, African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (Kampala Convention), adopted on 23 October 2009, entered into force 6 December 2012 (Kampala Convention), Article I.

² Kampala Convention, Article I(k).

³ Kampala Convention, Article IV, §4(d).

⁴ UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR), General Comment 7: Forced evictions, and the right to adequate housing (Article 11), Sixteenth Session 1997, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.6 at 45, para. 4.

⁵ UN Special Rapporteur on the human rights of internally displaced persons, “Planned relocations of people in the context of disasters and the adverse effects of climate change”, 1 July 2024, UN Doc. A/HRC/56/47, para. 16.

1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report explores how the Antandroy people of southern Madagascar have become increasingly vulnerable to drought-induced displacement to other parts of the country. While Madagascar, as a nation-island, is exposed to multiple climate risks – including increasing temperatures, reduced and more variable precipitation, more frequent droughts, severe cyclones, and rising sea levels – chronic droughts are most prevalent in southern Madagascar, where the Androy region is located. Climate change - driven largely by industrialized nations - has increased the severity of these droughts. Between 2018 and 2024, for example, about 90,000 people from southern Madagascar, mostly the Antandroy people, have been forced to leave their ancestral lands in search of survival in other parts of the country because of drought-induced famines.

Focusing on those internally displaced between 2017 and 2024, particularly those who moved from the Androy region to Ambondromamy and Tsaramandroso municipalities in the Boeny region in the north-west, this report examines how the Malagasy government has violated the rights to freedom of movement and choice of residence. It has not ensured access to transport for those fleeing and has failed to guarantee the right to an adequate standard of living, especially in terms of food and shelter, on the journey. Often, the ones left behind in Androy were children, typically under the care of someone over 60 years old, separated from their parents. The government has not adopted national and local strategies to protect and assist drought-induced internally displaced persons (IDPs).

Due to the absence of adequate resettlement plans or allocated land upon arrival, some displaced Antandroy people settled around Ankarafantsika National Park, but from April to July 2021, the government forcibly evicted them and plans to carry out further evictions, violating the right to adequate housing. A small pilot project to resettle some of the IDPs, including those forcibly evicted, was located in an area in Boeny where people could not access adequate food, potable water, healthcare, housing and sanitation, as well as arable land for farming. The Madagascar government is yet to take meaningful steps to support family reunification, despite widespread family separation among the IDPs and their loved ones because of the difficulty in meeting transportation costs.

FRENCH COLONIAL LEGACY

The Antandroy people in southern Madagascar have historically experienced chronic droughts. Yet, it was only in the 1930s – during French colonial rule – that the droughts began to drive seasonal mobility of the Antandroy people. Colonial policies led to the destruction of key drought-resistant vegetation – the *opuntia monacantha* cactus - that had previously helped Antandroy survive drought-induced famines, by providing them with water and food so that they were not forced to move from their ancestral lands. This vegetation, which covered about 40,000 hectares of land, was deliberately destroyed by the French colonial authorities from 1924 to 1929 through the introduction of manipulated cochineal parasites into it.

As the Antandroy's traditional coping mechanisms for chronic droughts were destroyed, they became increasingly vulnerable to the drought-induced famines and consequently more dependent on providing cheap colonial wage labour elsewhere on the island. The first major famine after the cactus' destruction was in 1930, when drought triggered a humanitarian crisis known as *kéré* – a term meaning “starved to death” in the Antandroy dialect. In the Androy district of Tsihombe alone, half the population either died or fled. Since then, *kéré* has become synonymous with great famines, triggering seasonal mobility, which has become increasingly permanent displacement in recent years, partly because of the effects of climate change. Since the destruction of the *opuntia monacantha* cactus, researchers have recorded *kéré* 15 times, the latest in 2021, each displacing thousands from the Androy region.

In our correspondence with the government regarding the preliminary findings of this report, it failed to address France's responsibility dating back to the French colonial period.

GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE AS THREAT MULTIPLIER

The destruction of the *opuntia monacantha* cactus contributed to the vulnerability of the Antandroy people to droughts, which the government of Madagascar and scientists have in recent years linked to global climate change. Focusing on soil moisture, driven by both low rainfall and high temperatures, scientists have found that the drought in southern Madagascar from 2017 to 2022 was 15 times more likely due to global climate change. These conditions are expected to intensify in the coming years.

The displacements of the Antandroy people from southern Madagascar have been multicausal, with climate change as a threat multiplier. They are both a result of droughts as natural disasters that have long affected the region, and of global climate change intensifying its effects. Furthermore, for the Antandroy, extreme living conditions, including difficulty accessing water, education, healthcare, arable land, and markets, are the leading drivers behind decisions for large-scale displacements towards other parts of the country.

Data from the International Organization for Migration (IOM) collected in 2018, 2022, and 2023 indicates that at least 90,000 people were displaced from southern Madagascar. This appears to be a shift in historical mobility patterns among the Antandroy in the context of droughts. Historically, only young men engaged in seasonal mobility to cope with famine and earn income, primarily to acquire zebus (cattle), a cultural necessity. Today, IOM's data has noted that men still leave first to secure work or land in their destinations and send remittances home for family upkeep. Those who find better opportunities return to bring their families – effectively shifting from seasonal or temporary mobility to permanent displacement as a survival coping strategy. Single women have also fled to escape the effects of droughts.

METHODOLOGY

In this report, Amnesty International analyses the internal displacement of a group of Antandroy people who fled drought-induced famines in the Androy region in southern Madagascar and travelled to the Boeny region, about 1,500km away in north Madagascar. Now IDPs, they settled in villages near the Ankarafantsika National Park.

In total, Amnesty International spoke with 122 Antandroy drought-induced IDPs through focus groups and individual interviews. The focus groups included at least 82 participants, who mostly arrived in Boeny in or after 2017. Of the 40 people individually interviewed, only five had arrived before 2017. The interviewees were from six villages near the Ankarafantsika National Park that Amnesty International visited and from the main bus station through which the IDPs typically arrive. The year 2017 was pivotal for our investigation because, as noted already, it is the year from which we have scientific attribution of drought in southern Madagascar to global climate change. Amnesty International conducted 34 supplementary interviews with various stakeholders, including government officials, representatives of local and international organizations, and academic experts, bringing the total number of people we spoke with to 156. The government did also not issue a response on the contribution of France to the vulnerability of Antandroy people to droughts.

Amnesty International also examined academic studies on historical patterns of mobility in southern Madagascar, literature on climate change-related displacements, and scientific attribution studies examining the intersecting causes of the droughts affecting the Androy region. We sought expert insights from the World Weather Attribution. Amnesty International also gathered visual and audiovisual materials, including photographs and videos, and used satellite imagery to corroborate certain factual details.

ON THE JOURNEY TOWARDS THE BOENY REGION IN THE NORTH

Amnesty International found that the government of Madagascar has violated the rights to freedom of movement and choice of residence within national borders as provided for under the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and international treaties to which the country is a state party. The government failed to adopt national and local strategies to protect and assist Antandroy communities displaced by

drought. This has left thousands without effective protection of their human rights, particularly transportation, family reunification, and resettlement.

Madagascar is one of the countries that are most vulnerable to climate change yet has the least responsibility for it. Higher-income countries, especially those most responsible for climate change, must support Madagascar through adequate finance, technology, and capacity to advance the respect, protection, and fulfilment of the rights of displaced Antandroy people.

To pave the way for such support, the government must collect data quantifying, where possible, the human rights needs of Antandroy drought-induced IDPs and integrate this into its demands for adequate finance, technology, and capacity from higher-income historical emitters. However, it has not done this as its national strategies to combat climate change impacts - Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) and National Adaptation Plans (NAPs) - show. NDCs and NAPs are assessments in line with the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Paris Agreement that can allow a lower-income country like Madagascar to make the case for financing the human rights needs of those displaced by climate change within its national borders.

Amnesty International found that the government of Madagascar failed to provide free or affordable transport for Antandroy people displaced by drought-induced famines and made no provision for food and basic shelter during transit from Androy to Boeny, despite its obligations under the rights to freedom of movement and choice of residence within national borders. Many of those we spoke to could not afford the journey and had to borrow money, sell belongings, stop several times for casual work, or rely on remittances from previously displaced relatives. Some families made stops that stretched for days, weeks, or even months, and slept under the open sky in markets and forests. One family travelled over several months with a child as young as four. The longest stop recorded lasted four months; the longest stretch on foot due to the inability to afford transport was 40 days.

Transport costs ranged from 120,000 to 250,000 Malagasy Ariary (about USD 27–57) per person, depending on the starting point and whether food was included. For many, this cost was beyond reach. The journey, for those who can afford it, can take three to four days by direct bus. We learned that “those who are strong enough to work and earn money are the ones who leave. Those with children and those who are weak stay behind. If women have to leave, the children are entrusted to the older persons in the village.”

Amnesty International documented risks of exploitation along the journey. One woman, Lia, told us she was coerced into exchanging sex with bus drivers for a seat. Masoandro told us: “I negotiated with the driver. To repay him, he employed my son as a herder for one year, and the debt to the driver amounted to 220,000 Malagasy Ariary (about USD 50). My son did this because he had no choice, as the driver had threatened to imprison us if the debt was not repaid. The driver said, ‘If you do not pay me, I will add interest charges, and if you agree, your son will work for me for a year in Ambatoboeny.’”

AFTER ARRIVAL IN BOENY REGION

Access to arable land is essential for the displaced Antandroy people to access food. This is not surprising for a people whose agropastoral way of life, centred around farming and cattle herding, has been maintained for generations. Without support structures in the form of resettlement programmes in Boeny, hundreds of people have settled in or near protected forests, with the failure to protect and assist drought-induced IDPs having far-reaching adverse consequences on biodiversity protection.

Between April and July 2021, Malagasy authorities forcibly evicted families from a designated reforestation zone bordering Ankarafantsika National Park, violating their right to adequate housing by not meeting international human rights standards on evictions. Evictees were not given prior notice, access to legal aid, or recourse to challenge the removal. They were left homeless and vulnerable to further evictions.

Betro, a 28-year-old woman, was taken by surprise during an eviction in July 2021, recounting how the gendarmes stormed a church she was praying from in her village: “At that time, upon the shock of seeing them, I gave birth and then I fled [she was nine months pregnant]. The umbilical cord had not even been cut yet... No help at all. The state did not do anything... They just arrested people and sent them to Mahajanga [capital city of the Boeny region]. All they did was to chase us away.”

Many slept under jujuba trees and mosquito nets under the open sky or in holes in the ground, for days and weeks. In just three of the seven villages affected by the 2021 evictions, over 222 huts housing more than 1,554 people were burned down or destroyed. With nowhere else to go, evictees returned to cultivate and

herd cattle in forest areas, where they had previously been evicted from. Authorities confirmed this to Amnesty International and mentioned that there will be more evictions.

PLACED IN AN OPEN-AIR PRISON

According to the Governor of Boeny, around 100 IDPs arrive in the Boeny region each week. However, the only step that the regional authorities have taken to support the IDPs is the construction of a resettlement site in 2023 that can accommodate 33 households.

Amnesty International visited the site twice, in July and December 2024. It fails to meet adequate standards of living as per the UN Guidelines on Internal Displacement. According to these standards, at a minimum, regardless of the circumstances, and without discrimination, competent authorities shall provide IDPs with and ensure safe access to essential food and potable water, basic shelter and housing, appropriate clothing, and essential medical services and sanitation. The site consists of tiny 5m² huts with leaky walls, which let rain, wind and heat in. During the rainy season (from December to April), the nearby Kamoro River swells dangerously, encircling the site with crocodile-infested waters, cutting off access to essential services such as markets, chemists, hospitals, schools and police stations and posing fatal risks. One man was killed by a crocodile, and another drowned in 2023 while trying to cross the river. Women and children are especially affected as they usually find it more difficult to leave the site during the rainy season.

While there is fallow land around the resettlement site, people living there told Amnesty International that it was uncultivable. Access to food and water is limited. It has the hallmarks of an open-air prison during the rainy season. In January 2025, a newborn, Anakaondry, died after her mother, weakened by hunger and thirst, could no longer breastfeed. Wells at the site were not operational despite government plans to build six, adding to sanitation problems. As Fidrano, a resident, shared, for example: “They told us to dig our own toilets, but our priority is food... People end up going in the bushes. This situation saddens us; there are flies everywhere, and they sting us.”

In January 2025, Amnesty International noted that the site had three pregnant women, 14 breastfeeding mothers and around 84 children, and in the present conditions, there is a serious risk to their health and safety.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Amongst other recommendations, Amnesty International urges the Government of Madagascar to adopt, as a matter of urgency, comprehensive national and local strategies to address drought-induced displacements. These strategies must prioritize the human rights of displaced Antandroy and quantify them financially, where feasible. Such needs include access to transportation, food, water, sanitation, shelter, and personal security.

The authorities must promptly, thoroughly, independently, impartially, transparently and effectively investigate the 2021 forced evictions, bring to justice those suspected to be responsible and provide access to justice and effective remedies to the victims. In this vein, the eviction order of 20 April 2021 must be revoked and Ordinance 60-127 of 1960 – upon which it is based – repealed or brought in line with international human rights standards.

Madagascar cannot be expected to face the crisis of drought-induced displacements associated with climate change alone, particularly given the legacy of unaddressed historical responsibilities borne by France and other higher-income countries responsible for climate change. France, in particular, must reckon with its historical role in contributing to the vulnerability of the Antandroy people to displacements.

Regional bodies such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the African Union (AU), along with UN organs, platforms and agencies as well as humanitarian organizations, must take proactive steps to support Madagascar in ensuring the protection and fulfilment of the rights of Antandroy people displaced by drought to the rights to freedom of movement and choice of residence within national borders, adequate housing, and adequate standard of living.

2. METHODOLOGY

This research builds on Amnesty International's 2021 report entitled "It Will Be Too Late to Help Us Once We Are Dead: The Human Rights Impact of Climate Change in Drought-Stricken Southern Madagascar".⁶ The report detailed the human rights consequences of the drought on southern Malagasy communities in Atsimo Andrefana, Anosy and Androy regions in the "Grand Sud" (the Deep South) of Madagascar.⁷

The 2021 report noted that many residents of the Grand Sud were moving within the region and to other regions of Madagascar to find better living conditions because of extreme conditions caused by the drought.⁸ The International Organization for Migration (IOM) collected data in 2018, 2022 and 2023, demonstrating that around 90,000 people were displaced from the Grand Sud, across 20 sample communes used as case studies.⁹ IOM's 2024 Solutions Mobility Index on the Grand Sud notes that, for the Antandroy people, extreme conditions caused by droughts worsened with the El-Niño climate event, which hit the entire Androy region.¹⁰

The present report analyses the internal displacement of a group of Antandroy people who fled drought-induced famines in the Androy region in the south of Madagascar and travelled to the Boeny region in north-western Madagascar, where they settled in villages near the Ankarafantsika National Park¹¹ – home to Madagascar's endemic species.¹² We chose to focus our investigation on the Antandroy people precisely because their displacement patterns brought many of them to areas adjacent to the national park and government forests. These are areas they perceive as offering the environmental conditions necessary to sustain their agropastoral way of life, which they have maintained for generations. Their displacement to these areas not only highlights the lack of protection and support that drought-induced internally displaced persons face in Madagascar, but also created a context in which we could directly observe how the failure to address the human rights needs of those displaced by drought linked to climate change – in this case, the Antandroy – can have significant consequences for biodiversity. The report examined violations of the rights to freedom of movement and choice of residence, to adequate housing and to an adequate standard of living. To document these violations, we used root cause analysis to examine underlying historical continuities that led to and continue to contribute to sustaining these violations.

In May 2024, Amnesty International commissioned a consultant to travel to Mahajanga (capital city of the Boeny region), and Ambondromamy and Tsaramandroso (two municipalities near the Ankarafantsika National Park in the Boeny region) to conduct scoping research. Amnesty International staff, supported by a consultant and interpreters, subsequently conducted research in the first half of July 2024, in Mahajanga, Ambondromamy, and Tsaramandroso, as well as Antananarivo (the capital city of Madagascar). One Amnesty International researcher, a consultant, two videographers and an interpreter returned to the same locations for further research in late November and early December 2024. The last set of interviews with displaced people was conducted in May 2025 via voice call.

⁶ Amnesty International, *It Will Be Too Late to Help Us Once We Are Dead: The Human Rights Impact of Climate Change in Drought-Stricken Southern Madagascar* (Index: AFR 35/4874/2021), 26 October 2021, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr35/4874/2021/en/>, p.16.

⁷ Amnesty International, *It Will Be Too Late to Help Us Once We Are Dead: The Human Rights Impact of Climate Change in Drought-Stricken Southern Madagascar*, 26 October 2021, p. 16.

⁸ Amnesty International, *It Will Be Too Late to Help Us Once We Are Dead: The Human Rights Impact of Climate Change in Drought-Stricken Southern Madagascar*, 26 October 2021, pp. 47-49.

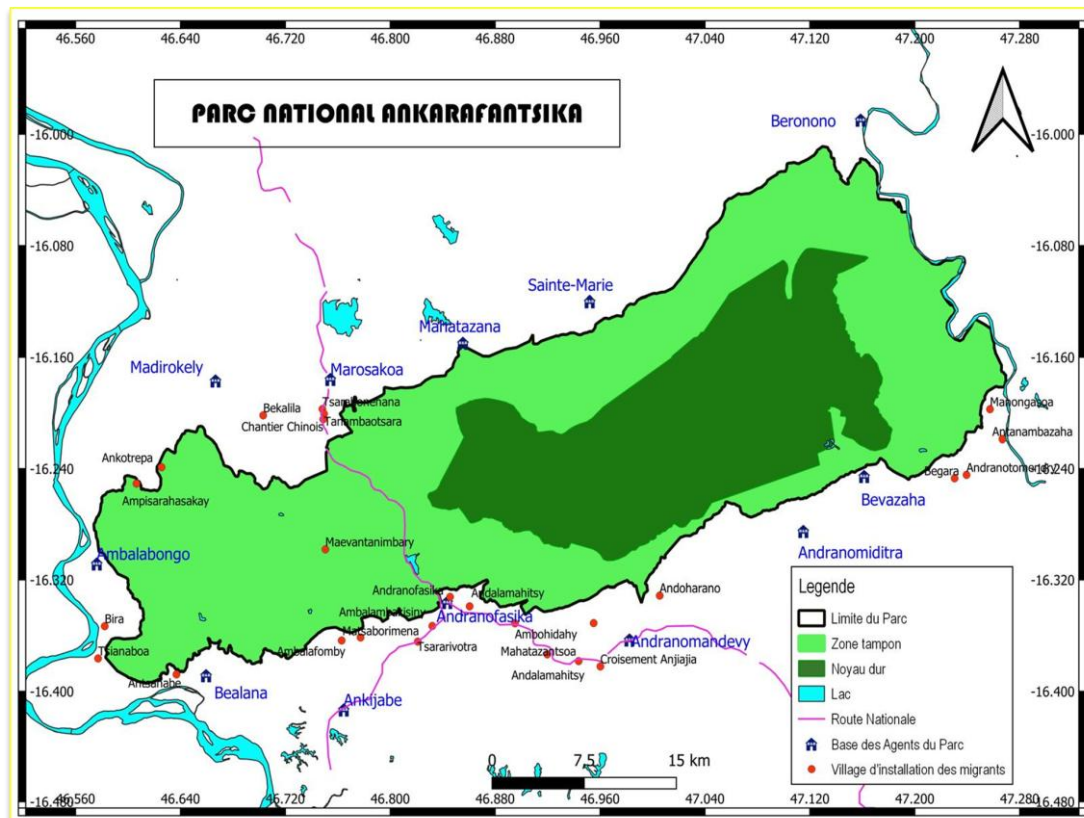
⁹ IOM Solutions and Mobility Index – Great South Region MADAGASCAR June 2024, p. 3.

¹⁰ IOM Solutions and Mobility Index – Great South Region MADAGASCAR June 2024, p. 3.

¹¹ Madagascar, National Adaptation Plan, 29 May 2022, <https://unfccc.int/documents/488094>, p. 89.

¹² See https://www.fapbm.org/en/aire_protegee/the-ankarafantsika-national-park/ (accessed on 26 March 2025).

We engaged various stakeholders in our investigation. Our researchers interviewed those in villages near the Ankarafantsika National Park and those who were arriving through the bus station at Tsenavao market in Ambondromamy to hear their experiences. We also engaged Malagasy national authorities in Antananarivo and local authorities in Mahajanga and Tsaramandroso, as well as representatives from civil society organizations, academics, and international development agencies.



In addition to the five villages visited, Amnesty International researchers also spoke to people from a sixth village, about seven to 10 kilometres from the villages on the south-eastern border of the park. This was a 33-hut resettlement site in a 117-hectare village in Tanimalandy set up by the Boeny regional government to accommodate Antandroy drought-induced IDPs in the Boeny region, including those it evicted from the south-eastern border of the Ankarafantsika National Park.¹³ We also visited the main bus station in Tsenavao market in Ambondromamy, through which the Antandroy drought-induced IDPs that we interviewed typically arrived from the Androy region.

¹³ Interview in person with Johnson Hadijcosta, mayor of Tsaramandroso, 10 July 2024, Tsaramandroso.

women. These focus groups included at least 82 participants. Most of those in group interviews arrived in Boeny in or after 2017 – the significance of which is explained below.

Additionally, we conducted 40 individual interviews in the five villages, at the 117-hectare resettlement site, and at the bus station in Tsenavao market. Twenty-six of these were with women, including one with a physical disability. Fourteen individual interviews were with men, one of whom also had a physical disability. Of the 40 individuals interviewed, only five had arrived in the villages visited before 2017.

2017 is significant for the temporal scope of this research because recent climate attribution science shows that drought conditions in Madagascar's Deep South were 15 times more likely due to human-caused global climate change between 2017 and 2022, and this significant link between climate change and drought conditions remained in the following years.¹⁴ Our investigation focused on violations of the rights to freedom of movement and choice of residence, to adequate housing and to an adequate standard of living of the Antandroy drought-induced IDPs between 2017 and May 2025. The latest Antandroy drought-induced IDPs to arrive in Boeny interviewed for this report came in 2024.

Follow-up interviews with women at the 117-hectare resettlement site in Tanimalandy – the sixth village – were conducted by telephone because the Kamoro River, which swells every December to April, prevented us from visiting the site in December 2024. We also reviewed a letter from 39 residents, including nine women, asking the Boeny regional government, including Tsaramandroso municipality, which is mandated to manage this site,¹⁵ to assist them with agricultural seeds, food, and education for 84 children at the site during our second visit.¹⁶

Other than the displaced, Amnesty International conducted an additional 34 interviews with various stakeholders, including government officials, local organizations, international organizations, and academics. We interviewed 17 government officials at both the national and Boeny regional levels. These officials included the Minister of Environment and Sustainable Development, the Minister of Interior, the Chief of Staff from the Ministry of Interior, the Chief of Staff from the Ministry of Justice, two representatives from the Ministry of Population and Solidarity, the Director General of the National Bureau of Administration of Risks and Disasters and one of his officials, one former member of parliament from the Tsihombe district in the Androy region, the Governor of Boeny, two prosecutors from the Tribunal de Première Instance de Mahajanga, the mayors of Tsaramandroso and Anjianjia in Boeny, two deputies of the mayor of Tsaramandroso, and the Chief Operations Officer of Ankarafantsika National Park.

Interviews with Antandroy drought-induced IDPs that we spoke to, local civil society organizations, and some government authorities were held in Malagasy with French translation. All other interviews were conducted in French.

All interviewees were informed about Amnesty International, the research purpose, and how their information would be used, and gave informed consent. To protect the identities of Antandroy drought-induced IDPs, we have used pseudonyms. In addition to conducting interviews, our research thoroughly reviewed other sources to understand these drought-induced internal displacements. We examined academic studies exploring the history of these displacements, as well as literature on climate change-induced displacement. We looked at scientific attribution studies on the drought in Southern Madagascar, where the Androy region is located and sought expert opinion on the same from the World Weather Attribution group.¹⁷ Our review also included reports from civil society organizations and UN agencies. Additionally, we analysed reports from the UN Secretary General's High-Level Panel on Internal Displacement, from the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, as well as documents from the UN and the AU's special procedures and human rights mechanisms.

We reviewed several official documents, including an official map of Ankarafantsika National Park, an eviction order issued by the Boeny regional division of the Ministry of Interior and Decentralization, Madagascar's domestic legislation and Climate Change National Adaptation Plan,¹⁸ and its second Nationally Determined Contributions, that is, the country's action plan in response to climate change.¹⁹

¹⁴ Angela Rigden, Christopher Golden, Duo Chan, and Peter Huybers, "Climate Change Linked to Drought in Southern Madagascar, npj Climate and Atmospheric Science", February 2024, Volume 7, Article 41.

¹⁵ Interview in person with Roger Justin and Joséph Rakotoarimanana, Secretary General of the Mayor of Tsaramandroso and Deputy Mayor of Tsaramandroso, 5 July 2024, Tsaramandroso.

¹⁶ Letter signed by 39 residents of the 117-hectare resettlement site and shared with Amnesty International on 1 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

¹⁷ Expert opinion shared with Amnesty International by Joyce Kimutai on behalf of the World Weather Attribution team on 19 February 2025.

¹⁸ Madagascar, National Adaptation Plan, 29 May 2022, <https://unfccc.int/documents/488094>

¹⁹ Madagascar, Nationally Determined Contributions, 30 January 2024, <https://unfccc.int/documents/636850>

We collected visual and audiovisual materials to document the experiences of the Antandroy drought-induced IDPs that we spoke to. These included photographs and videos taken at the bus station in the Tsenavao market, in the villages around Ankarafantsika National Park that we visited, and within the resettlement site, as well as photographs and videos posted on Facebook. Our methodology included using Google Maps to estimate distances between locations during the internal displacement of the Antandroy people that we spoke to. We also relied on satellite images to corroborate factual elements regarding the resettlement site that the government built for Antandroy people displaced to the Boeny region.

We contacted relevant government authorities to share our preliminary findings and request their response and comments. Letters were sent to the President of Madagascar on 30 January 2025 and to the Chief of Staff of the Ministry of the Interior on 15 July 2025. Both letters were copied to the head of the Boeny regional division of the Ministry of the Interior, the Minister of Environment and Sustainable Development, the Governor of Boeny, and the Mayor of Tsaramandroso. Additionally, the letter to the President was copied to the Ministry of the Interior, and the letter to the Chief of Staff was also copied to the Minister of Justice. Both letters are annexed to this report.

Amnesty International received a response from the Ministry of Interior on 23 July 2025, which is also annexed to this report. It addressed two aspects. First, it highlighted government-led initiatives – supported by development and humanitarian organizations – efforts to render southern Madagascar, including the Androy region, more resilient to droughts. Second, it spoke to the steps taken by the government to progressively guarantee safety and dignity in voluntary resettlements and family reunification, in accordance with its international obligations. The government response has been incorporated into relevant parts of the report. Amnesty International did not, however, receive a response to its letter dated 30 January 2025.

3. BACKGROUND

3.1 DROUGHT-INDUCED FAMINES AND INTERNAL DISPLACEMENTS

Androy is one of three regions in Madagascar's Deep South (the Grand Sud).²⁰ Situated at the southernmost tip of the country, Androy covers 19,317km² and has Ambovombe as its capital. According to the “Tableau de Bord Environnemental,” 900,235 people live in this region.²¹ The Antandroy people, a Malagasy term that translates to “People of the Thorn Bush,” live in Androy. This name is derived from the resilient spiny vegetation that thrives despite the region's harsh, arid conditions.²² While Madagascar, as a nation-island, is exposed to multiple climate risks,²³ including increasing temperatures, reduced and more variable precipitation, more frequent droughts, more intense cyclones, and rising sea levels,²⁴ chronic droughts have been the most prevalent in the Deep South.²⁵

²⁰ Amnesty International, *It Will Be Too Late to Help Us Once We Are Dead: The Human Rights Impact of Climate Change in Drought-Stricken Southern Madagascar*, 26 October 2021, pp. 14-15.

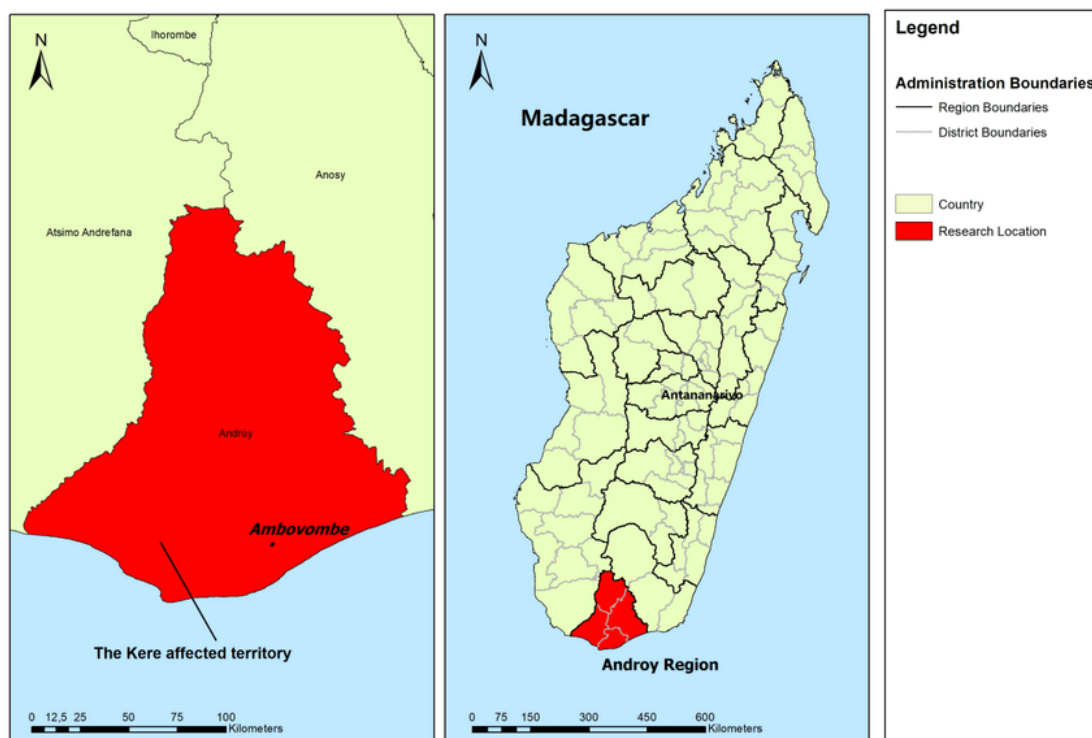
²¹ See Tableau de Bord Environnemental, Région Androy, <https://www.pnae.mg/tbe/region-androy.html> (accessed on 13 March 2025).

²² See Tableau de Bord Environnemental, Région Androy, <https://www.pnae.mg/tbe/region-androy.html> (accessed on 14 October 2024).

²³ Amani Africa, “Climate change and its impact on Island States in Africa”, 9 September 2019, <https://amaniafrica-et.org/insights-on-the-peace-security-council-climate-change-and-its-impact-on-island-states-in-africa/> (accessed on 16 April 2025).

²⁴ Weiskopf, S. R., Cushing, J. A., Morelli, T., and Myers, B. J. E. (2021), “Climate change risks and adaptation options for Madagascar”, *Ecology and Society*, 26(4):36, <https://doi.org/10.5751/ES-12816-260436>

²⁵ IOM Solutions and Mobility Index – Great South Region MADAGASCAR June 2024, p. 10.



Map showing the Androy region and its neighbouring regions in the Deep South of Madagascar.²⁶

In Amnesty International's 2021 report, children, women, and men interviewed spoke of eating smaller or fewer meals each day and having less variety in their diets.²⁷ About 60% of crops in the Deep South of Madagascar failed that year because of increasing droughts. This left millions food-insecure and compelled the displacements of thousands.²⁸

²⁶ See https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Maixent_Ralaingita/publication/361265644/figure/fig5/AS:1167650893893632@1655401075017/Map-of-the-Androy-Region.ppm (accessed on 11 May 2025).

²⁷ Amnesty International, *It Will Be Too Late to Help Us Once We Are Dead: The Human Rights Impact of Climate Change in Drought-Stricken Southern Madagascar*, 26 October 2021, p. 16.

²⁸ Internal Displacement Monitoring Center, "Internal Displacement in Africa: an overview of trends and developments (2009-2023)", 2024, pp. 15-16. The data is not disaggregated to show an approximate number of the displaced Antandroy who move to Ambondromamy and Tsaramandroso. We know, however, that in 2022, for example, IOM recorded that about 55,910 people had been displaced from 10 municipalities in Androy. This number represents about 16% of the combined populations of the municipalities IOM studied. Drought remained the leading cause of displacement from 2019 to 2022, with only a few cases driven by economic or security issues. Many displaced Antandroy have journeyed approximately 1,500km to Madagascar's northern and north-western regions in search of safety and a better life. See IOM, Madagascar, Baseline Mobility Assessment, Grand Sud (September 2022) <https://dtm.iom.int/es/node/18546>. See also IOM, Madagascar: Displacement Tracking Matrix, August 2018.



👁️ ↑ *In southern Madagascar, affected by droughts, food is scarce. © Pierrot Man for Amnesty International, 2021*

Amnesty International's 2021 report was published in October, and in December 2022, the government of Madagascar put together a 120-page-long National Adaptation Plan. Before that, in November 2022, Madagascar issued its second Nationally Determined Contributions. Both documents outlined government strategies to respond to climate change impacts, including the drought in the Deep South. Such steps included creating a green belt to combat desertification, improving agricultural resilience, and addressing severe water shortages in the Deep South.²⁹ An evaluation of the extent to which these strategies have been implemented by the government was still pending at the time of writing.³⁰

Furthermore, the government has not disclosed the portion of its national budget allocated to addressing climate change impacts, such as the droughts hitting the Deep South.³¹ According to the Director General of Madagascar's National Office for Risk and Disaster Management (BNGRC), the official government body responding to extreme weather events,³² as well as other key Malagasy government officials – including the Minister of Environment and Sustainable Development, the Minister of Decentralization and Territorial Planning, the Chief of Staff of the Ministry of Justice, and the Director General of Solidarity of the Ministry of Population – humanitarian aid is the prevailing response to drought-induced famines in the Deep South. The Director General of Solidarity of the Ministry of Population shared that humanitarian aid had not yet matched the scale of drought-induced famines in the Deep South, had not reached all affected households hit by drought-induced famine and has only been offered as short-term relief, failing to provide long-lasting solutions.³³

While an evaluation of Madagascar's strategies to combat the impacts of climate change, including the droughts in the Deep South is still pending, Integrated Food Security Phase Classification data, the IOM's Solutions and Mobility Index, and interviews with people from the Androy region suggest that measures implemented since Amnesty International's 2021 report have been insufficient and have failed to address the impacts of droughts in the Deep South, particularly persistent drought-induced famines compelling the displacement of thousands, including from the Androy region. The 2022 Integrated Food Security Phase

²⁹ Madagascar, National Adaptation Plan, published on 29 May 2022, p.V. See also Madagascar, Nationally Determined Contributions, published on 30 January 2024, pp. 22-24.

³⁰ Ministry of Environment and Sustainable Development, Call for a group of consultants or working group to evaluate the second Madagascar's Nationally Determined Contributions, https://m.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=1021364126683664&id=100064302596974 accessed on 11 May 2025.

³¹ See, for instance, Madagascar, National Adaptation Plan, 29 May 2022, <https://unfccc.int/documents/488094>, pp. 82-83.

³² BNGRC, <https://bngrc.gov.mg/bngrc/> (accessed on 11 May 2025).

³³ Interview in person with the Directeur General des Solidarités du Ministère de la Population et des Solidarités, 2 July 2024, Antananarivo.

Classification found that about 63.4% of people in the Androy region faced food insecurity,³⁴ with children, breastfeeding mothers, and older persons disproportionately affected.³⁵

Deaths due to drought-induced famines in the Androy region came up in some interviews with Antandroy people who moved north. For example, for Mandry, mother of eight, who left in 2021: “We were suffering from famine, and my children were at risk of dying in Androy. Tragically, one of my children died after eating a raw cactus [not fit for human consumption] because of lack of food.”³⁶



 Image showing a cactus that grows in the Deep South. © Pierrot Man for Amnesty International, 2021

Based on data collected in three of the Androy region’s five districts and one district in neighbouring Atsimo-Andrefana region, IOM’s June 2024 Solutions and Mobility Index found that the majority of people in these districts possessed arable land but faced difficulties accessing crops suitable for the Deep South’s extreme climate. It noted that, as of 2024, the ongoing effects of climate change intensified by El-Nino led to famines.³⁷ Furthermore, the Solutions and Mobility Index found that lack of access to basic services critical to addressing famines, such as water, arable land and local markets, was the most influential factor in people’s future intentions to move out of these districts. Ninety-seven per cent of people in localities that IOM studied stated their intention to depart if they did not see improvement in this area.³⁸ This is not surprising because in 2022 and 2023, over 80% of economic activities, including agriculture, livestock breeding and commerce, in these four districts were greatly affected by climatic phenomena.³⁹ These climatic impacts have primarily resulted in the deterioration of the health of children.⁴⁰

IOM’s findings are consistent with Madagascar’s national plan to adapt to climate change (National Adaptation Plan), which notes that “the drought associated with the degradation of resources and consequently the deterioration of the subsistence economy” is the origin of the internal displacement of a big

³⁴ Madagascar, Nationally Determined Contributions, 30 January 2024, <https://unfccc.int/documents/636850>, p. 34.

³⁵ IPC, “Madagascar : Grand Sud et Sud-est : Analyse IPC de L’insécurité Alimentaire Aiguë et de la Malnutrition Aiguë : Octobre 2023 - Septembre 2024”, 18 January 2024, https://www.ipcinfo.org/fileadmin/user_upload/ipcinfo/docs/IPC_Madagascar_Acute_Food_Insecurity_Oct2023_Sept2024_Report_French.pdf, pp. 14-18.

³⁶ Interview by voice call with “Mandry” (name changed for security reasons), resident of the 117-hectare resettlement site, 3 December 2024.

³⁷ IOM Solutions and Mobility Index – Great South Region MADAGASCAR June 2024, p. 11.

³⁸ IOM Solutions and Mobility Index – Great South Region MADAGASCAR June 2024, p. 11.

³⁹ IOM Solutions and Mobility Index – Great South Region MADAGASCAR June 2024, pp. 8-9.

⁴⁰ IOM Solutions and Mobility Index – Great South Region MADAGASCAR June 2024, p. 8.


part of the Antandroy people within Madagascar.⁴¹ This amounts to internal displacement within the meaning of the UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement and the African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa, which both define IDPs as:

“Persons or groups of persons who have been forced 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.”⁴²

Indeed, famines lead to violations of the right to adequate food and the droughts in southern Madagascar, as detailed below, are both human-made and natural disasters. It is on this basis that we speak of climate-induced IDPs or Antandroy drought-induced IDPs throughout this report.

3.2 DROUGHT-INDUCED INTERNAL DISPLACEMENTS AND GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE



 ↑ *Droughts in Southern Madagascar. © Pierrot Man for Amnesty International, 2021*

3.2.1 THE HISTORICAL LEGACY OF DROUGHT-INDUCED DISPLACEMENTS

For many generations, the Antandroy people of Madagascar, along with inhabitants of Anosy and Atsimo-Andrefana, have battled chronic droughts. These harsh conditions have threatened their lives and livelihoods time and again.⁴³ It was during Madagascar’s colonial period under French rule (1896-1960) that chronic

⁴¹ Madagascar, National Adaptation Plan, 29 May 2022, <https://unfccc.int/documents/488094>, p. 89.

⁴² Kampala Convention, Article I(k). The same is reflected under the section on “Scope and purpose”, United Nations (1998), *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*, UN Doc. E/CN.4/1998/53/Add.2, <https://www.unhcr.org/protection/idps/43ce1cff2/guiding-principles-internal-displacement.html>

⁴³ See, for instance, also Jeffrey C. Kaufmann, “Forget the Numbers: The Case of a Madagascar Famine” in *History in Africa*, Cambridge University Press, Vol. 27, 2000, p. 144. See also Rémy Canavesio, “Les migrations dans le sud de Madagascar: Entre sécheresses occasionnelles et crise socio-économique structurelle”, *Autrepart* (74-75), 2016, p. 266.

droughts started leading to severe famines, with displacement from the Deep South becoming a coping mechanism for the Antandroy people.

In 1959, Hubert Deschamps, Secretary-General of France's Office for Scientific Research in Overseas Territories,⁴⁴ documented how the Antandroy adapted to these chronic droughts. He recorded how droughts in 1913, 1916, and 1921 led to famines.⁴⁵ At this point, the Antandroy did not abandon their ancestral lands because they had found ways to survive the drought-induced famines, weaving drought adaptation into their traditions and daily lives. The *opuntia monacantha* cactus,⁴⁶ a drought-resilient plant that thrived in Androy's dry, alluvial soil was key to their adaptation.⁴⁷ Unlike other cactus species found today in Androy that are unfit for human consumption,⁴⁸ *opuntia monacantha* provided essential water and food for both people and cattle during droughts. Anthropology Professor Jeffrey C. Kaufmann called it a "water-food plant" because its fruits nourished the community, and its water storage kept wells and springs flowing year-round.⁴⁹

Beyond providing sustenance, the cactus thickets also offered shelter to Antandroy fighters resisting French colonial forces for nearly two decades after France's annexation of Madagascar in 1896.⁵⁰ The spiny forest was too costly for the French colonial administration to destroy through burning or cutting.⁵¹ To eliminate this natural stronghold of resistance to the complete annexation of Madagascar,⁵² French colonial Governor-General Marcel Olivier's administration introduced manipulated cochineal parasites into it in 1924.⁵³ These parasites spread rapidly, decimating about 100km of the "water-food plant" vegetation each year. By April 1929, the *opuntia monacantha* cactus vegetation was destroyed.⁵⁴ Before then, the Antandroy had resisted pressure to enter the colonial economy, which wanted to treat them as a source of cheap wage labour. However, after the destruction of the *opuntia monacantha* vegetation, an unprecedented number of them became the most important source of cheap wage labour on the island, exploited particularly in colonial plantations in the north.⁵⁵

The loss of this vital vegetation shattered the Antandroy's ability to endure droughts and adapt to famines. This is why, in 1930, when drought returned, leading to a great famine, the Antandroy started referring to drought-induced famine as *kéré*.⁵⁶ Every time there is *kéré*, there are waves of drought-induced mobility of the Antandroy. The term *kéré* comes from the Antandroy people's dialect, meaning "starved to death" or a severe and prolonged lack of food, rain, groundwater, and money, involving a significant death toll. Since 1993, the term has been used in disaster management to describe the recurring deadly famine in Madagascar's Deep South.⁵⁷

In 1930, when the first *kéré* hit, in the Tsihombe district of Androy, 32,000 of 60,000 people perished or were forced to flee the district.⁵⁸ This tragedy marked the beginning of a painful pattern: each subsequent drought-induced famine forced many Antandroy to leave their ancestral lands in search of better conditions elsewhere in Madagascar.⁵⁹ Since the destruction of the *opuntia monacantha* cactus vegetation, some

⁴⁴ Hubert Deschamps, "Les Migrations Intérieures à Madagascar", Éditions Berger-Levrault 5, rue Auguste-Comte (VIe), Paris, 1959, p. 3.

⁴⁵ Hubert Deschamps, "Les Migrations Intérieures à Madagascar", pp. 69-70.

⁴⁶ Hubert Deschamps, "Les Migrations Intérieures à Madagascar", pp. 69-70. See also Decary Raymond, "Au sujet du développement de certains sens chez les Primitifs, Bulletins et Mémoires de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris", VIII^e Série. Tome 7, 1936, p. 19.

⁴⁷ Jeffrey C. Kaufmann, "The non-modern constitution of famines in Madagascar's spiny forests: 'water-food' plants, cattle and Mahafale landscape praxis", Environmental Sciences, 5:2, 2008, pp. 78 and 82.

⁴⁸ Lucile Allorge and Danièle Matile-Ferrero, "Cactus et cochenilles introduits à Madagascar : Mise au point à l'appui des collections historiques du MNHN à Paris", Revue française d'Entomologie (N.S.), vol. 33, nos. 1-4 (2011), p. 57.

⁴⁹ Jeffrey C. Kaufmann, "The non-modern constitution of famines in Madagascar's spiny forests: 'water-food' plants, cattle and Mahafale landscape praxis", Environmental Sciences, 5:2, 2008, pp. 78 and 82.

⁵⁰ Ralaingita, Ennis, Russell-Smith, Sangha, and Razanakoto, "The Kere of Madagascar: a qualitative exploration of community experiences and perspectives", Ecology and Society 27(1):42, 2022.

⁵¹ Jeffrey C. Kaufmann, "The non-modern constitution of famines in Madagascar's spiny forests: 'water-food' plants, cattle and Mahafale landscape praxis", Environmental Sciences, 2008, p. 81.

⁵² Ralaingita, Ennis, Russell-Smith, Sangha, and Razanakoto, "The Kere of Madagascar: a qualitative exploration of community experiences and perspectives", Ecology and Society 27(1):42, 2022.

⁵³ Lucile Allorge et Danièle Matile-Ferrero, "Cactus et Cochenilles Introduits à Madagascar : Mise au Point à l'appui des collections historiques du Mnhn à Paris [Cactaceae; Hemiptera; Dactylopiidae]", p. 57.

⁵⁴ Ralaingita, Ennis, Russell-Smith, Sangha, and Razanakoto, "The Kere of Madagascar: a qualitative exploration of community experiences and perspectives". Ecology and Society 27(1):42, 2022.

⁵⁵ Karen Middleton, "Who Killed 'Malagasy Cactus'? Science, Environment and Colonialism in Southern Madagascar (1924-1930)", Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol. 25, 2 (June 1999), p. 218.

⁵⁶ Ralaingita, Ennis, Russell-Smith, Sangha, and Razanakoto, "The Kere of Madagascar: a qualitative exploration of community experiences and perspectives", Ecology and Society 27(1):42, 2022.

⁵⁷ Ralaingita, Ennis, Russell-Smith, Sangha, and Razanakoto, "The Kere of Madagascar: a qualitative exploration of community experiences and perspectives", Ecology and Society 27(1):42, 2022.

⁵⁸ Hubert Deschamps, "Les Migrations Intérieures à Madagascar", p. 70.

⁵⁹ Other alternatives have been regular transhumance in the Deep South, working in colonial cash crop plantations such as sisal in the Deep South and engaging in environmentally unsustainable methods of food procurement such as slash-and-burn agriculture, which the "water-food" plant had kept them from for generations. See Defos du Rau Jean, Suzanne Frère, "Madagascar. Panorama de l'Androy, 1958 dans Cahiers d'outre-mer", N° 46 - 12e année, Avril-juin 1959, p. 221. See also Jeffrey C. Kaufmann, "Forget the Numbers: The Case of a

researchers have found that Madagascar has experienced 15 episodes of *kéré* between 1930 and 2021, with 12 occurring after independence from France in 1960.⁶⁰

In our correspondence with the government regarding the preliminary findings of this report, it failed to address France's responsibility dating back to the French colonial period.

3.2.2 LINKING DROUGHT TO CLIMATE CHANGE IN SOUTHERN MADAGASCAR

Droughts are complex extreme events, resulting from numerous climate and non-climate factors. This makes it hard to attribute droughts to global climate change.⁶¹ Droughts have been characteristic of the Androy region since time immemorial, and we have not come across any study establishing when climate change became a contributory factor to droughts in the region and the larger Deep South. Amnesty International's 2021 report acknowledged the difficulty of conclusively stating that the drought in the Deep South was caused by climate change, without a specific climate attribution study linking climate change to that particular drought. The conditions underpinning it, however, as Amnesty International observed then, were consistent with known climate change impacts.⁶² It is also hard to link droughts to global climate change because there are various types, and some geographical locations can experience multiple types at once. For example, agricultural droughts focus on soil moisture; pluvial droughts on surface and groundwater flows; and hydrological droughts on the amount of rainfall a region receives.⁶³

Madagascar's 2022 updated climate change plan (the Nationally Determined Contributions) acknowledges that ongoing droughts in the Deep South are connected to global climate change.⁶⁴ Amnesty International has also reviewed and compared climate attribution studies published after its 2021 report. In 2022, the World Weather Attribution (WWA) analysed one aspect of the drought: low rainfall (hydrological drought) between 2019 and 2022 and concluded that global climate change played a limited role in extreme low rainfall associated with drought-induced famine in southern Madagascar.⁶⁵ This study was complemented in 2024 by a team of scientists from the University of California's Department of Earth System Science, Harvard's Department of Nutrition, the University of Southampton's School of Ocean and Earth Science, and Harvard's Department of Earth and Planetary Sciences who expanded the temporal and geographical scope of analysis and looked at soil moisture (agricultural drought). Soil moisture is influenced by both low rainfall and high temperatures, which evaporate moisture and worsen drought conditions.⁶⁶ Based on this aspect of the drought, the 2024 team concluded that drought conditions between 2017 and 2022 in southern Madagascar are 15 times more likely to have occurred due to human-caused global climate change, a situation they predicted to continue and increase in the following years.⁶⁷

3.2.3 CLIMATE CHANGE AND THE DISPLACEMENTS OF THE ANTANADROY

When it comes to the adverse effects of climate change, human mobility in general, and displacement in particular, is usually multi-causal, a combination of, or interplay between, the impacts of climate change and various factors contributing to people's vulnerability or resilience to events such as droughts.⁶⁸ IOM's June

Madagascar Famine", History in Africa, Cambridge University Press, Vol. 27, 2000, pp. 147-154. See also Ralaingita, Ennis, Russell-Smith, Sangha, and Razanakoto, "The Kere of Madagascar: a qualitative exploration of community experiences and perspectives", Ecology and Society 27(1):42, 2022.

⁶⁰ Ralaingita, Ennis, Russell-Smith, Sangha, and Razanakoto, "The Kere of Madagascar: a qualitative exploration of community experiences and perspectives", Ecology and Society 27(1):42, 2022.

⁶¹ Ayesha Tandon, "Climate change not the main driver of Madagascar's food crisis, scientists find", CarbonBrief, 1 December 2021, <https://www.carbonbrief.org/climate-change-not-the-main-driver-of-madagascar-food-crisis-scientists-find/> (accessed on 11 May 2025).

⁶² Amnesty International, *It Will Be Too Late to Help Us Once We Are Dead: The Human Rights Impact of Climate Change in Drought-Stricken Southern Madagascar*, 26 October 2021, p. 23.

⁶³ Ayesha Tandon, "Climate change not the main driver of Madagascar's food crisis, scientists find", CarbonBrief, 1 December 2021, <https://www.carbonbrief.org/climate-change-not-the-main-driver-of-madagascar-food-crisis-scientists-find/> (accessed on 11 May 2025).

⁶⁴ Madagascar, Nationally Determined Contributions, 30 January 2024, <https://unfccc.int/documents/636850>, pp. 8 and 34.

⁶⁵ Harrington and others, "Limited role of climate change in extreme low rainfall associated with southern Madagascar food insecurity", 2019–21, Environmental Research, 30 December 2022, <https://iopscience.iop.org/article/10.1088/2752-5295/aca695#:~:text=Based%20on%20a%20combination%20of,2019%E2%80%932021%20event%20as%20a>. See also Ayesha Tandon, "Climate change not the main driver of Madagascar's food crisis, scientists find", CarbonBrief, 1 December 2021, <https://www.carbonbrief.org/climate-change-not-the-main-driver-of-madagascar-food-crisis-scientists-find/> (accessed on 11 May 2025).

⁶⁶ Expert opinion shared by Joyce Kimutai on behalf of the World Weather Attribution team on 19 February 2025.

⁶⁷ Angela Rigden, Christopher Golden, Duo Chan & Peter Huybers, "Climate change linked to drought in Southern Madagascar", npj Climate and atmospheric science, Volume 7, Article N41, February 2024.

⁶⁸ UN Special Rapporteur on the rights of IPDs, 2020 report on internal displacement in the context of the slow-onset adverse effects of climate change, UN Doc. A/75/207, para. 19.

2024 Solutions and Mobility Index suggests that this is also the case for the Antandroy drought-induced IDPs. The index revealed that the lack of improvement in basic services, including education, health, water, arable land and local markets, was the most influential factor in people's future intentions to move out of the region.⁶⁹ It showed that the Antandroy generally move in groups towards northern parts of the country by car, though others head westwards, travelling from town to town, often on foot. The index notes men generally leave first to find work in their destinations and send money back home for family upkeep, and those who find better opportunities return to retrieve their families so they too can benefit from those opportunities.⁷⁰ Amnesty International also found that many single women have also fled to escape the effects of droughts.

Retrieving entire families and single women escaping are a recent development. In the past, only young Antandroy men could engage in seasonal mobility. This pattern intensified after the destruction of the *opuntia monacantha* cactus in 1929.⁷¹ In the decades that followed, these young men used to leave their families behind, as they could always return to them.⁷² Seasonal mobility was not only a response to recurring drought-induced famines, but was also driven by the need to earn money to acquire zebus (cattle), which hold deep cultural importance in Antandroy society.⁷³ Young Antandroy men could not inherit zebus from their fathers, because owning zebus determined one's social status, and one's zebus were slaughtered upon his death, and their horns were used to decorate his tomb.⁷⁴ As a result, mobility towards other regions became the only way for young Antandroy to build their own herds. Without such mobility, these young men had no way to uphold this cultural tradition and secure social status.⁷⁵

3.2.4 BOENY: A MAIN DESTINATION FOR DROUGHT-INDUCED DISPLACED ANTANDROY

Thousands of Antandroy people have been forced to leave their homes and lands in the Androy region due to relentless drought-induced famines impacting the region. Among the many places they seek refuge, the Boeny region stands out as a main destination. Despite the distance separating Androy and Boeny (around 1,500 kilometres), Boeny offers unique opportunities that other regions do not. The Antandroy prefer large, rural areas with arable land.⁷⁶ This is deeply rooted in their agropastoralist cultural traditions, with farming and cattle herding central to their way of life.⁷⁷ Even in the Androy region, the majority do not reside in the main city. They reside in rural areas where they can access vast lands needed for their agricultural practices and livestock. This connection to the land is not just economic; it is a vital part of their cultural identity. Mafanafo, a 70-year-old Antandroy elder whom we met in Benarivo II village,⁷⁸ noted:

“Among Antandroy traditional customs, when we have good things, we offer animals to our ancestors. The land is precious to us because it ensures our survival. It is thanks to the land that we can live. The *Kéré* affects our lives because we have no crops. As for the zebus, they are our reason for living. If we leave Androy to come here, it is to have zebus.

⁶⁹ IOM Solutions and Mobility Index – Great South Region MADAGASCAR June 2024, p. 11.

⁷⁰ IOM Solutions and Mobility Index – Great South Region MADAGASCAR June 2024, p. 11.

⁷¹ Soilihi Mohamed, “Le droit de l’environnement à l’épreuve de la migration climatique : Cas des populations Antandroy”, Thèse présentée et soutenue publiquement le 23 juin 2022, pour l’obtention du diplôme de doctorat en droit public et sciences politiques, Université Catholique de Madagascar, pp. 33-38.

⁷² Soilihi Mohamed, “Le droit de l’environnement à l’épreuve de la migration climatique : Cas des populations Antandroy”, pp. 33-38.

⁷³ Soilihi Mohamed, “Le droit de l’environnement à l’épreuve de la migration climatique : Cas des populations Antandroy”, pp. 33-38.

⁷⁴ Soilihi Mohamed, “Le droit de l’environnement à l’épreuve de la migration climatique : Cas des populations Antandroy”, pp. 33-38.

⁷⁵ Soilihi Mohamed, “Le droit de l’environnement à l’épreuve de la migration climatique : Cas des populations Antandroy”, pp. 33-38.

⁷⁶ Madagascar, National Adaptation Plan, 29 May 2022, <https://unfccc.int/documents/488094>, p. 89.

⁷⁷ Interview in person with Max Andonirina Fontaine, Madagascar’s Minister of Environment and Sustainable Development, 1 July 2024, Antananarivo. See also Soilihi Mohamed, “Le droit de l’environnement à l’épreuve de la migration climatique : Cas des populations Antandroy”, Thèse présentée et soutenue publiquement le 23 juin 2022, pour l’obtention du diplôme de doctorat en droit public et sciences politiques, Université Catholique de Madagascar, pp. 34-36.

⁷⁸ Interview in person with “Mafanafo” (name changed for security reasons), Benarivo II, 7 July 2024.

There are no pastures in Androy [any more], and many zebus are dying: zebus for funerals, and for families to survive.”



Image showing the “Zebu” in Southern Madagascar. © Pierrot Man for Amnesty International, 2021

Boeny, Ambondromamy and Tsaramandroso municipalities in the north have become popular among the Antandroy drought-induced internally displaced persons.⁷⁹ These municipalities are near the Ankarafantsika National Park. They offer an environment similar to Androy. According to the head of Fikambanan'ny Zanaka Tandroy (FIZATA), a community association of displaced Antandroy in Boeny, living in these municipalities has similarities with living in Androy. “It is hot, just like Androy,” he explained. “What is different is that here, there is rain every year, and we can do agriculture,” he added.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ This point kept on coming up in most focus group and individual interviews that Amnesty International researchers had with the displaced. See also Interview in person with Faralihy, President of FIZATA, which is a community association of the Antandroy in Boeny, 29 November 2024, Mahajanga.

⁸⁰ Interview in person with Faralihy, President of FIZATA, which is a community association of the Antandroy in Boeny, 29 November 2024, Mahajanga.

4. HUMAN RIGHTS STANDARDS

4.1 CLIMATE JUSTICE AND CLIMATE INDUCED INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT

The 2015 Paris Agreement is the main binding international instrument addressing climate change and its impacts. Madagascar ratified it in 2016.⁸¹ The Paris Agreement provides for the principle of “Common but Differentiated Responsibilities and Respective Capabilities in light of different national circumstances” (CBDR-RC).⁸² This principle goes to the core of climate justice.⁸³

The CBDR-RC principle has been formulated, to a larger extent,⁸⁴ in earlier international agreements, including the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, which Madagascar ratified in 1999.⁸⁵ It recognizes that developed countries, which have historically contributed the most to greenhouse gas emissions to the point of increasing global surface temperatures (that have caused climate change) beyond safe levels, have a greater responsibility to help meet the Paris Agreement’s goals.⁸⁶ One of the goals is to keep the increase in global surface temperatures well below 2°C and to encourage efforts to limit it to 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels.⁸⁷ Another is to provide adequate financing and technological support to developing countries such as Madagascar that bear the brunt of climate change but have the least responsibility for it⁸⁸ to adapt to the impacts of climate change.⁸⁹

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), the scientific body advising the UN on climate matters, released its First Assessment Report in 1992. This report connected the displacement crisis to climate change, forewarning that forced displacements were going to become one of the greatest impacts of climate change.⁹⁰ In its latest Assessment Report, in 2023, the same scientific body provided, with high confidence, that cooperative, international efforts to enhance institutional adaptive capacity and sustainable

⁸¹ See <https://unfccc.int/node/61105> (accessed on 27 March 2025).

⁸² Paris Agreement, Article 2.2, 12 December 2015.

⁸³ Principle 4, Bali Principles of Climate Justice, 29 August 2002.

⁸⁴ The part “in light of different national circumstances” in the CBDR-RC principle was not reflected in formulations of the principle in earlier treaties. Experts on climate governance have held that the addition “in light of national circumstances” should be understood to place more obligations even upon a developing state, which, by way of its current emissions, Gross Domestic Product, geographical situation, and status in the world, has enough capabilities to tackle climate change. China, for example, has risen to the rank of world powers with enough capabilities to tackle climate change.

⁸⁵ United Nations Treaty, Status of Treaties: United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, <https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/MTDGS/Volume%20II/Chapter%20XXVII/XXVII-7.en.pdf>

⁸⁶ Paris Agreement, Article 2.2, 12 December 2015.

⁸⁷ Paris Agreement, Article 2.1, 12 December 2015.

⁸⁸ Paris Agreement, Article 9, 12 December 2015.

⁸⁹ Paris Agreement, Article 9, 12 December 2015.

⁹⁰ Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, Climate Change, The 1990 and 1992 IPCC Assessments: IPCC First Assessment Report Overview and Policymaker Summaries and 1992 IPCC Supplement (World Meteorological Organization and United Nations Environment Programme 1992), p. 103.

development could reduce future risks of involuntary migration and displacement due to climate change. The 2023 Assessment Report also notes with the same level of confidence that policy interventions can remove barriers and expand alternatives for safe, orderly and regular mobility that allow vulnerable people, such as the Antandroy drought-induced IDPs, to adapt to climate change.⁹¹

The 2009 AU Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa, known as the Kampala Convention, provides a framework for African countries, such as Madagascar, to pursue cooperative international efforts to enhance institutional adaptive capacity and sustainable development in the context of climate change-induced displacement. This Convention provides the AU with an opportunity to help countries such as Madagascar make a case for support from high-income countries regarding drought-induced Antandroy IDPs. To monitor and review implementation, including ensuring that those internally displaced by climate change receive remedies and reparations, the Kampala Convention establishes a political body: the Conference of the Parties (COP) to be convened regularly and facilitated by the AU.⁹² The Kampala Convention notes that states parties shall establish an effective legal framework to provide just and fair compensation and other forms of reparations, where appropriate, to IDPs for damage incurred as a result of displacement, in accordance with international standards.⁹³ It notes that states shall be liable to provide reparations to IDPs for damage when they have not protected and assisted IDPs following disasters,⁹⁴ including climate change.⁹⁵ Madagascar has yet to ratify the Kampala Convention. It, however, signed it in 2014 and therefore cannot act against its object and purpose, which is to protect and assist IDPs.⁹⁶

Based on the CBDR-RC principle and to allow a country such as Madagascar to assist and protect drought-induced IDPs, high-income countries must lead the way in providing support through affordable technology development and transfer, capacity building, and the provision of financial and technical resources. Fulfilling this legal obligation can allow Madagascar to advance the respect, protection and fulfilment of the rights of drought-induced displaced Antandroy. Under the Kampala Convention, the AU is to help, through the Conference of the Parties, Madagascar to secure such support from high-income countries.

The responsibility of high-income countries for climate change does not absolve the government of Madagascar from its obligations under international human rights law to take all reasonable steps to the full extent of its abilities to prevent foreseeable harms to the enjoyment of the human rights of the Antandroy drought-induced IDPs and to protect those who do not move. Under human rights law implicitly, responsibilities are differentiated in that states in a position to do so are required to provide international assistance where required for the realization of human rights, but the lack of international assistance does not excuse any state from complying with its human rights obligations, and in the case of economic, social and cultural rights, from realizing these rights to the maximum of available resources.⁹⁷

4.2 CLIMATE JUSTICE AND COLONIAL REPARATIONS

Climate change governance is science-driven, heavily relying on the scientific findings of the IPCC. In its 2022 Assessment Report, the IPCC specifically pointed out to world leaders that colonial wrongs have increased the vulnerability of communities to adapt to climate change impacts.⁹⁸ We outlined in the background section how during the colonial period in Madagascar the deliberate destruction of approximately 40,000 hectares of drought-resilient *opuntia monacantha* cactus (which was helping the Antandroy people to adapt and coexist with chronic droughts as it could act as a reservoir of food and water) by the then French colonial administration contributed to increasing the Antandroy people's vulnerability to drought impacts and triggered the beginning of their large scale drought-induced displacements to other parts of the country, exacerbated by climate change today.

The 2001 Durban Declaration and Programme of Action affirms that slavery and colonialism remain among the root causes of contemporary racism, racial discrimination and persisting social and economic inequalities.⁹⁹ The intrinsic link between these historic injustices and contemporary manifestations of racial

⁹¹ Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, Climate Change, The 2023 IPCC Assessments: IPCC Sixth Assessment Report Synthesis Report (World Meteorological Organization and United Nations Environment Programme 1992), p. 107.

⁹² Kampala Convention, Article XIV.

⁹³ Kampala Convention, Article XII(2).

⁹⁴ Kampala Convention, Article XII(3).

⁹⁵ Kampala Convention, Article V(4).

⁹⁶ Kampala Convention, Article V(4) and Article XII(3).

⁹⁷ See UN Human Rights Council, Report of the Independent Expert on Human Rights and International Solidarity, Obiora Chinedu Okafor, 47th session, Agenda item 3, UN Doc. A/HRC/47/31, 21 June–9 July 2021, paras 23-27.

⁹⁸ Working Group II, Climate Change 2022: Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability, Summary for Policy Makers, p. 12.

⁹⁹ Durban Declaration, Chapter 1, paras 13-14.

discrimination, subordination and inequality has been acknowledged by a growing number of UN mechanisms and experts.¹⁰⁰ According to the former Special Rapporteur on Contemporary Forms of Racism – and as with the way climate change is contributing to the drought-induced internal displacements of the Antandroy people – “many contemporary manifestations of racial discrimination must be understood as a continuation of insufficiently remedied historical forms and structures of racial injustice and inequality.”¹⁰¹ The Malagasy government has not addressed how French colonial rule must be held accountable for the destruction of the drought-resilient *opuntia monacantha* cactus, despite the AU’s recognition of the need to address the consequences of colonialism, which persist in many forms, including, among others, the inability to adapt to climate change impacts.¹⁰²

As UN experts have acknowledged, “the greatest barrier to reparations for colonialism and slavery is that the biggest beneficiaries of both lack the political will and moral courage to pursue such reparations.”¹⁰³ France has not provided any reparatory measures for harm inflicted during its colonial rule in Madagascar regarding the destruction of the *opuntia monacantha*. Yet, under international law, if a wrongful act continues to have effects on the enjoyment of human rights today, the responsibility may extend to the present, regardless of when the act originally occurred.¹⁰⁴

4.3 FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT AND CHOICE OF RESIDENCE

The right to freedom of movement and choice of residence within national borders is provided for under various international and regional instruments. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR),¹⁰⁵ the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR),¹⁰⁶ the UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement,¹⁰⁷ and the AU Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons (Kampala Convention) all provide for this right,¹⁰⁸ albeit without elaborating on the content of the right and the obligations that it attracts.¹⁰⁹ The same is true for the right to freedom of movement under the

¹⁰⁰ See, for example, Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, General Recommendation 34: Racial discrimination against people of African descent, 3 October 2011, UN Doc. CERD/C/GC/34; Report of the Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent on its twenty-first and twenty-second sessions, 15 August 2018, UN Doc. A/HRC/39/69; Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia & racial intolerance, Global extractivism and racial equality, 14 May 2019, UN Doc. A/HRC/41/54; Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia & racial intolerance, Racism, racial justice & reparations, 21 August 2019, UN Doc. A/74/321; Report of the Intergovernmental Working Group on the Effective Implementation of the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action on its seventeenth session, 5 February 2020, UN Doc. A/HRC/43/73; Expert Mechanism on the Right to Development, Racism, racial discrimination and the right to development, 22 June 2022, UN Doc. A/HRC/51/37; Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, Summary of the panel discussion on the negative impact of the legacies of colonialism on the enjoyment of rights, 1 June 2023, UN Doc. A/HRC/54/4; Human Rights Council Advisory Committee, Advancing racial justice and equality by uprooting systemic racism, 8 August 2023, UN Doc. A/HRC/54/70; Report of the Permanent Forum on People of African Descent on its first and second sessions, 16 August 2023, UN Doc. A/HRC/54/68; Secretary General, Implementation of the International Decade for People of African Descent, 18 August 2023, UN Doc. A/78/317; International Independent Expert Mechanism to Advance Racial Justice and Equality in Law Enforcement, Promotion and protection of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of Africans and of people of African descent against excessive use of force and other human rights violations by law enforcement officers, 21 August 2023, UN Doc. A/HRC/54/69.

¹⁰¹ Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia & racial intolerance, Racism, racial justice & reparations, 21 August 2019, UN Doc. A/74/321.

¹⁰² African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights, Resolution on Africa’s Reparations Agenda and The Human Rights of Africans In the Diaspora and People of African Descent Worldwide, ACHPR/Res.543 (LXXIII), 2022. See [https://portal.africa-union.org/DVD/Documents/DOC-AU-DEC/Assembly AU DEC 847 \(XXXVI\).pdf](https://portal.africa-union.org/DVD/Documents/DOC-AU-DEC/Assembly%20AU%20DEC%20847%20(XXXVI).pdf) and see also [https://portal.africa-union.org/DVD/Documents/DOC-AU-DEC/Assembly AU DEC 884 \(XXXVII\).pdf](https://portal.africa-union.org/DVD/Documents/DOC-AU-DEC/Assembly%20AU%20DEC%20884%20(XXXVII).pdf)

¹⁰³ Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia & racial intolerance, Racism, racial justice & reparations, 21 August 2019, UN Doc. A/74/321, para. 15; Secretary General, Implementation of the International Decade for People of African Descent, 18 August 2023, UN Doc. A/78/317, para. 21.

¹⁰⁴ Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia & racial intolerance, Racism, racial justice & reparations, 21 August 2019, UN Doc. A/74/321, para. 15; Secretary General, Implementation of the International Decade for People of African Descent, 18 August 2023, UN Doc. A/78/317, paras 32-34.

¹⁰⁵ UDHR, Article 13.

¹⁰⁶ ICCPR (1966), Article 12. It is worth noting that the Human Rights Committee adopted General Comment 27 on Article 12 of the ICCPR (General Comment 27), which presents further guidance to states on free movement and residence in its composite form, including, to a limited extent, intranational movement. This General Comment, however, is not detailed on state obligations with respect to intranational movement, under which IDPs fall.

¹⁰⁷ United Nations, “Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement”, UN Doc. E/CN.4/1998/53/Add.2 (1998), Principle 14.

¹⁰⁸ Article XIX (2) (f), African Union, African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (Kampala Convention), adopted on 23 October 2009, entered into force 6 December 2012. Available at: <https://au.int/en/treaties/african-union-convention-protection-and-assistance-internally-displaced-persons-africa>

¹⁰⁹ Romola Adeola, Frans Viljoen, and Trésor Makunya Muhindo, “A Commentary on the African Commission’s General Comment on the Right to Freedom of Movement and Residence under Article 12(1) of the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights”, *Journal of African Law* 65, S1 2021, pp. 136-137 and 149.

Constitution of Madagascar, which stipulates that all “individuals have the right to circulate and to establish themselves freely on all the territory of the Republic within respect for the rights of others and the prescriptions of the law”.¹¹⁰

The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) also provides that every individual shall have the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of a State, provided they abide by the law,¹¹¹ and the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights,¹¹² through its General Comment 5, details the right and obligations that it attracts. This has filled a crucial gap in international human rights law when it comes to displacement within national borders.¹¹³ Particularly for the purposes of this report, when it comes to fulfilling the right to freedom of movement and choice of residence within national borders, the Commission states that the executive arm of government must ensure that public officials in various state agencies take measures that enable the realization of the right to freedom of movement and residence, including access to means of transportation for all persons including IDPs.¹¹⁴ It goes on to state that, through laws and institutional measures, states must guarantee the right of IDPs to exercise agency in their choice of residence.¹¹⁵ Where families of IDPs are separated due to displacement, it further states, states must adopt measures to facilitate mobility for family reunification.¹¹⁶

The Commission has clarified that an integral part of implementing the right to freedom of movement and choice of residence within national borders under the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights is the obligation of the executive to ratify international and regional laws on freedom of movement without delay,¹¹⁷ and for the legislature to domesticate them.¹¹⁸ This means that, for Madagascar to fulfil its obligations on freedom of movement and choice of residence within national borders under the African Charter (which it has ratified), it must also ratify the AU Kampala Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons (which it signed in 2014) and domesticate it.¹¹⁹ Pending ratification, Madagascar must still refrain from “acts which would defeat the object and purpose of” the Kampala Convention, which is to assist and protect IDPs.¹²⁰

Just like the African Commission's General Comment 5 on the right to freedom of movement and choice of residence, the Kampala Convention places obligations on states to undertake steps that can help fulfil the realization of this right. The Kampala Convention obligates states to designate an authority or body, where needed, to coordinate activities to protect and assist IDPs and assign responsibilities to appropriate organs for protection and assistance, and cooperate with international organizations or agencies, and civil society organizations, where no such authority or body exists. States are also obligated to adopt other measures, as appropriate, including strategies and policies on internal displacement at national and local levels, considering the needs of host communities; and to provide, to the extent possible, necessary funds for protection and assistance without prejudice to receiving international support.¹²¹ Again, just like the African Commission's General Comment 5 on the right to freedom of movement and choice of residence, the Kampala Convention also imposes the obligation to take necessary measures, including the establishment of specialized mechanisms, to trace and reunify families separated during displacement and otherwise facilitate the reestablishment of family ties.¹²²

The African Commission's General Comment 5 requires the government of Madagascar to explain what laws it has passed to uphold the right to freedom of movement and residence. This information should appear in

¹¹⁰ Article 12, Constitution of Madagascar (2010)

¹¹¹ Article 12(1), African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, adopted on 27 June 1981, entered into force on 21 October 1986.

¹¹² African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, General Comment 5 on the Right to Freedom of Movement and to Choose One's Residence under Article 12(1) of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, adopted during the 65th Ordinary Session, 21 October – 10 November 2019.

¹¹³ African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, General Comment 5 on the Right to Freedom of Movement and to Choose one's Residence, para. 3.

¹¹⁴ African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, General Comment 5 on the Right to Freedom of Movement and to Choose one's Residence, para. 30.

¹¹⁵ African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, General Comment 5 on the Right to Freedom of Movement and to Choose one's Residence, para. 47.

¹¹⁶ African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, General Comment 5 on the Right to Freedom of Movement and to Choose one's Residence, para. 47.

¹¹⁷ African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, General Comment 5 on the Right to Freedom of Movement and to Choose one's Residence, para. 26.

¹¹⁸ African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, General Comment 5 on the Right to Freedom of Movement and to Choose one's Residence, para. 32.

¹¹⁹ African Union, List of Countries Which Have Signed, Ratified/Acceded to the African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (Kampala Convention), 8 July 2024, https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/36846-sl-AFRICAN_UNION_CONVENTION_FOR_THE_PROTECTION_AND_ASSISTANCE_OF_INTERNALLY_DISPLACED_PERSONS_IN_AFRICA_KAMPALA_CONVENTION.pdf (accessed on 13 March 2025).

¹²⁰ United Nations, Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, 23 May 1969, Article 18.

¹²¹ Kampala Convention, Article III (2).

¹²² Kampala Convention, Article IX(2)(h).

Madagascar's periodic report to the African Commission, as required by Article 62 of the African Charter.¹²³ Article 62 obligates each member state to submit a report every two years on the steps it has taken to protect the rights set out in the Charter.

4.4 RIGHT TO ADEQUATE HOUSING

The right to adequate housing is also provided for under several international human rights instruments,¹²⁴ particularly the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) that Madagascar ratified in 1971.¹²⁵ The UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR), an expert body with the mandate to provide authoritative interpretations of human rights covered in the ICESCR, has identified essential elements of the right to adequate housing in its General Comment 4.¹²⁶

Forced evictions constitute gross violations of a range of internationally recognized human rights, including the right to adequate housing.¹²⁷ In its General Comment 7 on forced evictions and the right to adequate housing, the Committee requires all countries to take steps to explore all feasible alternatives to evictions.¹²⁸ Where evictions are deemed necessary, it requires states to do so only after engaging in genuine consultations with affected individuals.¹²⁹ Governments of such countries must provide affected individuals with adequate notice before evictions begin.¹³⁰ The Committee has also clarified that when countries are executing evictions, the authorities doing this must identify themselves.¹³¹ The provision of legal remedies and legal aid to those who need it is among the measures that the Committee notes governments must put in place in the context of evictions.¹³² Furthermore, the Committee is clear that evictions should not result in rendering those affected homeless or vulnerable to violations of other human rights.¹³³ The Committee has further clarified that all appropriate measures must be taken by the state, to the extent of its maximum available resources, to ensure that adequate alternative housing, resettlement or access to productive land, as the case may be, is available.¹³⁴

The Committee has provided, through its General Comment 26 on land and economic, social and cultural rights, that the relevant authorities shall ensure that evictions are only carried out in accordance with legislation that is compatible and in conformity with the ICESCR and in accordance with the general principles of reasonableness and proportionality between the legitimate objective of the eviction and its consequences for the evicted persons. It further provided that states parties shall introduce and implement national legislation explicitly prohibiting forced evictions and set out a framework for eviction and resettlement processes to be carried out in line with international human rights law and standards.¹³⁵

Although the right to adequate housing is not explicitly mentioned in the African Charter on Human Rights and Peoples' Rights, the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights has interpreted that the combined effect of the provisions protecting the right to enjoy the best attainable state of mental and physical health (Article 16), the right to property (Article 14), and the protection accorded to the

¹²³ African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, General Comment 5 on the Right to Freedom of Movement and to Choose one's Residence, para. 62.

¹²⁴ Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (Article 14.2), Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (Article 5(e)), Convention on the Rights of the Child (Article 27.4), Convention of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (Articles 9 and 28), Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (Article 43) and Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (Article 21). Also, Article 17 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) provides for the right of every person to be protected against arbitrary or unlawful interference with their home.

¹²⁵ UN Treaty Body Database, https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/15/treatybodyexternal/Treaty.aspx?CountryID=103&Lang=en (accessed on 13 March 2025).

¹²⁶ Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, General Comment, General Comment 4.

¹²⁷ United Nations Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR), Resolution 1993/77, 1993.

¹²⁸ Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, General Comment 7, Forced evictions, and the right to adequate housing (Sixteenth session, 1997), UN Doc. E/1998/22, annex IV at 113 (1997), reprinted in Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations Adopted by Human Rights Treaty Bodies, UN Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.6 at 45 (2003).

¹²⁹ Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, General Comment 7, Forced evictions, and the right to adequate housing (Sixteenth session, 1997).

¹³⁰ Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, General Comment 7, Forced evictions, and the right to adequate housing (Sixteenth session, 1997).

¹³¹ Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, General Comment 7, Forced evictions, and the right to adequate housing (Sixteenth session, 1997).

¹³² Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, General Comment 7, Forced evictions, and the right to adequate housing (Sixteenth session, 1997).

¹³³ Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, General Comment 7, Forced evictions, and the right to adequate housing (Sixteenth session, 1997).

¹³⁴ Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, General Comment 7, Forced evictions, and the right to adequate housing (Sixteenth session, 1997).

¹³⁵ General comment 26 (2022) on land and economic, social and cultural rights, para. 23.

family (Article 18.1) reads into the African Charter a right to shelter or housing on the basis that when housing is destroyed, property, health, and family life are adversely affected.¹³⁶

Aspects of the right to adequate housing, which forced evictions violate, are provided for under Article 35 of the 2010 Constitution of Madagascar, which obligates the state to facilitate the access of citizens to housing through appropriate financing mechanisms.¹³⁷

The 1998 UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement reflects aspects of international human rights law, humanitarian law, and refugee law.¹³⁸ They provide that IDPs have the right to be protected against arbitrary displacement.¹³⁹

4.5 ADEQUATE STANDARD OF LIVING

The 1998 UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement tried to consolidate international human rights law on the rights of IDPs. They state that all IDPs have the right to an adequate standard of living. This means that, at the minimum, regardless of the circumstances, and without discrimination, competent authorities shall provide IDPs with and ensure safe access to essential food and potable water, basic shelter and housing, appropriate clothing, and essential medical services and sanitation.¹⁴⁰ This provision is to a large extent a restatement of Article 11(1) of the ICESCR, which Madagascar has ratified and which provides for the right to an adequate standard of living.¹⁴¹

The Kampala Convention also obligates states to fulfil the right to an adequate standard of living by ensuring that IDPs, to the fullest extent practicable and with the least possible delay, have adequate humanitarian assistance, including food, water, shelter, medical care and other health services, sanitation, education, and any other necessary social services.¹⁴² These are also individual rights with individual general comments highlighting the core components and state obligations for each. For example, the right to adequate food means that every man, woman, and child has physical and economic access to adequate food or means of its procurement at all times, either on their own or as part of a community.¹⁴³

The African Commission's General Comment 5 on the right to freedom of movement and choice of residence also obligates states such as Madagascar to ensure that processes, such as provision of access to means of transport and planned relocations or resettlements,¹⁴⁴ which aim to protect the right to freedom of movement and choice of residence within national borders, align with international human rights law.¹⁴⁵ Therefore, states such as Madagascar must ensure that any processes, such as planned relocations or resettlements that they establish for the Antandroy drought-induced IDPs do not fall short of the right to an adequate standard of living, among other human rights.

¹³⁶ African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, *SERAC v. Nigeria*, Decision, Comm. 155/96 (ACHPR, Oct. 27, 2001), <https://achpr.au.int/en/decisions-communications/social-and-economic-rights-action-center-serac-and-center-economic-15596>

¹³⁷ Article 35, Constitution of Madagascar (2010).

¹³⁸ United Nations, "Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement", UN Doc. E/CN.4/1998/53/Add.2 (1998), Introductory note to the Guiding Principles, para. 9.

¹³⁹ United Nations, "Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement", UN Doc. E/CN.4/1998/53/Add.2 (1998), Introductory note to the Guiding Principles, Principle 6.

¹⁴⁰ Principle 18, United Nations, "Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement", UN Doc. E/CN.4/1998/53/Add.2 (1998).

¹⁴¹ International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), Article 11(1), adopted on 16 December 1966, entered into force on 3 January 1976.

¹⁴² Article IX(2)(b), African Union, African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (Kampala Convention), adopted on 23 October 2009, entered into force on 6 December 2012. Available at: <https://au.int/en/treaties/african-union-convention-protection-and-assistance-internally-displaced-persons-africa>

¹⁴³ Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, General Comment 12 (Twentieth session, 1999), The right to adequate food (Article 11), E/C.12/1999/5, 12 May 1999, Original: ENGLISH, pp. 3-4.

¹⁴⁴ African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, General Comment 5 on the Right to Freedom of Movement and to Choose One's Residence, para. 47.

¹⁴⁵ African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, General Comment 5 on the Right to Freedom of Movement and to Choose One's Residence, para. 60.

5. KEY FINDINGS

5.1 VIOLATIONS OF FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT AND CHOICE OF RESIDENCE

5.1.1 FAILURE TO ADOPT STRATEGIES TO PROTECT AND ASSIST IDPs

Amnesty International found that the government of Madagascar has violated the right to freedom of movement and choice of residence within national borders. The government failed to adopt national and local strategies and policies to protect and assist Antandroy people displaced by drought. This has left thousands without protection and support for their basic needs, particularly transportation, food, and shelter on the way, as well as resettlement upon arrival.

Governor Mokthar Andriatomanga of Boeny told Amnesty International that he has no concrete solution for people displaced by climate-induced famine from the Androy region now residing in Boeny. When the Antandroy drought-induced IDPs that we spoke to arrived in Boeny, government officials were not available to help them resettle.¹⁴⁶ The Antandroy people are agropastoralists, relying on vast areas for farming and cattle herding, and access to productive land was a major need for all displaced people that we spoke to. Governor Mokthar told Amnesty International, “All available land has already been allocated to the local community.”¹⁴⁷

The governor also expressed frustration with international climate talks, stating that despite years of negotiations at UN climate conferences (known as COPs), COPs have not delivered concrete solutions for the impacts of climate change on Madagascar.¹⁴⁸ He estimated that around 100 Antandroy drought-induced IDPs enter Boeny every week, yet the government has only been able to provide a 117-hectare resettlement site with just 33 huts, on a piece of land donated to the Tsaramandroso municipality by a private citizen.¹⁴⁹ He recognized this was an inadequate response that could hardly accommodate the number of IDP arrivals into Boeny in a two-week period.¹⁵⁰ The governor noted, however, that the resettlement site is a step that his region is taking pending a national strategy on addressing the needs of those displaced by drought-induced famines.¹⁵¹

Madagascar’s national strategies to mitigate and adapt to climate change, outlined in the Nationally Determined Contributions and the National Adaptation Plan, also fail to identify and, where possible, quantify the human rights needs of drought-induced IDPs. They fail to assess what support (in terms of finance, capacity and technology) IDPs require.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁶ Interview in person with Mokthar Andriatomanga, Governor of the Boeny region, 4 July 2024, Mahajanga.

¹⁴⁷ Interview in person with Mokthar Andriatomanga, Governor of the Boeny region, 4 July 2024, Mahajanga.

¹⁴⁸ Interview in person with Mokthar Andriatomanga, Governor of the Boeny region, 29 November 2024, Mahajanga.

¹⁴⁹ Interview in person with Mokthar Andriatomanga, Governor of the Boeny region, 4 July 2024, Mahajanga.

¹⁵⁰ Interview in person with Mokthar Andriatomanga, Governor of the Boeny region, 4 July 2024, Mahajanga.

¹⁵¹ Interview in person with Mokthar Andriatomanga, Governor of the Boeny region, 29 November 2024, Mahajanga.

¹⁵² See Madagascar, National Adaptation Plan, 29 May 2022, <https://unfccc.int/documents/488094>. See also Madagascar, Nationally Determined Contributions, 30 January 2024, <https://unfccc.int/documents/63685>

Officials from Madagascar's national and Boeny regional governments, including the Minister of Environment and Sustainable Development,¹⁵³ the Chief of Staff of the Ministry of the Interior,¹⁵⁴ and representatives from the Ministry of Justice,¹⁵⁵ the Ministry of Population and Solidarity,¹⁵⁶ and the National Bureau of Risk and Disaster Management,¹⁵⁷ told Amnesty International that, other than attempts to render the Deep South of Madagascar more resilient to the impacts of droughts in ways that do not lead to famines, there are no national strategies or policies to protect and assist Antandroy people already on the move as drought-induced IDPs. The government has not introduced any financial schemes to support their needs.

Attempts to render the Deep South of Madagascar more resilient to the impacts of droughts were again echoed in the government's response to Amnesty International's request for a written comment on the preliminary findings of this report. However, as Amnesty International has consistently conveyed to officials at both national and regional levels, many Antandroy people have already been displaced and are currently on the move.

Development actors, however, have taken some steps to help the country address the impact of drought-induced displacement in destination areas, such as the Boeny region. For example, the Chief of Staff at the Ministry of Interior told Amnesty International that a development project addressing displacement from Androy to Boeny is in its early stages. Indeed, the Ministry of Interior, in recognition that an effective national strategy to systematically manage internal displacement is still lacking, has procured the assistance of Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) for a project.¹⁵⁸ This project aims to provide technical and organizational guidance to stakeholders in the Boeny Region to develop a gender and climate-sensitive displacement management strategy. It also aims to establish a coordination mechanism between regions of origin, such as the southern Androy region, and destination regions, such as the north-western Boeny region.¹⁵⁹ In its response to Amnesty International's request for a written comment on the preliminary findings of this report, the government highlighted this project as part of its progressive efforts to address the situation of those already displaced. While this initiative is a welcome development, it remains in its early stages. As part of its ongoing and planned activities, this project aims to help the Boeny region develop a local strategy and to support the creation of a system for collecting and managing displacement-related data.

IOM partnered with Madagascar's National Office for Risk and Disaster Management (BNGRC) to launch its 2024 Solutions and Mobility Index (SMI) for the Menabe region. This region in western and south-western Madagascar, like Boeny, has become a destination for Antandroy communities displaced by drought.¹⁶⁰ The SMI aims to provide durable solutions for displaced people arriving in the Menabe region.¹⁶¹ However, the government also acknowledged in its response to Amnesty International's request for a written comment on the preliminary findings of this report that while the International Organization for Migration (IOM) has provided important data, these have not yet been integrated into climate change response strategies.

While initiatives like the ones discussed above, which the government has pursued with development actors, are welcome and should be encouraged, the government's efforts must go further. The government must identify and, where possible, quantify the human rights needs of drought-induced IDPs in ways that can be integrated into Madagascar's climate strategies, specifically, its Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) and National Adaptation Plan (NAP).

This would enable Madagascar to clearly communicate to international funding bodies, especially under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), the specific financial, technological, and other forms of support required to address climate-induced internal displacement. Identification and quantification are critical to holding high-income countries accountable for their obligations to provide adaptation finance and technology to developing nations like Madagascar. The Green Climate Fund, for example, is the world's largest fund established under the Paris Agreement to help least developed countries, such as Madagascar, that are particularly vulnerable to the adverse impacts of climate change, realize their NDCs.¹⁶² The Least

¹⁵³ Interview in person with Max Andonirina Fontaine, Madagascar's Minister of Environment and Sustainable Development, 1 July 2024, Antananarivo.

¹⁵⁴ Interview in person with Célestin Rasolomaholy Rakotozanany, Chief of Staff of Madagascar's Ministry of Interior, 26 November 2024, Antananarivo.

¹⁵⁵ Interview in person with Rarivojaona Emile Andrianirina, Chief of Staff of Madagascar's Ministry of Justice, 1 July 2024, Antananarivo.

¹⁵⁶ Interview in person with the Directeur General des Solidarités du Ministère de la Population et des Solidarités, 2 July 2024, Antananarivo.

¹⁵⁷ Interview in person with Elack Olivier, Director General of the National Bureau of Administration of Risks and Disasters (BNGRC), 12 July 2024, Antananarivo.

¹⁵⁸ GIZ, "Madagascar : Améliorer la gestion des migrations internes dans le contexte du changement climatique (ProMIC)", Factsheet February 2024.

¹⁵⁹ GIZ, "Madagascar : Améliorer la gestion des migrations internes dans le contexte du changement climatique (ProMIC)", Factsheet February 2024.

¹⁶⁰ IOM, Solutions and Mobility Index – Menabe Region Madagascar, June 2024.

¹⁶¹ IOM, Solutions and Mobility Index – Menabe Region Madagascar, June 2024.

¹⁶² Green Climate Fund, <https://www.greenclimate.fund/about> (accessed on 12 May 2025).

Developed Countries Fund is also mandated to help least developed countries, such as Madagascar, realize their NAPs and their National Adaptation Programmes of Actions (NAPAs).¹⁶³ However, both Madagascar's NAP and NAPA are silent on assessing losses, damages, as well as adaptation and human rights needs of drought-induced IDPs.¹⁶⁴ Through updating its NDCs and NAP to include these needs, Madagascar can be better positioned to secure financial and technological support for them under other sources of funding, such as the Adaptation Fund,¹⁶⁵ and the Fund for Responding to Loss and Damage.¹⁶⁶

With 2025 the deadline for submitting updated NDCs and NAPs to UNFCCC's Secretariat, Madagascar must act swiftly. At the time of writing, it had yet to submit these.¹⁶⁷

In addition to failing in its legal obligation to provide national strategies on tackling the human rights needs of drought-induced IDPs, the Malagasy government has also failed in its duties under the right to freedom of movement and choice of residence within state borders, as detailed below.

5.1.2 FAILURE TO PROVIDE TRANSPORTATION AND AN ADEQUATE STANDARD OF LIVING

The Malagasy government has failed to ensure that public officials take meaningful steps to uphold the right to freedom of movement and choice of residence by not providing access to transportation for those seeking refuge in other parts of the country. The Malagasy government has also failed to meet its obligation to ensure an adequate standard of living for Antandroy drought-induced IDPs, regarding access to food and basic shelter while on the journey to Boeny, especially for those who could not afford a direct bus ride.

The journey from Androy to Boeny is long and difficult. The displaced Antandroy that we spoke to typically travelled by bus, with two main routes connecting southern Androy to north-western Boeny. One bus route departs from Ambovombe in Androy, while the other leaves from Bekitro in Andoy. Each week, between 40 and 80 passengers travel on these busses.¹⁶⁸ The distance from Ambovombe is roughly 1,498km, and from Bekitro, it is about 1,663km to the municipality of Ambondromamy, where the main bus station is located, in Tsenavao market.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶³ See Least Developed Countries Fund – LDCF, <https://www.thegef.org/what-we-do/topics/least-developed-countries-fund-ldcf> (accessed on 22 June 2025).

¹⁶⁴ UNFCCC, National Adaptation Programmes of Action, <https://unfccc.int/topics/resilience/workstreams/national-adaptation-programmes-of-action/introduction> (accessed on 12 May 2025). See also Madagascar NAPA, December 2006 <https://unfccc.int/resource/docs/napa/mdg01f.pdf> as well as Madagascar, National Adaptation Plan, 29 May 2022, <https://unfccc.int/documents/488094>

¹⁶⁵ Adaptation Fund, <https://www.adaptation-fund.org/about/faq/> (accessed on 12 May 2025).

¹⁶⁶ Fund for Responding to Loss and Damage, <https://www.frlid.org/about> (accessed on 12 May 2025).

¹⁶⁷ UNFCCC, The Paris Agreement and NDCs, <https://unfccc.int/process-and-meetings/the-paris-agreement/nationally-determined-contributions-ndcs> (accessed on 12 May 2025).

¹⁶⁸ UNFCCC, National Adaptation Plans: Building Resilience in a Changing Climate, 22 January 2025, <https://unfccc.int/news/national-adaptation-plans-building-resilience-in-a-changing-climate#:~:text=Adaptation%20investments%20%E2%80%93%20at%20the%20right,economies%20for%20a%20sustainable%20future> (accessed on 12 May 2025).

¹⁶⁹ These are Google Maps estimates.



Google Maps showing the journey from Bekitro in Androy to Ambondromamy in Boeny.

The cost of the journey depicted on the map above is a huge burden without government financial assistance. In both focus group interviews and individual interviews,¹⁷⁰ displaced people shared that they received no government help for transport expenses or food en route. Transport costs ranged from 120,000 to 250,000 Malagasy Ariary (about USD 27 to USD 57) per person, depending on the starting point and whether food was included. For many displaced people, this is unaffordable and can exceed Madagascar's minimum monthly wage, which, in 2025, increased to 262,680 Malagasy Ariary (about USD 60).¹⁷¹

Masoandro's case is illustrative of the financial strain that transport places on those displaced by drought-induced famines. Forced to leave Androy in 2020 due to drought-induced famines, Masoandro worked as a cattle herder for a year to save money. He earned 160,000 Malagasy ariary (about USD 36) for that year, of which he spent 60,000 (about USD 14) on living expenses, leaving him unable to cover transport costs.

¹⁷⁰ Through group interviews in four of the five villages that Amnesty International researchers visited around the Ankarafantsika National Park and 30 individual interviews in three of them, a 117-hectare government-built resettlement site that is about 7 to 10 km away from the national park and at the Ambondromamy bus station, Amnesty International found that many Antandroy men and women cannot afford transport costs during displacement.

¹⁷¹ See <https://tradingeconomics.com/madagascar/minimum-wages> (accessed on 3 July 2025). To convert Malagasy Ariary to USD, see <https://wise.com/gb/currency-converter/mga-to-usd-rate?amount=1000> (accessed on 4 July 2025).

“I negotiated with the driver. To repay him, he employed my son as a herder for one year, and the debt to the driver amounted to 220,000 Malagasy ariary (about USD 50). My son did this because he had no choice, as the driver had threatened to imprison us if the debt was not repaid. The driver said, ‘If you do not pay me, I will add interest charges, and if you agree, your son will work for me for a year in Ambatoboeny.’”

Masoandro negotiated with the driver of a bus from Androy to Boeny. His story is typical of how a lack of government support exposes displaced people to debt and exploitation.¹⁷² Neither Masoandro nor his son reported this as a case of exploitation to the authorities.



 ↑ A bus leaves the Androy region. © Pierrot Man for Amnesty International, 2021

Amnesty International found that the government of Madagascar failed to provide free or affordable transport for Antandroy people displaced by drought-induced famines and had no provision for food and basic shelter during transit from Androy to Boeny. Many of those we spoke to could not afford the travel and had to borrow, sell their belongings, take several stops on the journey to work odd jobs (casual work) to meet transport costs or call on previously displaced family members to send them money for transport.¹⁷³ Unfortunately, even then, not everyone could afford the journey all at once. In some cases, families made stops along the way to work, feed themselves, and sleep in markets and forests to continue their journey

¹⁷² Interview in person with “Masoandro” (name changed for security reasons), resident of the 117-hectare resettlement site, 1 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

¹⁷³ These were the recurring responses in 35 individual interviews that Amnesty International researchers conducted in Benarivo II village, Madiromaroanaka village, Betainkilotra village, a 117-hectare resettlement site built by the government in Tsaramandroso, and at the bus station in the Tsenavao market between 30 November and 4 December 2024.

after gathering money and strength.¹⁷⁴ These stops, which stretched for days, weeks, and even months, are an expression of the violation of the right of IDPs to an adequate standard of living, which they are entitled to as they travel from southern Androy to the north-western Boeny. The longest stop that Amnesty International recorded lasted four months,¹⁷⁵ while the longest stretch on foot, because of the inability to afford transport, that we documented was a challenging 40 days.¹⁷⁶

For those who manage to gather the transport costs, the journey can take between three and four days. Women face the greatest risks on the way. One of them, Lia, told us how she was coerced into exchanging sex with bus drivers along the route to secure a seat on the bus.¹⁷⁷ Amnesty International also found that groups such as children, mothers with young children, women heads of households, persons with disabilities and older persons were not provided with government protection and assistance to meet their specific needs.¹⁷⁸

Marandrano's story is poignant. In 2019, 48-year-old Marandrano and his family were struggling to get food in drought-stricken Androy as agriculture became almost impossible for him. To cover the cost of their transportation to Boeny, Marandrano sold his mother's large pots for 210,000 Malagasy Ariary (about USD 48). This money was barely enough to get him, his wife, and three of their children, including a four-year-old, from Bekily in the Androy region to Ilakaka, about 367km apart. Ilakaka is about 1,137km from the Ambondromamy and Tsaramandroso municipalities in the Boeny region: their destination.

Marandrano shared with us: "It was only enough to go from Bekily to Ilakaka, and there we worked tirelessly in the sapphire quarries to save enough money for the journey to Antananarivo. In Antananarivo, my children and I became water carriers, hauling heavy jerry cans just to gather the funds needed to travel to Ambondromamy in Boeny."¹⁷⁹ In Ilakaka, Marandrano and his family worked for about four months. They then spent half a month in Antananarivo, taking on various odd jobs to get some food and save enough money for their final trip to Ambondromamy in the Boeny region.¹⁸⁰

Not all the IDPs Amnesty International spoke to travelled by bus. We met some Antandroy drought-induced IDPs who had to walk long distances over the about 1,500 km journey, adding to their hardship. In a focus group interview conducted in Madiromaroanaka village in Boeny, the IDPs shared that some of them had to walk part or most of the journey from Androy to Boeny. We found similar accounts in Benarivo II village in Boeny.¹⁸¹

In 2017, Vara reached Benarivo II village in Boeny after leaving his nine children with his wife due to drought-induced famines. Vara did most of the journey from Bekitro in the Androy region to Benarivo II, on foot over 40 days. His journey included walking for several days over 248km from Bekitro to Soanala, where he stayed for a week. He then walked about 79km over two more days to Betroka, staying for three days, followed by a three-day walk to reach Ambahogne. In Ambahogne, Vara rested for 10 days before embarking on a four-day journey on foot to Ihosy. After two days in Ihosy, he walked two more days to Amkaramena. Amkaramena is still far away from Boeny, about 931km. It was only after spending three days in Amkaramena that a family member provided him with 100,000 Malagasy Ariary (about USD 23), enabling him to take a bus to the Ambondromamy bus station in Boeny. Vara told Amnesty International that his stops were either in nearby villages or in forests, where he could spend the night and look for some food. In the forests, as he shared, he slept under the open sky.¹⁸²

Many Antandroy drought-induced IDPs reported in focus group discussions and individual interviews that they were forced to sell personal belongings or borrow money to fund the journey from Androy to Boeny. Some had to do both.

Fanafoly, a 28-year-old mother of five who moved to a resettlement site for the displaced, constructed by the government in 2023, sold her belongings to cover transportation costs. She explained: "To cover the transportation costs of 200,000 Malagasy ariary (about USD 45), we sold our belongings. It was enough for the transportation expenses, but not for food during the journey."¹⁸³

¹⁷⁴ See, for instance, Interview in person with "Marandrano" (name changed for security reasons), 1 December 2024, Tsaramandroso. See also Interview in person with "Vara" (name changed for security reasons), resident of Benarivo II, 2 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

¹⁷⁵ Interview in person with "Marandrano" (name changed for security reasons), 1 December 2024.

¹⁷⁶ Interview in person with "Vara" (name changed for security reasons), resident of Benarivo II, 2 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

¹⁷⁷ Interview in person with "Lia" (name changed for security reasons), resident of Madiromaroanaka, 30 November 2024, Tsaramandroso.

¹⁷⁸ African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, General Comment 5 on the Right to Freedom of Movement and to Choose One's Residence, paras 46-58.

¹⁷⁹ Interview in person with "Marandrano" (name changed for security reasons), 1 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

¹⁸⁰ Interview in person with "Marandrano" (name changed for security reasons), 1 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

¹⁸¹ Amnesty International interview with Mosa in a group interview with more than 20 residents of Madiromaroanaka village, 6 July 2024.

¹⁸² Interview in person with "Vara" (name changed for security reasons), resident of Benarivo II, 2 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

¹⁸³ Interview by voice call with "Fanafoly" (name changed for security reasons), resident of the 117-hectare resettlement site, 3 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

Amnesty International spoke with Fitataha, a 30-year-old man who arrived in Madiromaroanaka village in Boeny in 2019. In a group of 10, he and others negotiated with a transport company leader to travel from Bekitro in Androy to Ambondromamy in Boeny on credit of 800,000 Malagasy ariary (USD 181) for the whole group. Although their request was granted, they had not yet repaid the loan at the time of the interview, some five years later.¹⁸⁴ At the Tsenavao market bus station in Ambondromamy, one transport company offers travel on credit for those coming from Androy. However, this system has left many at risk of exploitation, such as Masoandro, who, as we discussed above, was forced to subject his son to exploitation. We have also documented cases of Antandroy drought-induced IDPs who told us that their only option was to farm in government forests to repay travel on credit from transport companies.¹⁸⁵

Amnesty International found that once in Boeny, the Antandroy drought-induced IDPs are not given access to productive land by the government, making it difficult for them to engage in their traditional livelihood and earn from agricultural or cattle-herding proceeds to repay debts or rebuild their lives. With no means to sustain themselves, many have been forced to engage in slash-and-burn agriculture in forests near the Ankarafantsika National Park – as a means of survival and in a desperate attempt to repay their transport debt.¹⁸⁶ This has exposed them to interfering with public forests in ways inconsistent with biodiversity protection. Governor Mokthar of the Androy region spoke to this:

“The hardest part is seeing the destruction of our forests, which we have worked so hard to protect. When our friends from the South [Antandroy drought-induced IDPs] arrive, they find no land available and end up cutting down our forests. It is a threat to our future... It is not just happening in Ankarafantsika; they are settling throughout the region, affecting several primary forests with unique wildlife. The loss would be irreversible. Within just a few months, we lose hectares of forests every single day... These people are parents, mothers, and children. I could not turn them away. I try to put myself in their shoes and think: if I had to travel over 1,000km with my family because I could not provide for them, it would be unbearable as a father. These are children with basic needs, and I cannot turn them away. But at the same time, I am watching a treasure that I will lose. When I reflect on it, I wonder if maybe these trees and animals also have their rights. I see the tiny chameleon, barely 3mm as an adult, and I think of its struggle. The forest and its creatures are crying out. This chameleon is going to disappear, and I feel powerless. I have no solution to balance the needs of humans with the survival of this forest and the animals that depend on it.”¹⁸⁷

The Boeny regional government has reported that many of the people who have been displaced by drought-induced famines from the Androy region have been engaging in slash-and-burn agriculture and grazing of cattle in forests near the Ankarafantsika National Park.¹⁸⁸ This agricultural practice involves clearing and burning native vegetation and may have adverse consequences on biodiversity protection.¹⁸⁹

In our interviews, we found that even those displaced by drought-induced famine, who farm and herd cattle on privately owned land around Ankarafantsika National Park, have seen their right to an adequate standard of living – especially access to food – violated upon arrival. This was the case in two villages we visited, Ambohidahy and Tanambaotsara, situated on the southern and northern edges of the park, where Antandroy people displaced by drought shared their experiences. They described living in conditions comparable to medieval serfdom.¹⁹⁰ Without land titles to the farms that they cultivate, they said that they were forced to cultivate land owned by host communities. In return, they had to give up a large share of their harvest – often half – to the landowners. They found this system exploitative, leaving them with barely enough food for their families and trapping them in a cycle of hardship, not much different from the drought-induced famines that they had fled in the Androy region.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁴ Interview in person with “Fitataha” (name changed for security reasons), resident of Madiromaroanaka, 30 November 2024, Tsaramandroso.

¹⁸⁵ Interview in person with “Fitataha” (name changed for security reasons), resident of Madiromaroanaka, 30 November 2024, Tsaramandroso.

¹⁸⁶ Interview in person with “Fitataha” (name changed for security reasons), resident of Madiromaroanaka, 30 November 2024, Tsaramandroso.

¹⁸⁷ Interview in person with Mokthar Andriatomanga, Governor of the Boeny region, 4 July 2024, Mahajanga.

¹⁸⁸ Section 5.2 below, which is on forced evictions, delves into this point in detail.

¹⁸⁹ P.J.A. Kleinman, D. Pimentel, R.B. Bryant, “The ecological sustainability of slash-and-burn agriculture”, *Agriculture, Ecosystems and Environment* 52 (1995), p. 237.

¹⁹⁰ Two group interviews conducted separately in person with men in Ambohidahy and Tanambaotsara, respectively, on 7 July 2024 and 10 July 2024.

¹⁹¹ Two group interviews conducted separately in person with men in Ambohidahy and Tanambaotsara, respectively, on 7 July 2024 and 10 July 2024.

5.1.3 FAILURE TO FACILITATE MOBILITY FOR FAMILY REUNIFICATION

The government has also not taken the necessary measures to facilitate mobility for family reunification of displaced individuals with their families.

“I cannot provide for my family. I would like to bring them here, but I don’t have the money for the transportation costs. I ask the State to give me financial support so I can bring my youngest child, who is still in [drought-stricken] Androy.”

“Vara”¹⁹² – he travelled most of the journey from Androy to Boeny on foot, for around 40 days.

Family separation was a common issue among those Amnesty International spoke with during the focus group interviews. In 21 individual interviews, every participant confirmed that they left behind relatives.¹⁹³ Often, the ones left behind were children, typically under the care of someone over 60 years old. There were also examples of children left in the care of older persons, as reflected in focus group interviews conducted in the six villages visited in Boeny.



  A child and an older person in the drought-stricken southern Madagascar. © Pierrot Man for Amnesty International, 2021

None of the Antandroy drought-induced IDPs we spoke with received support from the government, humanitarian or development organizations to reunite with their families. In some of the cases that we documented, this has had a disproportionate impact on children and older persons. As 46-year-old Reny, community spokesperson for the village of Madiromaroanaka, explained, due to the high transport costs, families decide who should leave the drought-induced famine in Androy based on who appears physically strong enough to endure the journey:¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² Interview in person with “Vara” (name changed for security reasons), resident of Benarivo II, 2 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

¹⁹³ Individual interviews in Benarivo II, Betainkilotra and Madiromaroanaka, 117-hectare of resettlement site constructed by the government in Tsaramandroso between 30 November to 5 December 2024.

¹⁹⁴ Interview in person with “Reny” (name changed for security reasons), community spokesperson in Madiromaroanaka, 6 July 2024, Tsaramandroso.

“Those who are strong enough to work and earn money are the ones who leave. Those with children, and those who are weak, stay behind. If women have to leave, the children are entrusted to the older persons in the village.”

“Reny”, community spokesperson for the village of Madiromaroanaka.

33-year-old Fahlisina arrived in the Boeny region’s Madiromaroanaka village in 2017 after a long and arduous journey, as he has a physical disability that limits his mobility. He shared that he left because of poverty, of drought-induced famine that made him unable to meet the needs of his wife and children. To afford his transport costs, Fahlisina had to borrow money. After a year of saving, he finally managed to cover the expenses for his wife and some of his children to join him in Boeny. However, despite his efforts, he was still forced to leave his nine-year-old and seven-year-old children behind: “They are in Androy with my uncle, who is 80 years old.”¹⁹⁵

45-year-old Tompo is among those who had to leave their children behind under the care of older persons. In 2022, he left Tsihombe in the Androy region, selling all his belongings to afford the transport costs and to seek safety towards Boeny. Despite his immense sacrifices, Tompo could only bring his wife and six of his children with him, leaving his youngest children behind under the care of his 60-year-old mother:

“I am here with six of my children, and I had to leave three children behind, who are three, five, and ten years old. They live with my mother in Androy, who is 60 years old. She works a little in charcoal production.”¹⁹⁶

Masoandro, father of eight, is another example. He arrived in the 117-hectare government-built village in Tanimalandy in 2021, running away from drought-induced famines in Androy. He had to leave two of his children, aged eight and 11, behind with their 70-year-old grandmother:

“My mother said, ‘I would rather die in the land of my ancestors than anywhere else.’ She also expressed that she does not want to be an additional burden. She is still alive, surviving on cactus [plant unfit for human consumption that grows in Androy].”¹⁹⁷

In 2021, Amnesty International documented stories of how relying on such poor-quality food has caused the Antandroy stomach aches and deaths in some cases. Hazava, an IDP we interviewed in Ambohodahy village in Boeny, echoed similar concerns while speaking about how he was separated from his family because of the drought-induced famines:

“I left people behind who were eating nothing, but tamarind mixed with hot water because there was nothing left to eat,” he said. “There were no more cattle, and no way to buy any. We ate only tamarind mixed with hot water or with ash.”

Amnesty International met Fanjaka at Tsenavao market as she disembarked from a bus coming from Androy in early December 2024. Fanjaka managed to gather 150,000 Malagasy Ariary (about USD 34) for her transport costs and an additional 10,000 Malagasy Ariary (about USD 2) for food during the four-day journey. Fanjaka travelled with her two-year-old daughter and five nephews and nieces around the same age as her daughter. She explained that the children’s parents could not afford the transport, letting her leave with the children because those three years and below are exempt from paying for transport. She said: “Yes, I am bringing them to escape the drought-induced famine. Their parents will join them if they can find the funds; they will have to come.”¹⁹⁸ She also told us that she struggled with the children during the journey, as accessing food was a problem, as she just had about USD 2.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁵ Interview in person with “Fahlisina” (name changed for security reasons), resident in Madiromaroanaka, 30 November 2024, Tsaramandroso.

¹⁹⁶ Interview in person with “Tompo” (name changed for security reasons), resident in Madiromaroanaka, 30 November 2024, Tsaramandroso.

¹⁹⁷ Interview in person with “Masoandro” (name changed for security reasons), resident of the 117-hectare resettlement site, 3 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

¹⁹⁸ Interview in person with “Fanjaka” (name changed for security reasons), a drought-induced displaced woman whom we met at the Tsenavao market bus station, 2 December 2024, Ambondromamy.

¹⁹⁹ Interview in person with “Fanjaka” (name changed for security reasons), drought-induced displaced woman that we met at the Tsenavao market bus station, 2 December 2024, Ambondromamy.



👁️ ↑ A bus from the Androy region has just arrived at the Tsenavao market bus station, in Ambondromamy (Boeny region). © Andriamisainamiharintsoa Toky for Amnesty International, 2024

In several interviews, Antandroy drought-induced IDPs mentioned that they were exempt from paying transport costs for their small children. While waiving transport fees for small children may seem like a helpful policy, Fanjaka's story reveals its unintended consequences. Without government support or financial assistance to help families travel together, this policy has led to the separation of children from their primary caregivers, which is not in the best interests of the child.²⁰⁰

Many Antandroy drought-induced IDPs tried to gather money to help them reunite with their families. Vara's story, detailed above, highlights this struggle. He had to wait until 2021, after four years of work, to afford the transport costs for some of his family members left in Androy:

“Someone returned to Androy, and I entrusted them with 700,000 Malagasy ariary (about USD 159) to cover their expenses. They agreed to come because they were suffering from the drought-induced famine and had no clothing due to the lack of rain.”²⁰¹

Family separation takes a heavy toll on both children and older people, extending far beyond the immediate challenge of seeking safety elsewhere. As climate justice scholar Carmen Gonzalez highlights, when physically strong family members are forced to leave, those left behind – particularly young children and older persons – face heightened risks in drought-stricken areas.²⁰²

Without the strength or energy to endure harsh conditions, children and older persons are often left without the essential care and support they need. The absence of young and physically stronger family members weakens the entire community's ability to adapt to worsening droughts and famines. Survival strategies require the involvement of physically more capable individuals, meaning that when children and older persons remain behind as the majority in Androy, they are left at greater risk to the impacts of severe droughts.²⁰³

²⁰⁰ African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, General Comment 5 on the Right to Freedom of Movement and to Choose One's Residence, para. 53.

²⁰¹ Interview in person with “Vara” (name changed for security reasons), resident of Benarivo II, 2 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²⁰² See Carmen Gonzalez, “Racial capitalism, climate justice, and climate displacement”, 11(1) *Oñati Socio-Legal Series* 108, 2021, pp. 126-127.

²⁰³ See Carmen Gonzalez, “Racial capitalism, climate justice, and climate displacement”, pp. 126-127.

5.2 FORCED EVICTIONS

Access to productive land is the greatest need of the displaced people we interviewed. As we have already noted, the Antandroy prefer large, rural areas with arable land.²⁰⁴ This is deeply rooted in their agropastoralist cultural traditions, with farming and cattle herding central to their way of life.²⁰⁵ As noted in the background section, even in the Androy region, the majority do not reside in the main city. They reside in rural areas where they can access vast lands needed for their agricultural practices and livestock. This connection to the land is not just economic; it is a vital part of their cultural identity. Without support structures for the displaced, as Madagascar's National Adaptation Plan notes,²⁰⁶ many Antandroy displaced by drought and now living in Boeny have settled near or inside forests in Boeny. This settlement is putting pressure on Madagascar's rich biodiversity. According to Madagascar's National Adaptation Plan, from 2022, the Ankarafantsika National Park is the second most common destination for drought-induced IDPs seeking land for farming and herding. It cites a Ministry of Environment report that found the park has lost 3,200 hectares of forest due to rising internal displacement of populations from southern Madagascar.²⁰⁷ Ankarafantsika forms part of the Andrefana Dry Forests – a chain of four national parks and two special reserves that protect globally unique ecosystems and species. It is also a UNESCO World Heritage Site.²⁰⁸



↑ Sign located at one of the entrances to Ankarafantsika National Park welcoming visitors. © Andriamisainamiharintsoa Toky for Amnesty International, 2024

The Boeny regional division of the Ministry of the Interior issued an eviction order on 20 April 2021 to manage Madagascar's remaining forests in the Boeny region. These forests are home to rare and endemic species.²⁰⁹ Article 2 explicitly bans agricultural and all subsistence activities in protected forests, especially those involving land clearing or slash-and-burn agriculture.²¹⁰ As noted, part of this agricultural practice

²⁰⁴ Madagascar, National Adaptation Plan, 29 May 2022, <https://unfccc.int/documents/488094>, p. 89.

²⁰⁵ Interview in person with Max Andonirina Fontaine, Madagascar's Minister of Environment and Sustainable Development, 1 July 2024, Antananarivo. See also Soilihi Mohamed, "Le droit de l'environnement à l'épreuve de la migration climatique : Cas des populations Antandroy", Thèse présentée et soutenue publiquement le 23 juin 2022, pour l'obtention du diplôme de doctorat en droit public et sciences politiques, Université Catholique de Madagascar, pp. 34-36.

²⁰⁶ Madagascar, National Adaptation Plan, 29 May 2022, <https://unfccc.int/documents/488094>, p. 20.

²⁰⁷ Madagascar, National Adaptation Plan, 29 May 2022, <https://unfccc.int/documents/488094>, p. 89.

²⁰⁸ UNESCO World Heritage Centre, Andrefana Dry Forests, UNESCO World Heritage List, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/494/> (accessed on 23 June 2025).

²⁰⁹ Articles 1 to 3, Order 04-2021/PREF/MGA, Regarding the Eviction of Persons and the Destruction of Houses Illegally Built in Protected Areas, Including Forest Areas and Reserved Zones, Prefecture of Mahajanga, 20 April 2021. This order is based on Ordinance 60127 of 1960, governing land clearing and vegetation burning.

²¹⁰ Article 2, Order 04-2021/PREF/MGA, Regarding the Eviction of Persons and the Destruction of Houses Illegally Built in Protected Areas, Including Forest Areas and Reserved Zones, Prefecture of Mahajanga, 20 April 2021.

involves clearing and burning native vegetation, which has adverse consequences for biodiversity protection.²¹¹



 *Slash-and-burn agriculture in 2,600 hectares of Domaine Forestier National (the state's forest estate) at the south-eastern border of the Ankarafantsika National Park. © Andriamisainamiharintsoa Toky for Amnesty International, 2024*

The government's 20 April 2021 eviction order is still in force. Amnesty International found that its implementation resulted in forced evictions of the Antandroy drought-induced IDPs in three of the seven villages that they had established near and within the 2,600 hectares reforestation area in the Domaine Forestier National, situated at the south-eastern border of the Ankarafantsika National Park.²¹² These villages are Benarivo II, Betainkilotra, and Madiromaroanaka. They were unofficially created and named by Antandroy drought-induced IDPs who started them. Minahy, a community spokesperson whom Amnesty International met in Madiromaroanaka, shared that since 2013, the village inhabitants had resorted to farming in a protected area near the park to survive.²¹³ In Betainkilotra, Finahia, a leader of the displaced Antandroy there, recounted that his village began using similar methods around 2017-2018.²¹⁴ Meanwhile, the villagers of Benarivo II had been farming the land since 2008.²¹⁵

Amnesty International researchers observed that there is one main road to access these villages by car, which often becomes impassable during the rainy season, from December to April. They also observed that there are no hospitals, schools, medical facilities or potable water in the villages.

According to Andrianantenaina Jimmi Christian, the Boeny Regional Director of the Boeny regional division of the Ministry of Environment, the Boeny regional division of the Ministry of Interior (through the "Organe mixte de conception") was leading the implementation of the 20 April 2021 eviction order, with evictions taking place in Benarivo II in April 2021 for about a month, in Betainkilotra in May 2021 for about two weeks, and in Madiromaroanaka in June-July 2021 for about a month. In their interviews with Amnesty International researchers, neither the residents nor the Mayor of Tsaramandroso could remember the specific dates of the evictions.

The implementation of the 20 April 2021 order led to forced evictions because the government failed to adequately consult residents before evictions, no adequate notice was given, and those affected were left homeless and without legal remedies. The evictions were carried out by gendarmes, with support from

²¹¹ P.J.A. Kleinman, D. Pimentel, R.B. Bryant, "The ecological sustainability of slash-and-burn agriculture", *Agriculture, Ecosystems and Environment* 52 (1995), p. 237.

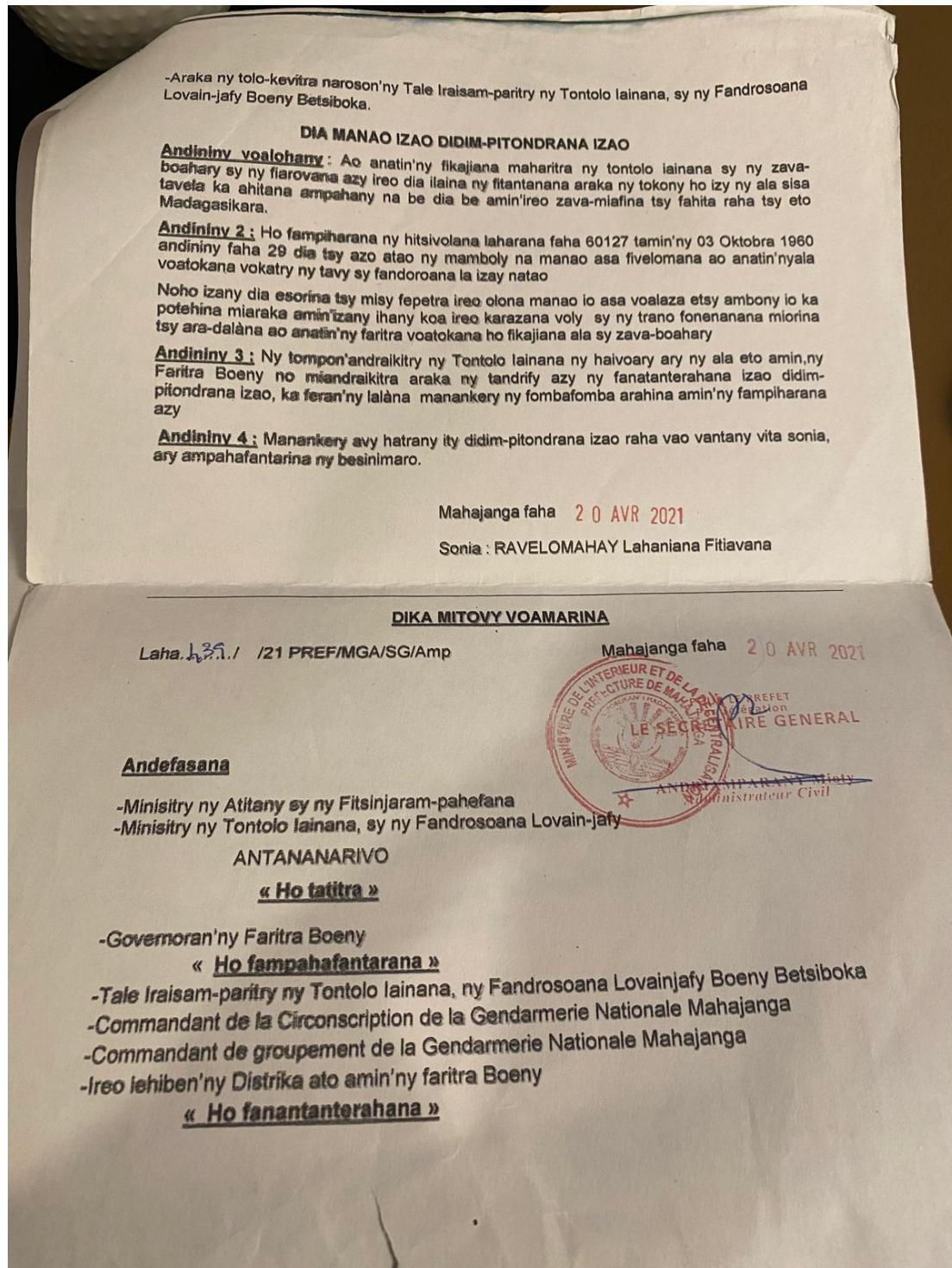
²¹² See Mada Consult, <https://www.madaconsult.com/forestry.html> (accessed on 27 January 2025). See also https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1180846698743869&id=988208591341015&set=a.1180770802084792&locale=en_GB

²¹³ Amnesty International Interview with "Minahy" (name changed for security reasons), 6 July 2024.

²¹⁴ Amnesty International Interview with "Finahia" (name changed for security reasons), December 2024.

²¹⁵ Amnesty International Interview with "Nanome" (name changed for security reasons), in a group interview with women at Benarivo II, 7 July 2024. This account was also confirmed in a separate group interview with men on the same day in Benarivo.

civilians hired by the Boeny regional division of the Ministry of Interior, and were done in a brutal manner, as described below.



Order no. 04-2021/PREF/MGA, written in Malagasy, ordering the 2021 evictions. © Nciko wa Nciko for Amnesty International, 2024

5.2.1 NO ADEQUATE CONSULTATION BEFORE THE EVICTIONS

The Deputy Mayor of Tsaramandroso, Joséph Rakotoarimanana, provided some details on consultations before the evictions. He stated that two to four representatives from affected villages attended meetings at the town hall. These representatives were expected to relay the discussions to their respective villages.²¹⁶

Amnesty International conducted individual interviews with Havokara, the area manager of Madiromaroanaka village,²¹⁷ and Ravo, a former community leader from Betainkilotra.²¹⁸ Both confirmed that there was one consultation meeting at the Mayor's office. They attended this meeting with 20 representatives from other villages affected by evictions in the designated reforestation area, which the Deputy Mayor said were about seven.²¹⁹

According to Havokara and Ravo, the Mayor of Tsaramandroso, the head of the Ambatoboeny district, representatives from the Boeny regional government, and Mada Consult – the company contracted by the government to implement the reforestation project in the 2,600-hectare area along the south-eastern border of Ankarafantsika National Park²²⁰ – were also in the meeting.²²¹ Amnesty International does not allege that Mada Consult are in any way responsible for, or linked to, the violations discussed in this report.

Havokara and Ravo told Amnesty International that no documents justifying the evictions were shared with or read to them during the meeting. Instead, they were informed by the Mayor of Tsaramandroso that all inhabitants living within the designated reforestation area had to leave unconditionally.²²² They said they asked whether the evictions could at least be delayed until after the harvest, as many crops were nearly ready. However, the government refused. They also said that, despite asking, the government did not provide any information about alternative arrangements for those who would be evicted.²²³

5.2.2 CIVILIANS HIRED TO EVICT CIVILIANS

Antandroy drought-induced IDPs that Amnesty International spoke to in the three villages shared that evictions were carried out by the gendarmes and civilians whom they could not identify.²²⁴ Fitataha, a 30-year-old resident of Betainkilotra, for example, described what happened: “The destruction occurred in two stages... first, the gendarmes with trucks, and then the gendarmes accompanied by civilians... the gendarmes watched as civilians destroyed the crops.”²²⁵ The Deputy Mayor confirmed these accounts, stating that both gendarmes and the ‘unidentified’ civilians supporting them were involved in the evictions.²²⁶ In individual interviews, forcibly evicted people that we spoke to in the three villages unanimously reported that those burning their huts and destroying their crops did not identify themselves or present any formal authorization.²²⁷

Andrianantenaina Jimmi Christian, the Boeny Regional Director of the Ministry of Environment, shared with Amnesty International that civilians who assisted the gendarmes in carrying out the evictions were young people from the Ambatoloaka administrative subdivision of the Tsaramandroso commune.²²⁸ He explained that these individuals were recruited by the *Organe Mixte de Conception*, a coordination body overseen by the Boeny regional division of the Ministry of Interior.²²⁹ The objective, he stated, was to find and recruit young people who were not Antandroy from nearby villages to participate in the eviction process.²³⁰

²¹⁶ Interview in person with Joséph Rakotoarimanana, Deputy Mayor of Tsaramandroso, 5 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²¹⁷ Interview via voice call with Havokara (name changed for security reasons), 18 April 2025, Tsaramandroso.

²¹⁸ Interview via voice call with Ravo (name changed for security reasons), 18 April 2025, Tsaramandroso.

²¹⁹ Interview in person with Joséph Rakotoarimanana, Deputy Mayor of Tsaramandroso, 5 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²²⁰ See Mada Consult, <https://www.madaconsult.com/forestry.html> (accessed on 27 January 2025). See also https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1180846698743869&id=988208591341015&set=a.1180770802084792&locale=en_GB

²²¹ Interview via voice call with Havokara, 18 April 2025, Tsaramandroso. See also interview via voice call with Ravo, 18 April 2025, Tsaramandroso.

²²² Interview via voice call with Havokara, 18 April 2025, Tsaramandroso. See also interview via voice call with Ravo, 18 April 2025, Tsaramandroso.

²²³ Interview via voice call with Havokara, 18 April 2025, Tsaramandroso. See also interview via voice call with Ravo, 18 April 2025, Tsaramandroso.

²²⁴ Interview via voice call with Havokara, 18 April 2025, Tsaramandroso. See also interview via voice call with Ravo, 18 April 2025, Tsaramandroso.

²²⁵ Interview in person with “Fitataha” (name changed for security reasons), resident of Betainkilotra, 2 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²²⁶ Interview in person with Joséph Rakotoarimanana, Deputy Mayor of Tsaramandroso, 5 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²²⁷ Refer to all individual interviews conducted in Madiromaroanaka, Benarivo II and Betainkilotra.

²²⁸ Interview via voice call with Andrianantenaina Jimmi Christian, Boeny Regional Director of the Ministry of Environment, 9 May 2025.

²²⁹ Interview via voice call with Andrianantenaina Jimmi Christian, Boeny Regional Director of the Ministry of Environment, 9 May 2025.

²³⁰ Interview via voice call with Andrianantenaina Jimmi Christian, Boeny Regional Director of the Ministry of Environment, 9 May 2025.

5.2.3 NOT NOTIFIED, BRUTALLY EVICTED AND LEFT HOMELESS

BENARIVO II VILLAGE

According to Abo, a community spokesperson and resident of Benarivo II, this village was entirely within the designated reforestation area. It was made up of about 100 huts, about 20 of which were burnt down and 80 destroyed during the eviction by the gendarmes, accompanied by unidentified civilians.²³¹

No adequate or reasonable notice was given. Antandroy drought-induced IDPs that Amnesty International spoke to in Benarivo II village shared conflicting accounts about whether they were given notice before the evictions. Some residents said the mayor had warned them verbally, saying the evictions would occur after the harvest. Others, however, said they received no notice at all. Despite any assurances that the mayor might have given, the evictions began in April in Benarivo II, before harvesting could take place.²³² During a focus group interview, 10 men from this village shared:

“The mayor warned us that the state was going to destroy our plantations. He said he would prevent that from happening with 4 million ariary [about USD 907]. He gave us notice that they would come after the harvest, but the gendarmes came before the harvest; we were caught by surprise. The harvest is in June, but they came in April [2021], in the morning.”²³³

It is unclear what the Mayor meant by this, as when he handed a copy of the eviction order to Amnesty International researchers on 10 July 2024, he pointed to Article 2 of the order and read it aloud, emphasizing that it required unconditional evictions.²³⁴

In Benarivo II, the evictions were sudden, leaving families scrambling to protect their homes and belongings. Haravoa, a 34-year-old mother of 10, described the chaos:

“The gendarmes came here at 9am and gathered us at this spot. They said, ‘if you don’t leave, you’ll see what happens’. We pleaded, asking how we could gather our belongings and take care of our children. We begged for time to build a new house, but they didn’t care. By 10am, they were destroying our homes, and by 11am, everything was gone.”²³⁵

Not everyone was at the spot that Haravoa was referring to. Fahihira, a mother of 12, is one of them. She shared her experience: “My hut was built very low. They smashed it open with a crowbar.”²³⁶ Like all huts, it was later set on fire.

Vasia also described how she first learned about the eviction: “It was very early in the morning. I was tending to my fields when I saw an old woman running with a pot balanced on her head.”²³⁷

Others, like Jiro, a 38-year-old mother of six, had no warning at all:

“They said nothing. There was no warning. They just came and started burning everything. Some people came to warn us, but we were still there [in Benarivo]. We quickly gathered our belongings and fled because we feared for our lives.”²³⁸

No legal aid or remedies were provided by the government during and immediately after the evictions, leaving those forcibly evicted homeless and exposed to further risks of forced evictions in Benarivo II village. In all three villages, the inhabitants shared with Amnesty International that they did not seek legal remedies or legal aid because they did not know how.

The evicted residents in Benarivo II told us they received no support for food, shelter, or medical care from the government during and after the evictions.²³⁹ According to Minahy, Antandroy drought-induced IDP community spokesperson that Amnesty International spoke to, each hut has about seven people living in it.

²³¹ Interview via voice call with “Abo” (name changed for security reasons), resident of Benarivo II, 9 May 2025, Tsaramandroso.

²³² Interview via voice call with “Marandrano” (name changed for security reasons), 17 February 2025.

²³³ Interviews conducted in person with men in a group in Benarivo II, 7 July 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²³⁴ Amnesty International Interview with Mayor Johnson Hadjicosta, 10 July 2024.

²³⁵ Interview in person with “Haravoa” (name changed for security reasons), resident of Benarivo II, 2 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²³⁶ Interview in person with “Fahihira” (name changed for security reasons), resident of Benarivo II, 2 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²³⁷ Interview in person with “Vasia” (name changed for security reasons), resident of Benarivo II, 2 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²³⁸ Interview in person with “Jiro” in a group of women (name changed for security reasons), resident of Benarivo II, 7 July 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²³⁹ This came up in both group interviews that Amnesty International researchers conducted in the village in July 2024 and in in-person individual interviews conducted in December 2025 in this village.

With 100 huts affected in Benarivo II, this brings the total number of people evicted from Benarivo II village to an estimated 700 people.

Manome, from Benarivo II, described the chaos: “Yes, it was very hard. Those with weak hearts fainted. It was deeply heartbreaking. We lost some of our children for days. We found them wandering in the savannas.”²⁴⁰



↑ Photo of a woman and his children taken in Benarivo II village where they live. © Andriamisainamiharintsoa Toky for Amnesty International, 2024

“They burned our house, and we set up a mosquito net. I put up poles to install it, and I spent nights there with my children for about two weeks while I searched for wood to rebuild our home. It was hard to find food, and we tried to salvage whatever we could from the crops that had been destroyed in our fields.”

Vasia, a 30-year-old woman with four young children – aged 6 months, 2 years, 3 years, and 4 years – described her experience during evictions in Benarivo II village.²⁴¹

With no place to go, the forcibly evicted people crossed the road and settled on land owned by a private individual, adjacent to the park. However, it took time to rebuild their huts there, forcing families to sleep in mosquito nets outside for days and weeks.

It emerged from interviews in Benarivo II village and in Betainkilotra and Madiromaroanaka villages (discussed below) that many of those evicted in 2021 have returned to farming within the designated reforestation area, though they no longer constructed huts within it. The mayor explained that this is their strategy to show that they do not live within protected areas of the reforestation area, but his municipality knows that they cultivate in that area. He mentioned that there will be more evictions.²⁴²

²⁴⁰ Interview in person with “Manome” in a group of women (name changed for security reasons), resident of Benarivo II, 7 July 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²⁴¹ Interview in person with “Vasia” (name changed for security reasons), resident of Benarivo II, 2 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²⁴² Interview in person with Johnson Hadjicosta, mayor of Tsaramandroso, 10 July 2024, Tsaramandroso.



↑ *Photo of Betainkilotra village, located outside the reforestation area, but inhabited by people who still enter the reforestation area for agropastoral activities. © Andriamisainamiharintsoa Toky for Amnesty International, 2024*

Fatrase, a 23-year-old woman, explained how she managed during the first days after the eviction: “We used a mosquito net and slept on the ground. Where would we live? We slept on the ground.”²⁴³ Abo, a Benarivo II resident who was there during the evictions, shared with Amnesty International how mosquito nets became a survival tactic after the evictions in his village. He shared that there were many because all family members could not sleep in one. The women were separated from the men, the parents from the children, and each family had two or three mosquito nets.²⁴⁴


Fisoara, a 40-year-old woman, recounted the drastic steps she and her family took to survive: “We hid underground, in holes. We stayed there [for two weeks] until they finished burning our huts. Then we returned to clean up and salvage whatever we could from the debris.”²⁴⁵

²⁴³ Interview in person with “Fatrase” (name changed for security reasons), resident of Benarivo II, 2 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²⁴⁴ Interview in person with “Abo” (name changed for security reasons), resident of Benarivo II, 2 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²⁴⁵ Interview in person with “Fisoara” (name changed for security reasons), resident of Benarivo II, 2 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.



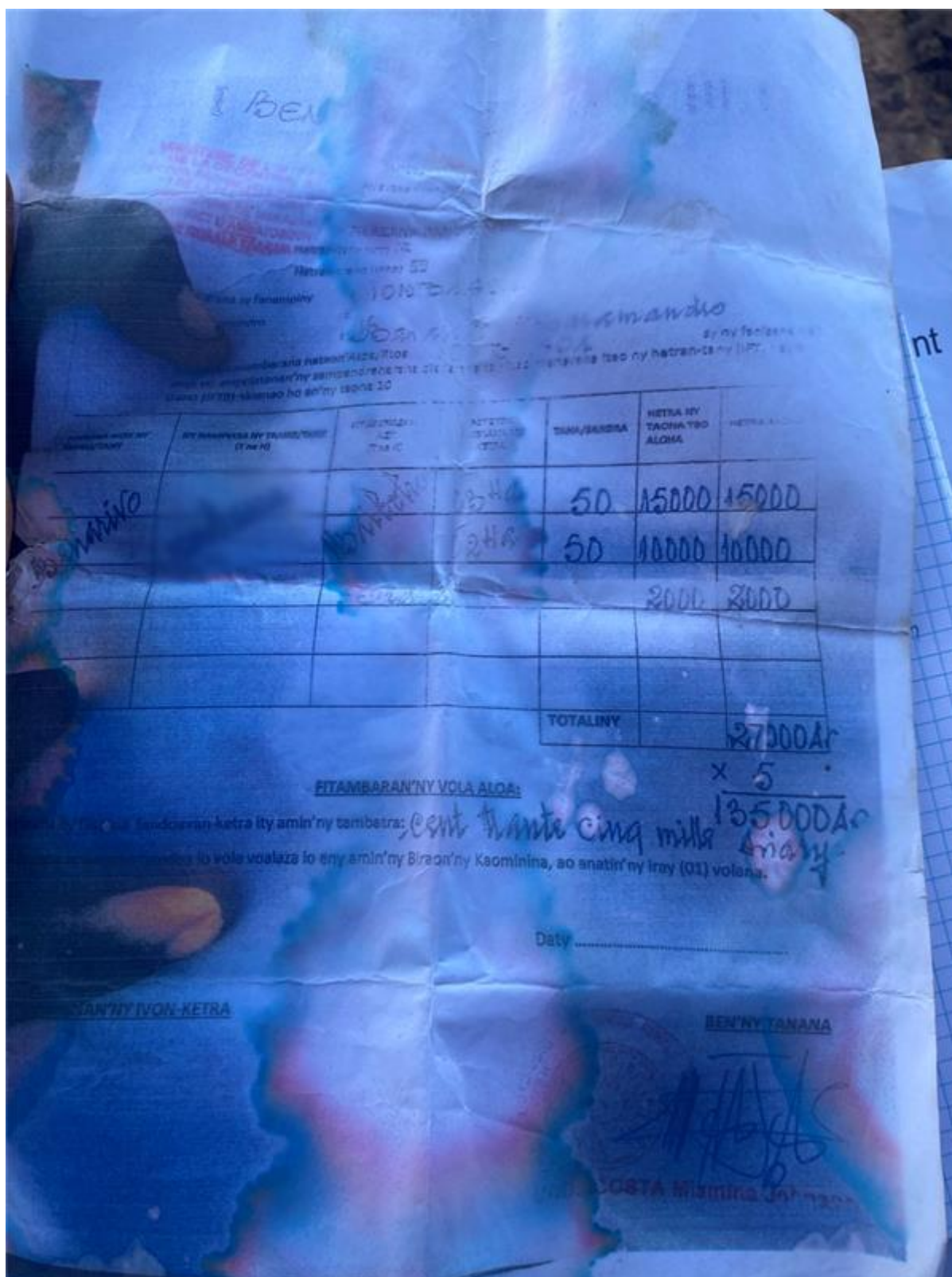
 ↑ *Illustration of a hut destroyed in the reforestation area. © Andriamisainamiharintsoa Toky for Amnesty International, 2024*

BETAINKILOTRA VILLAGE

Betainkilotra was the least affected of the three villages during the 2021 evictions. According to Finahia, who was chosen by his fellow residents as the area manager of this village, Betainkilotra was just outside the designated reforestation area, with only two huts inside the reforestation, both of which were burned down by the gendarmes, accompanied by civilians. Still, residents of all three villages, including Betainkilotra, relied heavily on farming and cattle herding within the designated reforestation area to survive.²⁴⁶

Some of the Antandroy drought-induced IDPs in Betainkilotra village believed they were protected from eviction because they thought they held a title deed to the land they were cultivating. Parasy was one of them and was farming in the designated reforestation area when the gendarmes arrived in May 2021 to execute the eviction order. He shared his shock during an individual interview. He explained that he believed he had a title deed to the land he was cultivating in the designated reforestation area. He recounted buying this in 2020, after the Mayor of Tsaramandroso, Johnson Hadjicosta, had been elected, and said that he had sold two zebus (cows) to pay for it and paid 135,000 Malagasy ariary (about USD 31) in registration fees to the mayor. He showed Amnesty International a document he said was signed by the mayor as proof of payment for the registration fees.

²⁴⁶ Amnesty International researchers gathered this from both group and individual interviews conducted in these villages in July, November and December 2024.



↑ According to Parasy, the mayor of Tsaramandroso gave him this document, which he believed to be a land title for the plots he was farming in the designated reforestation area. © Nciko wa Nciko for Amnesty International, 2024

Parasy recounted what happened during the eviction:

“It was a year after his election that he gave me the document... many of us did the same. During the evictions, my land was affected. I live here, but the field was over there [on the other side of the road where the protected area is located]. When the gendarmes arrived, they asked, ‘Whose land is this?’ I said it is mine. Then they asked if I had documents. I said yes. The gendarmes said, ‘Can you show us the documents?’ I said yes. But when they looked at them, they said, ‘This is fake,’ and they started destroying the fields. When they began destroying the fields, I did not know what to do. I have documents, but they say it’s fake. I haven’t gone back to the municipality—the gendarmes said it’s fake. What can I do?”²⁴⁷

Parasy shared with Amnesty International that he has no formal education. He shared that he thought that the document amounted to a title deed and had kept it safe since.

The Secretary-General of the Mayor, Roger Justin, confirmed parts of Parasy’s account in an interview at the Tsaramandroso town hall. After examining the document that had been handed over to Parasy, he acknowledged that it bore the mayor’s signature and claimed the handwriting was his own (Roger Justin’s). He clarified that the document was not a title deed but instead referred to taxes that the Municipality of Tsaramandroso collected from individuals engaged in income-generating activities in Tsaramandroso.²⁴⁸

When asked what he expected from the government, Parasy answered: “My demand is to have my land registered in my name.”²⁴⁹

Finahia – the area manager of the village – added that Parasy’s case was not isolated. He mentioned another woman in the village who had also received documents she considered a title deed in the reforestation area from which they were being evicted. He explained that alongside 20 other members of his village, he had also given money to the Municipality of Tsaramandroso in exchange for title deeds in the reforestation area.²⁵⁰

Ravo, who was acting as area manager of Betainkilotra village before Finahia, shared with Amnesty International that the government did not give residents procedural paths to lodge complaints or seek remedies and legal aid, and the inhabitants did not know where to turn. This lack of communication was confirmed in all individual interviews conducted.

The government did not provide food, shelter, or medical aid during or immediately after the evictions.

“I cannot work; I can only eat, and it is others who work. I cannot fetch water; I cannot even hold a machete... What pains me the most here is that I live in extreme poverty. My suffering in Androy haunts me even here.”

“Tsirikandro” – Antandroy displaced woman with a physical disability, which has made her life in Boeny difficult, warranting state support.

In Betainkilotra Fitataha, a 30-year-old man shared how his health was affected and that he had not received any remedies or support:

“When the gendarmes and the civilians assisting them came, I refused to leave the land that I was cultivating. I said, ‘Do not touch my field.’ But after the blow I received, I could not work the land anymore. They hit me on the chest with a piece of wood. It did not bleed from my chest, but blood came from my mouth for a week. There was no support... I still cannot work because I cough a lot. It still hurts, and it has been about three years.”²⁵¹

²⁴⁷ Interview in person with “Parasy” (name changed for security reasons), resident of Betainkilotra, 2 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²⁴⁸ Interview in person with Roger Justin, Secretary General of the Mayor of Tsaramandroso, 5 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²⁴⁹ Interview in person with “Parasy” (name changed for security reasons), resident of Betainkilotra, 2 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²⁵⁰ Interview in person with “Finahia”, President of the village of Betainkilotra, 2 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²⁵¹ Interview in person with “Fitataha” (name changed for security reasons), resident of Betainkilotra, 2 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.


He asked Amnesty International to relay his demand to the authorities:

“I would like to receive help for my treatment.”

“Fitataha” – During the forced eviction, he was bleeding from the mouth after being hit on the chest with a piece of wood and still suffered from chest pains with no medical care at the time of Amnesty International's visit to his village. The government did not provide him with medical assistance.²⁵²

Betainkilotra village lies just outside the reforestation area, separated from it by a single road. While most of its huts were outside the area, two – including the home of the area manager Finahia – were within it. Villagers crossed the road to cultivate land in the designated reforestation area.



 ↑ A woman is about to plant seeds in the soil of the reforestation area. © Andriamisainamiharintsoa Toky for Amnesty International, 2024

During the evictions, the huts in the reforestation area were destroyed, along with fields of maize, peas, and cassava belonging to Finahia's fellow villagers. This left the villagers, who primarily depended on the designated reforestation area for food, in a precarious situation as they could not provide for themselves.

MADIROMAROANAKA VILLAGE

Minahy, community spokesperson of the drought-induced IDPs, told us that inhabitants of Madiromaroanaka had built about 120 huts inside the reforestation area before the evictions, and the gendarmes, accompanied by civilians, destroyed all of them during the evictions. Given that families in the three villages typically have at least seven children, an estimated 840 people were evicted.

Affected people were also caught unaware in Madiromaroanaka during the July 2021 evictions. Minahy, in a focus group discussion, revealed that gendarmes arrived with a truck initially pretending to negotiate with residents. He shared that using a gendarme who spoke fluent Antandroy, they lured people closer, telling them that they had come to discuss issues that Madiromaroanaka's residents were facing. This, as Minahy shared, was a trap to arrest many of them. Of those who advanced near the truck to talk with the gendarmes, 21 men were arrested randomly, causing the rest to run into neighbouring forests.²⁵³

This was on 11 July 2021, a Sunday, one of the days of the evictions in Madiromaroanaka. Betro, a 28-year-old displaced Antandroy woman, shared her experience: “I remember it was a Sunday like this, around noon. We were praying in church. They came into the church to disperse us by threatening to use force.”

²⁵² Interview in person with “Fitataha” (name changed for security reasons), resident of Betainkilotra, 2 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²⁵³ Interview conducted in person in a group with men and women, Madiromaroanaka, 6 July 2024, Tsaramandroso.

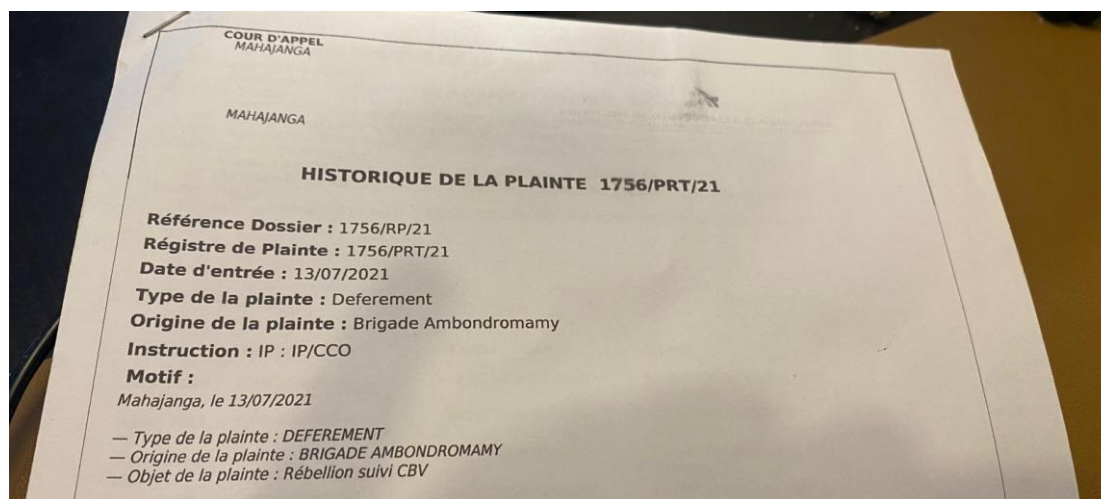
When asked if the service was interrupted, she replied: “Yes, because how could we continue? We were all fleeing.”²⁵⁴

There was more to that day for Betro. The gendarmes stormed the village while she was nine months pregnant:

“At that time, upon the shock of seeing them, I gave birth and then I fled. The umbilical cord had not even been cut yet. That is the difficult thing I faced here... No help at all. The state did not do anything. They did not care that we fled. They did not care that I gave birth. They just arrested people and sent them to Mahajanga. All they did was to chase us away.”

“Betro”²⁵⁵

Amnesty International found that the arrests in Madiromaroanaka on 11 July 2021 were arbitrary. Although they stemmed from an incident on 7 July, when about 400 of about 840 village residents physically resisted civilians supervised by the gendarmes destroying their nearly harvest-ready crops, authorities indiscriminately arrested 21 people on 11 July 2021, on charges of rebellion.²⁵⁶



↑ A court document states that the arrested individuals were charged with rebellion. © Nciko wa Nciko for Amnesty International, 2025

According to Reny, a community spokesperson in Madiromaroanaka, the arrests were random as the gendarmes did not have any records of which Madiromaroanaka villagers had resisted the destruction of crops. She shared that only four of the 21 people arrested were among the 400 demonstrators. According to them, the other 17 had not participated in the demonstration because they were living on the outskirts of Madiromaroanaka.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁴ Interview in person with “Betro” (name changed for security reasons), resident of Madiromaroanaka, 30 November 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²⁵⁵ Interview in person with “Betro” (name changed for security reasons), resident of Madiromaroanaka, 30 November 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²⁵⁶ Interview by voice call with Minahy (name changed for security reasons), community spokesperson that we met in the village of Madiromaroanaka, 25 February 2025. See also Cour d’appel, Tribunal of First Instance of Mahajanga, Historique de la plainte 1756/PRT/21 du 13 juillet 2025.

²⁵⁷ Group interview via voice call with “Reny” and “Jeannick” (name changed for security reasons), residents of Madiromaroanaka, 10 May 2025, Tsaramandroso.

Izane, one of the 21 randomly arrested and taken by the gendarmes, described what happened:

“We were talking among ourselves when they arrived, saying the authorities wanted to speak with us at the Municipality of Tsaramandroso. There was a truck waiting – a gendarmerie vehicle. They threatened us with rifles. One man who didn’t obey was beaten with blows, ammunition belt, and rifles.”²⁵⁸

The detainees were held at the gendarmerie in Mahajanga for four days before being transferred to the Marofoto Prison, where they remained until 27 August 2021 – when they were released.²⁵⁹

Despite the scale of destruction and burning down of about 120 huts in Madiromaroanaka, as in Benarivo II and Betainkilotra, no medical support, food, or accommodation were provided to the affected families.²⁶⁰

Many Madiromaroanaka residents fled to other parts of Boeny, while others sought refuge in the nearby Ampamoty forest, three hours away on foot from Madiromaroanaka.²⁶¹ Betro, a mother of seven, who gave birth when the gendarmes stormed the church, was among those who fled to the forest. She recounted: “Yes, we walked, and we slept for one night, and then we kept going. My kids warmed up some water by the tree, and we slept by the tree. And then the next day, we kept going.”²⁶² She shared with Amnesty International that at the time she had six children, aged eight years old, six years old, four years old, two years old, a year old and the newborn child.²⁶³

Once in the forest, people built makeshift shelters from leaves and tree branches.²⁶⁴ For weeks, hundreds of them survived by eating fruits like jujube. Betro, with her newborn and other children, stayed there for four months.²⁶⁵

Tolotse, another woman from Madiromaroanaka, also spent nights in the forest after being forcibly evicted. She described the living conditions:

“It was not just me – there were many of us. We all sat on the forest floor. Each of us claimed a small space to sit.”²⁶⁶

When asked where she slept, she replied:

“Just in nature, not in a village. In a forest of jujuba trees.”²⁶⁷

One family of those evicted from Madiromaroanaka shared with Amnesty International that more than 500 people slept in the forest in conditions similar to those described by Tolotse.²⁶⁸

Some villagers could return to collect remnants of destroyed crops that were almost ready for harvest. Manelatselatse, who had arrived in Madiromaroanaka a year before the evictions, also sought refuge in the forest. He recounted:

“I was one of the victims. We were afraid, and we spent the nights in the forest, sleeping under the large trees. My wife, my children, and my grandchildren – we all slept there for three days. We would return in secret, but when the gendarmes came back, we would leave and return again. I built another house in the neighbouring village two weeks after their arrival. I tried to run, but because I am old, I hid in the bushes.”²⁶⁹

²⁵⁸ Interview in person with “Izane” (name changed for security reasons), resident of Madiromaroanaka, 30 November 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²⁵⁹ Tribunal of First Instance of Mahajanga, Chamber of Preventive Detention Judgement 309-CDP, 27 August 2021.

²⁶⁰ Interview in person with “Minahy” (name changed for security reasons), resident of Madiromaroanaka, 6 July 2024, Tsaramandroso. He was speaking in a group interview between Amnesty International researchers and about 20 residents of Madiromaroanaka. This account was corroborated again in individual interviews conducted by Amnesty International in the same village on 30 November 2024.

²⁶¹ Group interview via voice call “Reny” and “Jeannick” (name changed for security reasons), residents of Madiromaroanaka, 10 May 2025, Tsaramandroso.

²⁶² Interview in person with “Betro” (name changed for security reasons), resident of Madiromaroanaka, 30 November 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²⁶³ Interview via voice call with “Betro” (name changed for security reasons), resident of Madiromaroanaka, 10 May 2025, Tsaramandroso.

²⁶⁴ Group interview via voice call with “Reny” and “Jeannick” (name changed for security reasons), residents of Madiromaroanaka, 10 May 2025, Tsaramandroso.

²⁶⁵ Interview in person with “Betro” (name changed for security reasons), resident of Madiromaroanaka, 30 November 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²⁶⁶ Interview in person with “Tolotse” (name changed for security reasons), resident of Madiromaroanaka, 30 November 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²⁶⁷ Interview in person with “Tolotse” (name changed for security reasons), resident of Madiromaroanaka, 30 November 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²⁶⁸ Group interview via voice call with “Reny” and “Jeannick” (name changed for security reasons), residents of Madiromaroanaka, 10 May 2025, Tsaramandroso.

²⁶⁹ Interview in person with “Manelatselatse” (name changed for security reasons), resident of Madiromaroanaka, 30 November 2024, Tsaramandroso.

Reny, the community spokesperson whom we met in Madiromaroanaka, voiced the plight of the villagers who returned to do agricultural activities in parts of the reforestation area from which they had been evicted.²⁷⁰

“We are still here because we do not know where else to go.”

The government's response to Amnesty International's request for a written comment on the preliminary findings of this report failed to address the 2021 forced evictions.

5.3 RESETTLEMENT FALLS FAR BELOW AN ADEQUATE STANDARD OF LIVING

It was not until March 2023 that the regional government of Boeny made a resettlement site available for those evicted in 2021.²⁷¹ The Mayor of Tsaramandroso explained that the land where the resettlement site is built, originally private property, had been donated to his municipality. For the Governor of Boeny, the resettlement site also serves as a pilot project to address the broader crisis of drought-induced displacement from Androy to his region.²⁷² This 117-hectare site is in the Tanimanandy area, about 7 to 10km from the reforestation area where evictions were carried out. It has about 162 residents who struggle to live in dignity and consists of only 33 huts, whereas in Madiromaroanaka, Betainkilotra and Benarivo II, more than 1,554 people living in 222 huts were evicted. Additionally, the governor estimates that about 100 Antandroy drought-induced displaced persons reach the Boeny region every week.²⁷³

Amnesty International found that the Malagasy government had violated the right of the Antandroy drought-induced displaced persons within this site to an adequate standard of living. Specifically, the site does not allow for safe access to essential food and potable water, basic shelter and housing, and essential medical services and sanitation. This is mainly because during the rainy season, from December to April every year, the Kamoro River, which often has crocodiles²⁷⁴ swells to dangerous levels and becomes fast-flowing. The cost to cross the river by canoes operated by neighbouring villagers is often beyond the reach of the residents during the rainy season, making it hard for them to leave the site and access roads. Below is a satellite imagery of the resettlement site showing its isolation.

²⁷⁰ Interview in person with “Reny” (name changed for security reasons), resident of Madiromaroanaka, 6 July 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²⁷¹ Governorate of the Boeny Region, 28 March <https://www.facebook.com/100068367483132/videos/fampiroborobona-ny-fiainana-ara-tsosialinny-mpoHatea-voafaritra-ao-anatinny-prd-n/894109195134263/> (in Malagasy)

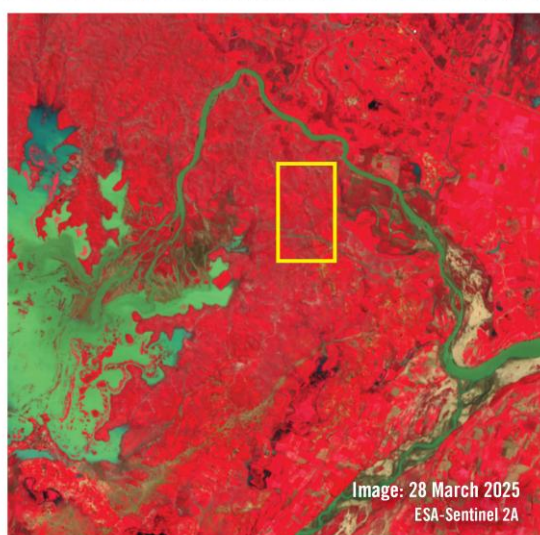
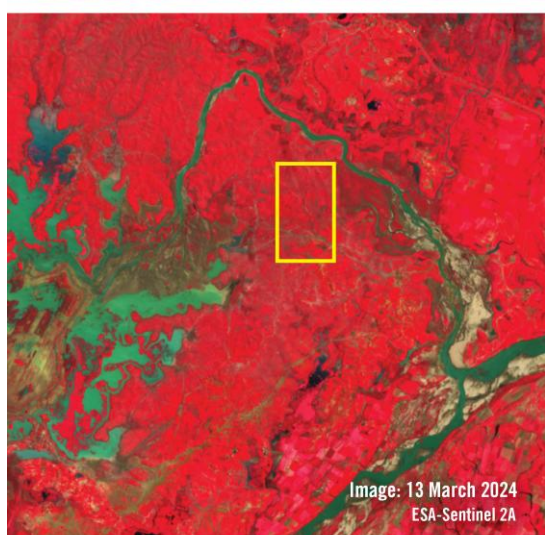
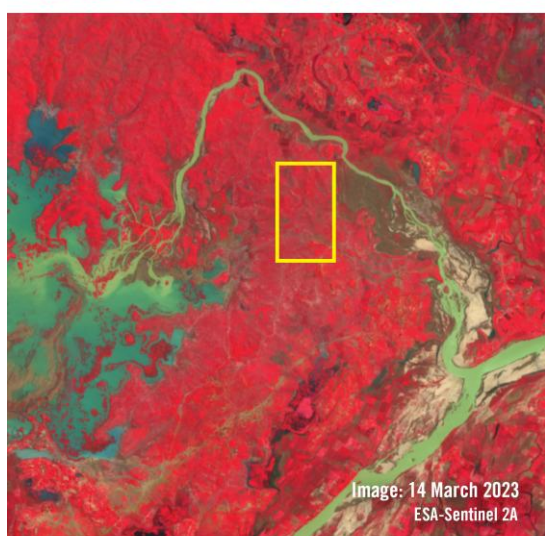
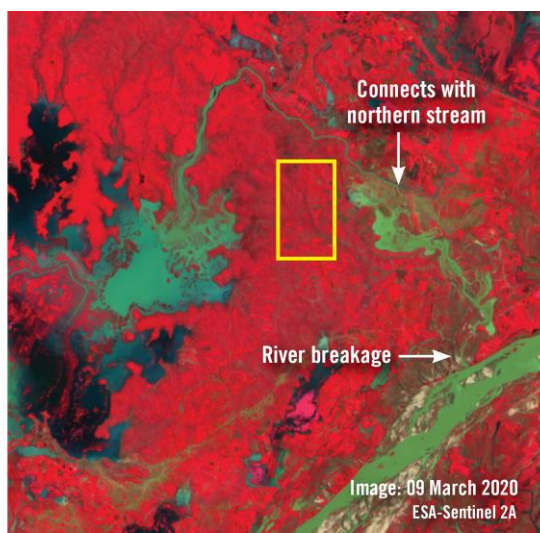
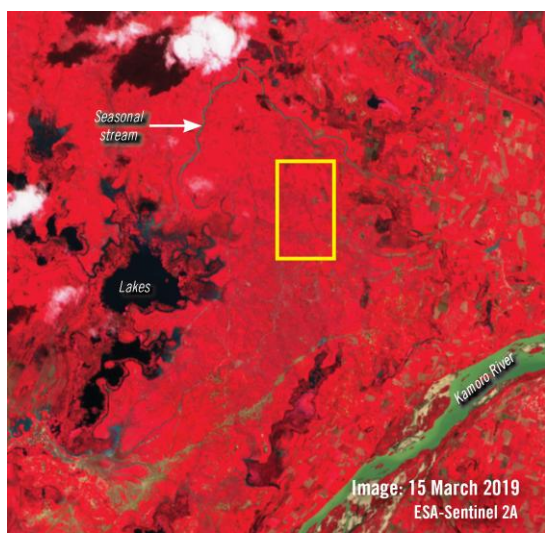
²⁷² Interview in person with Mokhtar Andriatomanga, Governor of the Boeny region, 29 November 2024, Mahajanga.

²⁷³ This estimate comes from the Governor of Boeny. See Interview in person with Mokhtar Andriatomanga, Governor of the Boeny region, 4 July 2024, Mahajanga.

²⁷⁴ See Facebook post referencing the presence of crocodiles in the Kamoro River -

<<https://www.facebook.com/groups/1689368174646414/permalink/2743153072601247/>> (accessed on 17 July 2025). See also evidence that the Mahajamba River is known for crocodiles -

<<https://www.facebook.com/1256349061/posts/pfbid024jeni5EeyW2njzXjmi8dRd6iLbofbDoQw1HASJXk8thXy5tNsqv2QQvzgrdedm9dl/>> accessed on 17 July 2025. Notably, the Kamoro River is connected to the Mahajamba River. See SHER Ingénieurs-Conseils S.A. and Mhyllab, Small Hydro Resource Mapping in Madagascar: Small Hydro Mapping Report, The World Bank, April 2017, pp. 16–17.



False-colour, near-infrared imagery highlights healthy vegetation in red hues and water in blue-green and black hues. In March 2019, there was a small stream north of the future resettlement site shown by the yellow boxes. In March 2020, a major flood appeared to cause a river breakage to form, connecting the main Kamoro river and the smaller northern stream. Every March since, the main river and smaller river connect,

causing the newly constructed 2023 resettlement site to be on the other side of the now larger stream from the main village along the road.

As a result, the site is cut off from the Tsenavao market in Ambondromamy, other services, villages and areas where residents can normally access essential goods and services such as markets, chemists, hospitals, schools and police stations. There are degrading living conditions within the site, which we explain below. Residents have raised this issue with local authorities in the Tsaramandroso commune, particularly the rights to adequate food and education for children within the site, to no avail. According to the deputies of the Mayor of Tsaramandroso, the title deed to the site is currently in the name of the Tsaramandroso municipality.²⁷⁵

In a letter dated 30 January 2025, Amnesty International addressed Madagascar's President Andry Rajoelina, the Minister of Environment, the Minister of Interior, and the Minister of Justice on the difficulties faced by the residents. The letter, sent during the rainy season, highlighted that, during this season, the site resembled an open-air prison because of how isolated it becomes. The letter highlighted that it fell short of Madagascar's national, regional, and international obligations on the rights to life, food, adequate housing, water and sanitation, healthcare, and freedom of movement. Amnesty International had not received a response at the time of publishing.²⁷⁶ Furthermore, the government failed to address the inadequacy of the resettlement site in its response to an additional letter dated 15 July 2025, which Amnesty International sent requesting a written comment on the preliminary findings of this report, including the way the site falls short of an adequate standard of living.

The Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, Balakrishnan Rajagopal, has noted that, even when presented as voluntary, some cases of resettlement often feel like coercion in disguise, where consent is more illusion than reality.²⁷⁷ When we approached the Mayor of Tsaramandroso to understand whether the residents of the site were consulted before their resettlement there, he candidly replied as follows:

“There was not really a choice. It is not like they could make requests, saying, ‘We want this or that.’ When you have nothing, can you still choose? They come from the South, where they do not even have land to cultivate. Beggars cannot be choosers.”

Johnson Hadjicosta – Mayor of Tsaramandroso.²⁷⁸

Many of those subjected to the 2021 evictions that we spoke to did not move to the resettlement site. In a group interview with Madiromaroanaka residents, for example, it emerged that they were concerned about the difficulty of farming there.²⁷⁹ The Secretary General of Tsaramandroso town hall, Roger Justin, told Amnesty International that the eligibility criterion for the site was displaced people living in Boeny forests, particularly the most vulnerable families, aged 18-60. Individuals under that age or over 60 were not eligible.²⁸⁰ Through interviews with residents of the resettlement site, Amnesty International found that the 33 huts were allocated to drought-induced Antandroy IDPs – whether they had been evicted in 2021 or had arrived directly from the Androy region – on a first-come, first-served basis, as long as huts were available.²⁸¹

²⁷⁵ Interview in person with Roger Justin and Joséph Rakotoarimanana, Secretary General of the Mayor of Tsaramandroso and Deputy Mayor of Tsaramandroso, 5 July 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²⁷⁶ The letter's reference number is TG AFR 01/2025.6481 and it is annexed to this report.

²⁷⁷ UN Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, and on the right to non-discrimination in this context, Report: *Resettlement after evictions and displacement: addressing a human rights crisis*, 25 January 2024, UN Doc. A/HRC/55/53, para. 33.



²⁷⁸ Interview in person with Johnson Hadjicosta, mayor of Tsaramandroso, 10 July 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²⁷⁹ Amnesty International interview with “Reny”, in a group interview in Madiromaroanaka, 6 July 2024.

²⁸⁰ Interview in person with Roger Justin and Joséph Rakotoarimanana, Secretary General of the Mayor of Tsaramandroso and Deputy Mayor of Tsaramandroso, 5 July 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²⁸¹ This emerged from a group interview in person with two of the residents of the 117-hectare resettlement site, 4 July 2024, Tsaramandroso and from in-person individual interviews with three of the residents of the 117-hectare resettlement site on 1 December 2024 as well as from individual interviews via voice call with five residents of the 117-hectare resettlement site on 3 December 2024.



  Image of the huts in the resettlement site, taken during the dry season in July 2024. © Nciko wa Nciko for Amnesty International, 2024

5.3.1 OPEN-AIR PRISON: DISPROPORTIONATE IMPACTS ON WOMEN AND CHILDREN

The resettlement site resembled an “open-air prison” to Amnesty International researchers during their second visit to the site in December 2024, at the start of the rainy season.



“But my request to you, Governor is this: Give us a pirogue (small boat), sir, because we do not know how to swim. I have reminded you repeatedly here: the pirogue. Without a pirogue, we cannot live here. I am telling you the truth, honestly: no one will survive here without a pirogue, because the pirogue is what will ensure our survival here. Most of us do not know how to swim.”

“Zenanomby Solotenan”, one of the site’s early residents, asking the governor of Boeny for additional support when he came to officially inaugurate the site in March 2023. This was captured in a video posted on the governorship’s Facebook page.²⁸²

²⁸² See <https://www.facebook.com/100068367483132/videos/894109195134263> (in Malagasy) (accessed on 27 January 2025).

Residents echoed Zenanomby's concerns during interviews with Amnesty International.²⁸³ All 12 individuals interviewed spoke of the immense challenges they face when the Kamoro river swells and causes a fast-flowing river on one side of the resettlement site.



  Image showing the isolation of the site during the rainy season. © Andriamisainamiharintsoa Toky for Amnesty International, 2024

In a recorded interview, the Deputy Mayor, Jos  ph Rakotoarimanana, revealed that a pirogue (small boat) was initially provided by the government to help residents cross the river. However, he admitted that “for some time now, the pirogue (canoe) has been missing”.²⁸⁴ Even if available, it would be insufficient to serve about 162 people and would be unsafe in the fast-flowing river during the rainy season.

Without a means of crossing the river, survival has become even harder in the rainy season. Masoandro, a resident, described the daily struggle:

“It is so difficult with the rising water levels to earn money in Ambondromamy [where most people do small jobs like selling charcoal or washing clothes]. We earn 1,000 ariary (approximately USD 0.23), 2,000 ariary (approximately USD 0.45) – and even to earn that, we risk our lives crossing this river. Some people cannot swim,

²⁸³ Amnesty International researchers visited twice, in July and December 2024 and held interviews via phone in January 2025. 12 individual interviews were held and one focus group, with two people. Among those interviewed, three had been evicted from villages near the park – two from Betainkilotra and one from Madiromaroanaka – due to the reforestation program. Nine interviews were done with women, and five with men. Further, during the December visit, residents shared a letter signed by 39 of them, including nine women, detailing their human rights demands for better living conditions. Amnesty International also reviewed a video posted on Facebook in March 2023, where the governor launched the project, and some relocated individuals voiced their concerns.

²⁸⁴ Interview in person with Jos  ph Rakotoarimanana, Deputy Mayor of Tsaramandroso, 5 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

and those who can help them by holding their hands. Women wait for the dry season to arrive. If there is an emergency, we must pay for a pirogue... at this level of the waters, it is 1,000 ariary to cross, and the price increases with the rising water.”²⁸⁵

Fidrano added that the cost to cross – 1,000 Malagasy Ariary²⁸⁶ – is nearly equal to what most of them earn in a full day’s work (odd jobs) in Ambondromamy. For many, this expense is prohibitive.

During their visit, Amnesty International team witnessed the dangerous speed of the river. Male residents shared their own experience of going around the river to reach the team, explaining that it took four hours to find a section shallow enough to cross safely. They were forced to circle the river until they found an area where the depth and current were manageable to cross.



 ↑ The site is isolated in the rainy season. © Andriamisainamiharintsoa Toky for Amnesty International, 2024

Interviewees at the site stated that this situation has previously led to loss of life, with a crocodile in the river killing a man in 2023, and another person drowning in the same year, while trying to reach the site.²⁸⁷

Reaching women for interviews proved more difficult. Amnesty International researchers were able to interview women within the site by phone. Tea shared her struggles:

“I cross the river by pirogue. Yes, I do it every day, but I do not have the money... With a sack of charcoal, I beg the pirogue operators to take me to the other side of the river. Yes, sometimes they agree, and I give them 500 ariary (USD 0.10) when I can – but other times they refuse because it’s almost every day. When they refuse, I have to turn back. It has already happened twice. If they don’t accept, I sell the charcoal on the west side of the village – three hours going, three hours coming back.”²⁸⁸

Falala, a mother of two daughters, described the isolation her family faces when the river swells:

“I stay here, and I can only leave if I manage to find enough money to pay. When the river rises, we stay here; no one leaves... only those who still have the strength to swim, but I don’t have the strength... and neither do my children. My children are still young, and on top of that, they are all girls.”²⁸⁹

²⁸⁵ Interview in person with “Masoandro” (name changed for security reasons), resident of the 117-hectare resettlement site, 1 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²⁸⁶ Interview in person with “Fidrano” (name changed for security reasons), resident of the 117-hectare resettlement site, 9 July 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²⁸⁷ Interview in person with “Marandrano” (name changed for security reasons), resident of the 117-hectare resettlement site, 1 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²⁸⁸ Interview by voice call with “Tea” (name changed for security reasons), resident of the 117-hectare resettlement site, 3 December 2024.

²⁸⁹ Interview by voice call with “Falala” (name changed for security reasons), resident of the 117-hectare resettlement site, 3 December 2024.

Before fleeing drought-induced famine, Falala relied on agriculture to support her family. Now, she and her daughters have turned to fishing to survive, though it is just as dangerous as swimming across the river. She explained:

“Yes, fishing is dangerous because the water is too deep – beyond our height. Someone was killed, eaten by a crocodile, and another drowned. The crocodile started with his stomach, then ate his organs. I am afraid of crocodiles. When the water rises like this, I don’t fish. To feed myself, I ask my friends – sometimes they give, sometimes they don’t.”²⁹⁰

Other residents confirmed the dangers of crocodiles. The Mayor’s Secretary-General told Amnesty International: “Yes, there are crocodiles in the river. From what I heard, the person attacked by the crocodile was saved just in time.”²⁹¹

The resettlement site feels like an “open-air prison,” disproportionately impacting women and children. Mandry, a mother of eight children, expressed her frustration: “What can we say? There’s not much we can do. If we fall ill, it’s death because we can’t cross this body of water – we don’t have money for a pirogue.”²⁹²

Sikeleke spoke about caring for his sick wife: “This is what is so difficult for us. My wife is not in good health right now. I am the only one who goes to buy medicine here, swimming across the water.” When asked if his wife had seen a doctor to confirm which medicine she needed, his answer revealed the impossible choices they face: “What can I do? There are too many waves on the water. It’s not possible.”²⁹³

5.3.2 DEGRADING LIVING CONDITIONS WITHIN THE RESETTLEMENT SITE

Amnesty International found degrading living conditions within the resettlement site because the residents lack sufficient food, potable water, safe sanitation, adequate housing and work. The area manager of the site is Marandrano. He was one of the first to relocate in 2023 and was designated as area manager by the mayor of Tsaramandroso, a voluntary role, without remuneration. His role entails reporting on issues affecting the huts constructed at the site as well as on incidents there.²⁹⁴ In an interview with Amnesty International, he voiced his concerns about their access to food:

“We have no seeds for planting and no zebus – we do not have the agricultural tools. The land is like waste, not fertile. We tried planting, but when the roots start to grow longer, the soil tears apart, and the plant dies. Then the roots are exposed to the sun, and the soil doesn’t hold them. No crops, no seeds. Previously, we tried growing legumes, but insects eat them.”²⁹⁵

²⁹⁰ Interview by voice call with “Falala” (name changed for security reasons), resident of the 117-hectare resettlement site, 3 December 2024.

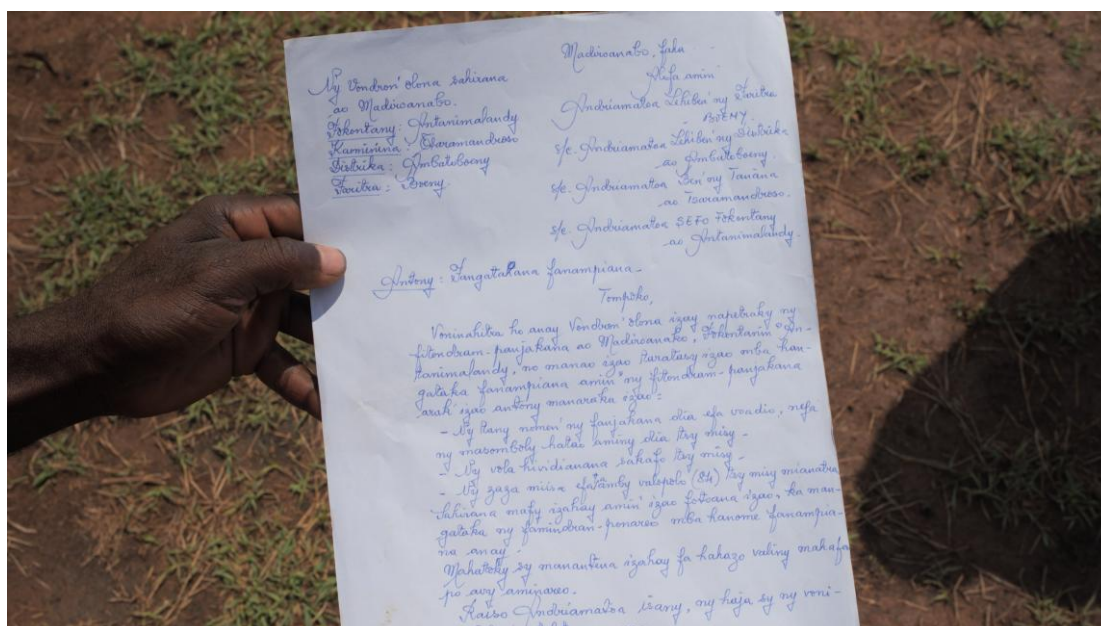
²⁹¹ Interview in person with Roger Justin, Secretary General of the Mayor of Tsaramandroso, 5 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²⁹² Interview by voice call with “Mandry” (name changed for security reasons), resident of the 117-hectare resettlement site, 3 December 2024.

²⁹³ Interview in person with “Sikeleke” (name changed for security reasons), resident of the 117-hectare resettlement site, 1 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²⁹⁴ Interview by voice call with “Marandrano” (name changed for security reasons), resident of the 117-hectare resettlement site, 17 February 2025.

²⁹⁵ Interview in person with “Marandrano” (name changed for security reasons), resident of the 117-hectare resettlement site, 1 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.



↑ A letter signed by 39 residents of the resettlement site, detailing their human rights demands to the government. © Andriamaisainamiharintsoa Toky for Amnesty International, 2024

The Mayor's Secretary-General, Roger Justin, acknowledged the challenges residents face. He admitted that agriculture at the site is nearly impossible without proper tools and resources.²⁹⁶

Ava, a 28-year-old single mother, and her 25-year-old sister, Hatea, also a single mother, shared their immense hardships at the resettlement site. Fleeing the drought-stricken Androy region, they arrived at the site in March 2024 with some of their children. When Amnesty International met them in July 2024, they were babysitting about 10 children. These were their own and those of other women who had gone to search for food. Mothers such as Ava and Hatea have created this system to balance childcare and food needs, reflecting their daily struggle for survival.²⁹⁷

There is a severe shortage of food within the site, disproportionately affecting women and children. Women find it harder than men to cross the river in search of work during the rainy season from December to April. We learned from the residents that in January 2025, Anakaondry, a newborn baby, died at the site due to a lack of food and healthcare services.²⁹⁸ In January 2025, Amnesty International was informed by the site's area manager that there were three pregnant women and 14 breastfeeding mothers within the resettlement site. He added that food needs are a major problem, and sometimes a meal can be limited to hot water.²⁹⁹

Indeed, "during that period [when the river swells], we survive on nothing but hot water mixed with tamarind leaves," Fidrano shared with Amnesty International. This bleak reality forces them back into survival strategies reminiscent of those they used in the drought-stricken Androy. Amnesty International documented similar survival tactics in the Deep South of Madagascar in its 2021 report on how the drought has impacted human rights.³⁰⁰

With scarce food, residents have resorted to odd jobs to survive, which are inconsistent with their traditional agropastoralist way of life. Although many were engaged in agriculture before displacement from the south, they now wash clothes in nearby Ambondromamy municipality, collect wood to make charcoal, or fish when the river swells.³⁰¹ These jobs barely provide enough food.

Potable water is another critical concern within the site. Residents explained in interviews that the water from the wells at the site is bitter and unsuitable for drinking. Many rely on unpurified water from the Kamoro

²⁹⁶ Interview in person with Roger Justin, Secretary General of the Mayor of Tsaramandroso, 5 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

²⁹⁷ Interviews conducted in a group in person with "Ava and Hatea" (names changed for security reasons), residents of the 117-hectare resettlement site, 9 July 2024.

²⁹⁸ Interview by voice call with "Marandrano" (name changed for security reasons), resident of the 117-hectare resettlement site, 22 January 2024 (story known in the Madiromaroanaka village as well, which is about 7km away from the relocation site).



²⁹⁹ Interview by voice call with "Marandrano" (name changed for security reasons), resident of 117-hectare resettlement site, 22 January 2024.

³⁰⁰ Amnesty International, *It Will Be Too Late to Help Us Once We Are Dead: The Human Rights Impact of Climate Change in Drought-Stricken Southern Madagascar*, 26 October 2021, p. 33.

³⁰¹ This emerged from all the individual interviews that Amnesty International conducted with the inhabitants of the site.

River, exposing them to health risks.³⁰² Maliofo, a 26-year-old woman who moved from Bekily in Androy to the resettlement site in 2023, expressed her frustration: “There is no water. There are wells, but the water is bitter, and we cannot drink it. We keep suffering, but we are used to suffering. But we are still tired of it.”³⁰³



  Photo showing Antandroy drought-induced internally displaced persons searching for water. © Andriamisainamiharintsoa Toky for Amnesty International, 2024

Nearly everyone interviewed said they rely on the Kamoro River for water. The journey to fetch it is arduous, adding to the hardship. Tea, who lives with her husband and two children, described the situation:

“The state-built wells, but the water is undrinkable – it is bitter. Even the people who built them said there are small particles in the water. We fetch water from the south, at the Kamoro River – it is a two-hour walk to go and two-hour walk to come back, and the water is dirty, but we do it every day.”³⁰⁴

Mandry, a mother of eight who also left Bekily and arrived at the site in 2023, explained the difficult choices they face: “It is very bitter, but what can we do? When we are in a hurry, we have to rely on the wells. But the water there is very bitter.”³⁰⁵

The lack of water creates further problems with sanitation. Without clean water, the site’s inhabitants face severe challenges. Fidrano, who is a father of two young children, explained:

“They told us to dig our own toilets, but our priority is food. How can we dig toilets when we have nothing in our stomachs? People end up going in the bushes. This situation saddens us; there are flies everywhere, and they sting us.”³⁰⁶

The absence of proper sanitation not only strips residents of their dignity but also exposes them to significant health risks.

³⁰² Interview in person with “Fidrano” (name changed for security reasons), part of the personnel that oversaw the construction of the 117-hectare resettlement site, 9 July 2024.



³⁰³ Interview by voice call with “Maliofo” (name changed for security reasons), resident of the 117-hectare resettlement site, 3 December 2024.

³⁰⁴ Interview by voice call with “Tea” (name changed for security reasons), resident of the 117-hectare resettlement site, 3 December 2024.

³⁰⁵ Interview by voice call with “Mandry” (name changed for security reasons), resident of the 117-hectare resettlement site, 3 December 2024.

³⁰⁶ Interview in person with “Fidrano” (name changed for security reasons), resident of the 117-hectare resettlement site, 9 July 2024, Tsaramandroso.



  *Image of one of the wells built by the state. © Candy Ofime for Amnesty International, 2024*

The 33 huts at the resettlement site are divided into three lots of 11 huts each. Amnesty International researchers visited one lot in July 2024. They observed that there was no electricity or lighting at the site, and, as the residents shared – both in July 2024 and via voice call interviews that Amnesty International researchers did with them in December 2024 – the huts failed to protect families from rain, heat, and wind. Tea described the conditions: “The roof is still intact, but water seeps through the walls, and we cannot sleep

‘THAT SUFFERING HAUNTS ME EVEN HERE’

THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE ANTANDROY PEOPLE DISPLACED BY CLIMATE CHANGE FROM SOUTHERN MADAGASCAR

Amnesty International

at night. We stay in a squatting position.”³⁰⁷ Her account was corroborated by others, including Falala, a 28-year-old mother of seven, who shared: “I cannot sleep because water seeps into the house; I spend the night in a squatting position.”³⁰⁸ The Deputy Mayor denied these claims, stating that rainwater could only reach the veranda of the huts, not the interiors. However, this runs counter to the experiences shared by residents,³⁰⁹ as well as the photo below, which shows what the huts look like on the inside:



↑ A photo showing the interior of the huts visited by Amnesty International at the resettlement site. © Candy Ofime for Amnesty International, 2024

The huts are single-room structures and too small (about 5m²) for the large families that many displaced people at the site have. Mandry’s family of 10, including her husband, two daughters, and six sons, live in a single hut. When asked how they manage at night, she explained: “We each settle in a corner, on grass that we arrange to sleep in a corner.”³¹⁰

“The solution: first, seeds; second, tools and materials for work; and third, water – a way for us to have water. And when someone falls ill, we have no solutions; we have no money. We have no crops to sell, and we endure suffering when we are sick. We have no crops and no food to eat at home.”

“Sikeleke” – Capturing the essence of the human rights demands of the inhabitants of the government-built resettlement site.³¹¹

³⁰⁷ Interview by voice call with “Tea” (name changed for security reasons), resident of the 117-hectare resettlement site, 3 December 2024.

³⁰⁸ Interview by voice call with “Falala” (name changed for security reasons), resident of the 117-hectare resettlement site, 3 December 2024.

³⁰⁹ Interview in person with Joséph Rakotoarimanana, Deputy Mayor of Tsaramandroso, 5 December 2024, Tsaramandroso.

³¹⁰ Interview by voice call with “Mandry” (name changed for security reasons), resident of the 117-hectare resettlement site, 3 December 2024.

³¹¹ Interview in person with “Sikeleke” (name changed for security reasons), resident of the 117-hectare resettlement site, 1 December 2024.

6. CONCLUSION

Chronic droughts have long been part of life for the Antandroy people in southern Madagascar. However, it was only in the 1930s – during French colonial rule – that they began to drive large-scale displacements of the Antandroy people. Colonial policies at the time led to the destruction of key vegetation that had previously helped Antandroy survive drought-induced famines by providing them with water and food and, in this way, discouraged them from moving out of their ancestral lands. Seasonal mobility to other parts of the country in anticipation of drought-induced famines then became a coping mechanism that Antandroy adopted as part of their traditions. Today, climate change – driven largely by industrialized nations – is making the droughts in southern Madagascar more severe, leading to displacements towards the Boeny region in north Madagascar and other parts of the country.

Between 2018 and 2024, for example, about 90,000 people from southern Madagascar, mostly the Antandroy people, have been forced to leave their ancestral lands in search of survival in other parts of the country because of drought-induced famines. Yet, despite this growing crisis, there has been little data or response to the specific human rights needs of drought-induced IDPs in Madagascar.

This report focuses on those displaced between 2017 and 2024, particularly those who moved from the Androy region in the south to Ambondromamy and Tsaramandroso municipalities in the Boeny region in the north-west. We found that the Malagasy government has violated the right to freedom of movement and choice of residence. It has failed to adopt national and local strategies to protect and assist Antandroy drought-displaced IDPs. It has not ensured access to transport for those fleeing Androy. It has failed to guarantee an adequate standard of living during the journey, especially in terms of food and shelter. Finally, it has taken no meaningful steps to support family reunification, despite widespread family separation among the IDPs and their loved ones, because of the difficulty in meeting transportation costs.

Upon arrival in Boeny, some displaced Antandroy settled around Ankarafantsika National Park, due to the absence of resettlement plans or allocated land to cater for their needs. Rather than providing support or alternatives, from April to July 2021, the government forcibly evicted those who built homes or cultivated land within the boundaries of the national park in a designated reforestation area, violating their right to adequate housing. These evictions failed to meet international human rights standards since Madagascar has no legal framework explicitly prohibiting forced evictions and guaranteeing that evictions from protected forests are carried out in a rights-respecting manner. The evictees did not receive any adequate or reasonable notice about the evictions. The government also did not make any legal aid or remedies available to those evicted. Most of them were left homeless and at risk of further evictions, with no alternative land or housing options available.

As a result, most returned to the same areas they were forcibly evicted from, continuing with agricultural and cattle-herding activities within the reforestation area while shifting their homes just outside it. A small number moved to a government-constructed 33-hut resettlement site that the government built in 2023. This is a pilot project to respond to the broader crisis of the Antandroy drought-induced IDPs who have moved to Boeny. However, it was far from sufficient. In just three of the seven villages affected by forced evictions in 2021, more than 222 huts – housing an estimate of over 1,554 people – were destroyed or burned down.

Amnesty International also found serious violations of the right to an adequate standard of living among those living at the resettlement site. The site lacks adequate access to essential food, potable water, healthcare, housing and sanitation, as well as arable land and agricultural tools and seeds for farming. During the rainy season from December to April, the Kamoro River swells dangerously and cuts the site off from nearby markets, villages, schools, hospitals, and police services. The river has crocodiles, and the water

currents are sometimes fast flowing, adding to the dangers, with a disproportionate impact on women and girls.

Madagascar urgently needs to adopt national and local strategies and policies to respond to drought-induced displacement in a way that respects human rights of those displaced because of the drought in the southern part of the country. Such strategies and policies must address their needs for transport, food, housing, water, sanitation, safety, and in ways that are culturally appropriate.

This is not a challenge Madagascar can face alone, as a country that bears the brunt of climate change impacts, such as displacements of the Antandroy, yet has the least responsibility for it. High-income countries – especially those most responsible for climate change – must support through adequate finance, technology and capacity to advance the respect, protection and fulfilment of rights of the drought-induced IDPs.

France must reckon with its historical role in deepening the vulnerability of the Antandroy people in a way that contributed to the reduced capacity of this people to adapt to famines that accompany droughts.

Regional bodies, like the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the African Union (AU), as well as UN agencies and humanitarian actors, must work alongside Madagascar to support it in protecting and assisting Antandroy drought-induced IDPs to advance the respect, protection and fulfilment of their human rights. This report focused on the rights to freedom of movement and choice of residence within national borders, to adequate housing and to an adequate standard of living.

7. RECOMMENDATIONS

TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADAGASCAR

TO THE GOVERNOR OF BOENY:

- Facilitate data collection on the human rights needs of Antandroy drought-induced IDPs in Boeny and new arrivals, and ensure that the Ministry of Environment and the Ministry of Interior incorporate this in Madagascar's national strategies to combat the impacts of climate change.
- Take steps to ensure that legal remedies are provided to people forcibly evicted from the 2,600 hectares reforestation area at the south-eastern border of the Ankarafantsika National Park and that those responsible for the forced evictions are brought to justice in fair trials.
- Facilitate the identification of land in the Boeny region suitable for human rights consistent resettlement sites for the Antandroy drought-induced IDPs and ensure that costs associated with establishing such sites are included in Madagascar's national strategies to combat the impacts of climate change, such as the National Adaptation Plan and the Nationally Determined Contributions.

TO THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR

- Revoke the 20 April 2021 eviction order, which resulted in the forced evictions of more than 1,554 Antandroy drought-induced IDPs or bring it in line with international human rights standards on evictions.
- Through the National Bureau of Risk and Disaster Management, urgently collect data on the losses, damages, and human rights needs of drought-induced IDPs in Madagascar. Provide, where possible, financial quantification of how much money or technological support is required to respond to such needs.
- Through the National Bureau of Risk and Disaster Management, urgently orient humanitarian and development organizations – mostly focused on southern Madagascar – to support government efforts in addressing the losses, damages, and human rights needs of displaced Antandroy people. This collaboration should focus on affordable transportation to Boeny, adequate living conditions during their journey, and options for those seeking temporary or permanent resettlement.
- Implement measures to monitor and evaluate the effectiveness and impact of humanitarian assistance delivered to IDPs in accordance with relevant practice, including the Sphere Standards.

TO THE MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT

- Update Madagascar's national climate strategies, including the country's National Adaptation Plan and the Nationally Determined Contributions. Do so in a way that addresses the human rights needs

of Antandroy drought-induced IDPs while ensuring protection of the fauna and flora in the Boeny region.

- Leverage the Kampala Convention, the African Commission, the second Africa Climate Summit, COP30 and future UN Climate Conferences to mobilize regional and international support around drought-induced internal displacement in Madagascar.

TO THE MINISTRY OF JUSTICE

- Ensure that the Malagasy Parliament ratifies the 2009 African Union Kampala Convention on Internally Displaced Persons in Africa to strengthen the country's commitment to protecting the rights and dignity of those forced to flee due to drought and other climate-related crises.
- Assess the extent to which French colonial policies and practices have undermined the capacity of Antandroy people to adapt to drought and contributed to their present vulnerability to drought-induced displacement.
- Pursue reparatory justice for crimes and serious human rights violations committed by France during its colonial rule of Madagascar, including the ecological destruction which has contributed to the Antandroy people's vulnerability to drought. Ensure any reparatory justice processes include the full, meaningful and effective participation of affected communities, including the Antandroy people.
- Investigate the forced evictions of over 1,554 displaced Antandroy in 2021 at the south-eastern border of Ankarafantsika National Park, hold the perpetrators accountable and ensure that victims receive appropriate remedies.

TO THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE

- Disclose how much of Madagascar's national budget is regularly allocated to responding to the impacts of climate change, including drought-induced internal displacement.

TO THE PARLIAMENT

- Repeal Ordinance 60127 of October 3, 1960 – which allows for evictions from government forests without detailed human rights procedures to be followed – unless the ordinance is brought in line with regional and international human rights standards on the right to adequate housing.
- Ensure that Madagascar ratifies the 2009 African Union Kampala Convention on Internally Displaced Persons in Africa.

TO THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

- Lead in engaging with the Conference of the Parties under the 2009 Kampala Convention to develop solutions for internal displacement across Africa.
- Ensure that the government of Madagascar resumes its periodic submissions to the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, providing updates on its efforts to implement the right to freedom of movement and choice of residence, as well as any challenges it faces.
- Ensure that the government of Madagascar invites, with no further delay, the UN Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of human rights in the context of climate change, as well as the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights Special Rapporteur on Refugees, Asylum Seekers, Migrants and Internally Displaced Persons. Grant them full and unfettered access to the government-built 117-hectare resettlement site for displaced Antandroy in Boeny, and to other affected regions in Madagascar.

TO FRANCE

- Engage in constructive dialogue with Madagascar to pursue justice for colonial wrongs, specifically actions by the French colonial administration that contributed to the Antandroy's increased vulnerability to drought-induced famines.

TO OTHER COUNTRIES, MOSTLY HIGH-INCOME COUNTRIES

- Provide financial and technological support to Madagascar to respond to adaptation as well as loss and damage needs in drought-stricken southern Madagascar to improve living conditions. Provide transportation to Boeny, adequate living conditions along the way, and resettlement options for those wishing to settle temporarily or permanently in Boeny.
- Provide financial and technological support to Madagascar to collect data on the losses, damages, and human rights needs of the displaced Antandroy to help Madagascar advance the respect, protection and fulfilment of the rights to freedom of movement and choice of residence, adequate standard of living and protection against arbitrary displacement of displaced Antandroy.
- Massively increase funding for the Fund Responding to Loss and Damage and other funding arrangements, ensuring that Madagascar has the resources needed to address losses and damages arising from climate-induced displacement and its related impacts on the rights of Antandroy people.
- Help Madagascar find a balance between addressing the losses, damages, and human rights needs of the displaced Antandroy and protecting the environment, including the biodiversity of Boeny forests.³¹²

TO THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY (SADC)

- At the 45th Summit of SADC Heads of State and Government, in Madagascar in August 2025, prioritize climate and drought-induced internal displacement as a critical issue requiring meaningful regional action.
- Through the SADC Parliamentary Forum, encourage Madagascar's parliamentarians to push for the country's ratification of the African Union Kampala Convention on Internally Displaced Persons in Africa.
- Through the SADC Parliamentary Forum, encourage Madagascar's parliamentarians to push for repeal of Ordinance 60127 of 3 October 1960, used to justify forced evictions, or to review it in line with international human rights standards.
- Push for the regular convening of the bureau for the conference of states parties under the African Union Kampala Convention on Internally Displaced Persons.

TO THE AFRICAN UNION (AU)

- In line with the AU's designation of 2025 as the Year of Justice for Africans and People of African Descent Through Reparations, the AU Economic, Social & Cultural Council (ECOSOCC) should guide countries like Madagascar on how to translate calls for reparations for colonial wrongs – including those linked to today's climate change impacts – into concrete and practical actions.
- Ensure that vulnerability to climate change and climate-related harms because of colonial policies and practices is central to its reparations agenda.

³¹² Conference of the Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity, Sixteenth meeting, Cali, Colombia, 21 October-1 November 2024, Agenda item 25, Biodiversity and climate change, CBD/COP/DEC/16/22, p. 2.

- Push for the regular convening of the bureau for the conference of states parties under the African Union Kampala Convention on Internally Displaced Persons.
- Through AU member states, encourage the African Group of Negotiators (AGN) on Climate Change to establish an operational synergy with the Bureau of the Conference of States Parties under the African Union Kampala Convention on Internally Displaced Persons to ensure that the human rights needs of climate-induced internally displaced persons are captured in climate change negotiations at the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) level.

TO THE AFRICAN COMMISSION ON HUMAN AND PEOPLES' RIGHTS (ACHPR)

- Urgently release the ACHPR's Working Group on Extractive Industries, Environment and Human Rights Violations' study on the Impact of Climate Change on Human and Peoples' Rights in Africa to guide countries such as Madagascar on their obligations under the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights as far as climate change is concerned.
- Urgently implement its Resolution ACHPR/Res.628 (LXXXII) 2025 on the need for a study on the development of a specific legal framework for the protection of forcibly displaced persons in Africa as a result of climate change.
- Through the ACHPR's Special Rapporteur on Refugees, Asylum Seekers, Migrants and Internally Displaced Persons in Africa, request to visit Madagascar to further investigate the human rights challenges that drought-induced Antandroy IDPs endure and to engage the Malagasy government on the same.

TO THE UNITED NATIONS (UN)

- Through financial mechanisms of the UNFCCC and the UN Convention on Biodiversity, simplify procedures for lower income countries to access climate finance for mitigation and adaptation, as well as for responding to loss and damage and to support other aspects of just transitions away from fossil fuels, and to finance biodiversity, ensuring countries like Madagascar can easily obtain the resources they need to respond to displacement and other climate-related impacts in a manner that respects, protects and fulfils the rights of those displaced but does not contribute to biodiversity loss and other environmental degradation. Direct access to small grants for impacted communities should also be put in place in all such financial mechanisms.
- Request for the UN Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of human rights in the context of climate change to visit Madagascar to further investigate the human rights challenges that drought-induced Antandroy IDPs endure and to engage the Malagasy government on the same.

ANNEXES

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL
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Reference: TG AFR 01/2025.6481

Your Excellency
President Andry Rajoelina
President of Madagascar
Ambohitsorohitra
Iavoloha
Antananrivo
Madagascar

30 January 2025

Dear President Rajoelina,

RE: REQUESTING YOUR URGENT INTERVENTION TO ENSURE ACCESS TO LIFE-SAVING SERVICES FOR INHABITANTS OF THE RESETTLEMENT SITE IN ANIMALANDY, BOENY REGION

We are writing to request your urgent intervention to ensure access to food, adequate housing, and access to other essential goods and services for the about 162 residents of a 117-hectare resettlement site in the Tanimalandy area, in the Northwestern Boeny Region. This site, established in 2023 by the subnational government and represented by the Commune of Tsaramandroso, consists of 33 huts. The inhabitants are currently in grave danger due to, as they explain, the swelling of the nearby Kamaro River, which has made it impossible for them to leave the site. There are credible reports that this situation has in the past led to loss of life where a crocodile in the river killed a man in 2023; and another person drowned in the same year trying to reach the site. There is a severe shortage of food within the site, disproportionately affecting women, girls and children. We have received credible reports that this January 2025, a newborn baby died at the site due to a lack of access to food and to adequate healthcare services.

This resettlement site has been described as an "open air prison" because usually during the rainy season i.e. December to April, the Kamaro River swells dangerously, becomes fast-flowing and may be infested with crocodiles. As a result, the site is cut off from Ambondromamy and other areas where inhabitants can normally access essential goods and services such as markets, chemists, hospitals, schools and police stations.

Currently, it is the rainy season, and the water levels have risen, placing the lives of the inhabitants in the resettlement site at serious risk as they have no safe means of leaving. The site itself has uninhabitable shelter and land that inhabitants are unable to cultivate, making it unliveable in the absence of access to adequate food and safe drinking water. The inhabitants have raised this issue with local authorities in the Commune of Tsaramandroso, but to no avail. When the Boeny government officially opened the site in March 2023, the residents expressed concerns about its livability during the rainy season. Despite this, the government has continued to fail to provide adequate housing, food, safe drinking water, sanitation and other essential services for those living at the site.

I respectfully urge you and your government to take immediate action to end these human rights violations by ensuring that the inhabitants of the site have access to adequate housing, food and other essential goods and services – especially during this period of the rainy season. Failing to do so violates

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Madagascar's human rights obligations under regional and international human rights law including the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, regarding the rights to life, food, adequate housing, water and sanitation, access to health care as well as the right to freedom of movement. Alternative relocation options should be provided to those wishing to leave the site.

Yours sincerely,



Tigere Chagutah
Director, East and Southern Africa Regional Office

Copy: Ministry of Environment, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Justice, Regional Government of Boeny, and Mayor of Tsramandroso

—



Reference: TG AFR 01/2025.6881

Célestin Rasolomaholy Rakotozanny
Chief of Staff
Ministry of Interior
Antananarivo
Madagascar

15 July 2025

Dear Célestin Rasolomaholy Rakotozanny

RE: OPPORTUNITY TO RESPOND TO AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL'S FINDINGS ON DROUGHT-INDUCED DISPLACEMENT OF ANTANDROY PEOPLE

I am writing on behalf of Amnesty International to share preliminary findings from our investigation into human rights violations experienced by Antandroy communities displaced from the Androy region to Boeny due to droughts made more frequent and severe by climate change. Amnesty International is a global human rights movement with over 10 million members and supporters worldwide, dedicated to ensuring the protection of human rights for all.

Our research – conducted between May 2024 and May 2025 in Antananarivo, Mahajanga, Ambondromamy, Tsaramandroso, and the Ankarafantsika National Park – draws on interviews with over 150 individuals, including displaced persons, local authorities, civil society, and experts. The findings raise serious human rights concerns, many of which directly involve bodies under the Ministry of Interior and Decentralisation.

In the interest of accuracy, Amnesty International strives to reflect all perspectives in its research. We request the Government of Madagascar's written response by 23 July 2025 to inform our forthcoming report. We are also copying relevant state actors and request your coordination of a consolidated government response.

KEY PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

French colonial responsibility

Chronic droughts in southern Madagascar long affected the Antandroy people, but large-scale mobility was triggered in the 1930s under French colonial rule. Between 1924 and 1929, colonial authorities deliberately destroyed around 40,000 hectares of *opuntia monacantha* – a drought-resilient cactus vital to Antandroy survival – using cochineal parasites. This eradication dismantled traditional coping mechanisms, leading to widespread famine (*kéré*) and displacement, notably during the 1930 crisis in Tsihombe where half the population died or fled. Since then, *kéré* has recurred at least 15 times, including in 2021.

As the African Union and UN special rapporteurs recognize the enduring harms of colonialism, and in light of how this act continues to undermine climate resilience, we would like to understand what steps the Malagasy government intends to take to seek acknowledgment or redress from France for the destruction of the *opuntia monacantha*.¹

Violation of the rights to freedom of movement and residence

Amnesty International found that the Government of Madagascar failed to uphold the rights to freedom of movement and residence for Antandroy people displaced by drought, as protected under the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights to which the

¹ African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, Resolution on Africa's Reparations Agenda and The Human Rights of Africans in the Diaspora and People of African Descent Worldwide - ACHPR/Res.543 (LXXIII) 2022. See also: [Assembly AU DEC 847 \(XXXV\) _E.pdf](#) and see also [Assembly AU DEC 884 \(XXXVII\) _E.pdf](#)

country is a state party.² This includes the obligation to facilitate transportation,³ support voluntary resettlement, and enable family reunification for internally displaced persons (IDPs).⁴

The absence of national or local strategies to support Antandroy drought-induced internally displaced persons (IDPs) has left thousands without basic assistance during displacement – particularly transport, shelter, and food – exposing them to economic and sexual exploitation. While Madagascar bears minimal responsibility for climate change, it faces severe climate impacts. Yet, national strategies such as the Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) and National Adaptation Plan lack data including on the human rights impacts on displaced populations, undermining calls for international aid, climate finance, technology transfer and other forms of assistance.

Given this, how does the government respond to findings that it failed to ensure safe, supported relocation for displaced Antandroy people – especially regarding transportation, humanitarian aid, and family reunification – and what steps will it take to integrate IDPs' needs into national climate action frameworks?

Right to adequate housing

Amnesty International's findings indicate that displaced Antandroy communities face acute challenges in accessing productive land – essential for their agropastoral livelihoods. In the absence of support in Boeny, many settled in or near government forests, leading to environmental pressures and eventual forced evictions.

Between April and July 2021, the Boeny regional division of the Ministry of Interior, through the *organe mixte de conception*, forcibly evicted families from a reforestation zone near Ankarafantsika National Park. These evictions failed to meet international human rights standards – lacking prior notice to the evictees, legal aid to evictees be able challenge the eviction, and safeguards to prevent homelessness. Over 1,500 people were forcibly evicted, some returning to the same areas due to lack of alternatives. Additionally, before the evictions, several IDPs reported giving money to the Tsaramandroso town hall under the belief they were purchasing pieces of land in the reforestation zone or that the money could delay the evictions, raising concerns of economic exploitation.

In view of General Comment No. 7 of the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, how does the Government of Madagascar intend to align future eviction practices with international human rights standards – particularly regarding prior consultation, legal remedies, and protection from homelessness? Further, what steps is the government taking to remedy the violations that took place in 2021 in the context of forced evictions? ⁵

Right to an adequate standard of living

In 2023, the Boeny regional government established a 117-hectare pilot resettlement site for IDPs, including those evicted in 2021. With an estimated 100 Antandroy IDPs arriving in Boeny each week, and at least 1500 forcibly evicted from a reforestation zone near Ankarafantsika National Park, the site – comprising only 33 small huts – has proven severely inadequate.

Amnesty International visited the site in July and December 2024 and found it fails to meet the minimum standards of an adequate standard of living. The 5m² huts offer little protection from rain, wind, and heat. During the rainy season, the Kamoro River floods, surrounding the site with crocodile-infested waters, cutting off access to food, water, medical care, markets, and schools. The residents of the site shared with Amnesty International that two deaths occurred in 2023 while attempting to cross.

The land is barren, food and water access are scarce, and sanitation is poor – wells remain unbuilt, and residents are left to go to toilets in surrounding bushes. Women and children are disproportionately affected. In January 2025, a newborn died due to malnutrition. Amnesty International is deeply concerned about the people living at this site, particularly since there were three pregnant women, 14 breastfeeding mothers, and over 80 children were living there at the time.

In light of the 1998 UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement and the 2009 African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa, how is the Government of Madagascar ensuring that IDPs have equitable and sustained access to essential food, potable water, basic shelter, medical services, and sanitation – regardless of their displacement circumstances?⁶

² Article 12(1), African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, adopted 27 June 1981, entered into force 21 October 1986.

³ African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, General Comment No. 5 on the Right to Freedom of Movement and to Choose one's Residence, para. 30.

⁴ African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, General Comment No. 5 on the Right to Freedom of Movement and to Choose one's Residence, para. 47.

⁵ Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, General Comment 7, Forced evictions, and the right to adequate housing (Sixteenth session, 1997), U.N. Doc. E/1998/22, annex IV at 113 (1997), reprinted in Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations Adopted by Human Rights Treaty Bodies, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.6 at 45 (2003).

⁶ Principle 18, United Nations, "Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement," UN Doc. E/CN.4/1998/53/Add.2 (1998).

To include the information from your office in the report, we would be grateful for your responses by 23 July 2025, by email at nciko.arnold@amnesty.org. Please note that we may reflect any information we receive from you in our published materials, as appropriate, which may include quoting your responses verbatim. We would also be pleased to discuss our research findings and broader human rights issues with you or your office at your convenience.

Yours sincerely,



Tigere Chagutah
Regional Director - East and Southern Africa

CC: The Governor of Boeny,
The Mayor of Tsaramandroso
The Boeny Regional Division of the Ministry of Interior and Decentralization
The Boeny Regional Division of the Ministry of Environment and Sustainable Development
The Ministry of Environment and Sustainable Development
The Ministry of Justice
The National Office for Risk and Disaster Management (BNGRC)



MINISTRE DE L'INTERIEUR

CABINET

Antananarivo, le

23 JUL 2025

LE DIRECTEUR DU CABINET DU MINISTRE DE L'INTERIEUR

à

Monsieur LE DIRECTEUR REGIONAL
POUR L'AFRIQUE DE L'EST ET L'AFRIQUE AUSTRAL
D'AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

N° 039 /2025 – MININTER / CAB

Objet : Gestion de la migration des groupes Antandroy vers la Région BOENY.

Référence : Votre lettre TG AFR 01/2025.6881 du 15 juillet 2025.

Monsieur le Directeur,

Faisant suite à votre correspondance citée en référence, exposant les résultats préliminaires des enquêtes que votre Organisation a effectuées dans la Région BOENY entre mai 2024 et mai 2025,

J'ai l'honneur de vous transmettre ci-joint les éléments de réponse que j'ai pu recueillir auprès des Projets et Services dépendant du Ministère de l'Intérieur :

- Le Bureau National de Gestion des Risques et des Catastrophes (BNGRC)
- Le Projet MIONJO
- Le Projet « Améliorer la Gestion des Migrations Internes dans le Contexte du Changement Climatique dans les Communautés d'Accueil au Nord de Madagascar » (PROMIC)

Les actions de ces trois entités constituent un tout cohérent.

I. ACTIONS DU BNGRC

Le BNGRC est un établissement public sous la tutelle technique du Ministère de l'Intérieur. Dans la gestion des sécheresses dans le Sud de Madagascar, les actions du BNGRC se subdivisent en lancements d'alertes, d'une part ; et en gestion des secours d'urgence, d'autre part.



1) Prise de conscience du phénomène migratoire par le BNGRC

Le BNGRC est pleinement conscient du phénomène migratoire cyclique qui accompagne les épisodes de sécheresse et de mauvaises récoltes dans le Grand Sud. Ce fut notamment le cas lors des épisodes El Niño de 2015–2016, qui ont fortement affecté la production agricole et accru l'insécurité alimentaire.

Depuis 2016, les bulletins IPC (Integrated Food Security Phase Classification) jouent un rôle essentiel dans l'alerte précoce, en identifiant les zones vulnérables à risque de crise alimentaire. Ces bulletins ont anticipé les détériorations successives observées en 2018, 2021, 2023, et 2025, et ont permis d'alerter à temps les autorités nationales, ainsi que les acteurs humanitaires.

En complément, le système DTM (Displacement Tracking Matrix) mis en œuvre par l'OIM a été mobilisé pour suivre les flux migratoires internes et informer les décisions politiques. Transmis au ministère chargé du transport, cet outil visait à mieux structurer la réponse face aux déplacements de populations.

Cependant, bien que le DTM fournisse des données précieuses, son intégration dans un mécanisme d'alerte fonctionnel est restée limitée. Faute de plan de contingence associé et de ressources suffisantes pour sa mise en œuvre, le dispositif est resté au stade de test pilote, sans pouvoir évoluer en un véritable outil d'activation de réponse.

2) Gestion des secours d'urgence

Dans tous les moments de crise cités *supra*, le BNGRC a assuré :

- la mise à disposition de crédits du Fonds National de Contingence,
- la mobilisation des financements nationaux et étrangers,
- la centralisation des dons de toute nature à son niveau,
- la gestion de la distribution de ces dons sur le terrain.

Pour le cas des partenaires qui gèrent directement les aides qu'ils apportent, ils demandent seulement au BNGRC de les orienter dans leurs interventions.

Conclusion de cette première partie : Limites des interventions

Le BNGRC, dans son rôle de lanceur d'alerte a donc accompli son mandat d'identification des risques et de diffusion d'informations stratégiques. Néanmoins, les actions concrètes qui s'ensuivent demeurent souvent modestes, parce que :

- Les crises migratoires ne sont pas toujours perçues comme des urgences humanitaires directes (au sens de catastrophe soudaine),
- Les moyens logistiques et financiers restent très limités,
- La coordination intersectorielle ne débouche pas systématiquement sur des interventions à large échelle.



II. ACTIONS DU PROJET MIONJO

Les programmes humanitaires interviennent depuis des années dans le Sud de Madagascar, dans les Régions ATSIMO ANDREFANA, ANDROY et ANOSY. Mais leur focalisation sur les urgences à court terme a limité leur impact sur la lutte contre les causes structurelles de la pauvreté et des vulnérabilités de ces trois régions du Sud de Madagascar.

Mis en œuvre depuis décembre 2020, le Projet MIONJO, organisme initié par le Ministère de l'Intérieur et de la Décentralisation, a adopté une approche à long terme et intégrée, faisant une transition du type d'appui d'urgence et d'aide humanitaire vers un appui favorisant la résilience de sa population cible et le développement durable de ses zones d'interventions. Actuellement (depuis 2024), le Projet est placée sous la tutelle du Ministère de la Décentralisation et de l'Aménagement du Territoire.

Ce projet, qui a bénéficié d'un appui de la Banque Mondiale à hauteur de 200 millions USD, couvre 5 composantes :

- Composante 1 : Renforcement de la gouvernance locale décentralisée, planification participative et résilience sociale ;
- Composante 2 : Infrastructures pour la résilience (dont notamment « accès à des sources d'eau protégées à usages multiples) ;
- Composante 3 : Soutien aux moyens de subsistance résilients
 - Soutien aux organisations communautaires et aux chaînes de valeur locales
 - Systèmes d'irrigation pour la résilience des moyens de subsistance
 - Restauration des capacités de production alimentaire et renforcement de la résilience des systèmes alimentaires et des moyens de subsistance
 - Environnement : Développer des infrastructures vertes et des paysages résilients
- Composante 4 : Soutien à la mise en œuvre et apprentissage des connaissances
- Composante 5 : Interventions d'urgence conditionnelle

III. ACTIONS DU PROJET « PROMIC »

Le Projet MIONJO s'occupe des populations restées dans le Grand Sud de Madagascar, tandis que le Projet PROMIC s'occupe des groupes partis s'installer dans d'autres régions, en l'occurrence vers la Région BOENY.

Le Gouvernement de la République de Madagascar réaffirme son attachement aux principes énoncés dans la Charte africaine des droits de l'homme et des peuples. Une réflexion a donc été menée au sein d'un groupe de travail interministériel à l'initiative du Ministère de l'Intérieur, afin de concevoir une approche réaliste tenant compte des contraintes existantes. L'objectif est d'assurer progressivement la sécurité et la dignité des réinstallations volontaires et du regroupement familial, dans le respect de nos engagements internationaux.

C'est ainsi qu'est né le projet intitulé « Améliorer la Gestion des Migrations Internes dans le Contexte du Changement Climatique dans les Communautés d'Accueil au Nord de Madagascar » (PROMIC), un projet qui répond directement aux préoccupations exprimées dans votre lettre

Je transcris vous donc intégralement ci-après la fiche technique qui m'a été transmise par Madame le Directeur de l'Administration du Territoire à ce sujet.



**GESTION DU PHENOMENE DE MIGRATION INTERNE
DES GROUPES ANTANDROY VERS LA REGION BOENY**

I- CONSTATS

- Destruction des ressources naturelles causée par l'installation des migrants et le défrichement de zones protégées pour la production de maïs, de black-eye et de charbon de bois.
- Non-respect des normes et règles culturelles par les migrants impliquant un potentiel conflit social élevé en raison des normes et règles culturelles différentes.

II- SOLUTIONS PROPOSEES PAR LE PROJET PROMIC

Objectifs 1 : Améliorer les conditions pour le respect des règles et des coutumes locales de la part des différents groupes de population locaux.

➤ **Activités déjà mise en œuvre jusqu'à présent :**

- Etat des lieux sur les structures de prévention et gestion de conflits auprès des acteurs cibles (maires et conseillers communaux, associations et OSC, leaders traditionnels) dans les Communes d'ANDRANOFASIKA, ANKIJABE, ANJIAJIA et MAROSAKOA ;
- Restitution des résultats « état des lieux » sur les structures de prévention et gestion de conflits auprès des acteurs cibles ;
- Enquête sur l'outil de mesure de la cohésion sociale.

➤ **Activités en cours et planifiées**

- Capitalisation des us et coutumes locales et cartographie des lieux tabous et sacrés ;
- Sensibilisation sur les us et coutumes locales et les cartographies des lieux tabous et sacrés ;
- Production des supports de sensibilisations sur les us et coutumes locales ;
- Organisation de rencontres et de manifestation de dialogue (événements socio-culturels, concours de chant, rencontres sportives, activités scolaires, foire itinérante) ;
- Renforcement des capacités locales et communautaires en prévention et gestion des conflits ;
- Reproduction et distribution des outils de gestion de conflit et de médiation sensible aux conflits ;
- Identification du format de l'espace d'accueil et d'orientation par commune.

Objectifs 2 : Améliorer les possibilités de création de revenus pour les populations locales y compris les migrants, en privilégiant les femmes et les jeunes

➤ **Activités déjà mise en œuvre jusqu'à présent:**

- Identification des zones d'extension (ZE) dans les 4 communes et atelier de restitution au niveau local et régional;
- Discussions techniques avec des Services Techniques déconcentrés (STD) tels que la Direction Régionale de l'Aménagement du Territoire (DRAT), la Direction Régionale de l'Agriculture et de l'Elevage (DRAE), la Direction Régionale de la Pêche et de l'Economie Bleue (DRPEB) d'une part, et des organismes publics de coopération intercommunale (OPCI) d'autre part, en vue de partenariat dans le processus de mise en place de ces ZE;
- Définition des zones d'intervention pour les appuis aux AGR et mise en place des structures d'épargne.



➤ **Activités en cours et planifiées**

- Faciliter la phase de délimitation, des études préalables de planification, et l'élaboration des plans d'aménagement des zones d'extension ;
- Appuyer le développement d'activités génératrices de revenus (AGR) autour de l'agriculture et de l'élevage en tenant compte de l'écosystème local, tout en ciblant les femmes et les jeunes ;
- Aider les groupes d'épargne à faciliter la transformation des ressources naturelles accessibles. (produits agricoles, pêche, forêts, etc...)

Objectifs 3 : Améliorer les «conditions cadres »de la Région BOENY pour une gestion sensible au genre des dynamiques migratoires dans le contexte du changement climatique, en coordination avec les régions d'origine et le niveau national

➤ **Activités déjà mise en œuvres jusqu'à présent:**

- Identification et clarification des rôles et mandats des acteurs dans la gestion de la migration interne par l'élaboration et la validation par ces acteurs de la cartographie relative auxdits rôles et mandats;
- Visites d'échange entre la Région BOENY et la Région ANDROY. Des représentants de la Région ANDROY se sont déplacés au niveau de la Région BOENY durant lequel une feuille de route a été adoptée en vue de mieux gérer la migration interne ANDROY - BOENY

➤ **Activités en cours et planifiées**

- Mise en place d'une structure consultative chargée de l'élaboration de la stratégie régionale ;
- Appui à la mise en place du système de gestion de données sur le flux migratoire

Objectifs 4 : Les décideurs politiques au niveau régional et national sont mieux à même d'appliquer les connaissances nouvellement générées sur la migration interne dans le contexte du changement climatique

➤ **Activités en cours et planifiées:**

- Capitalisation des données disponibles sur la migration ;
- Etude des flux migratoire en partenariat avec OIM ;
- Etude du lien entre changement climatique et migration interne ;
- Etude des cadres légaux qui régissent la gestion de la migration ;
- Développement d'outils et de système de partage et d'accès aux connaissances.

Je vous transmets ci – joint copie de la feuille de route du dialogue inter régional signée entre les Régions ANDROY et BOENY, dans le cadre de cette gestion des migrations internes liées au climat.

J'espère que ces éléments de réponse pourront vous permettre d'appréhender dans son ensemble la situation de la gestion de la migration des groupes Antandroy vers la Région BOENY.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Directeur, l'expression de ma haute considération.



Pour le Ministre de l'intérieur
P. O. Le Directeur du Cabinet

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Rakotozahanana

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‘THAT SUFFERING HAUNTS ME EVEN HERE’

THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE ANTANDROY PEOPLE DISPLACED FROM SOUTHERN MADAGASCAR BY CLIMATE CHANGE

This report examines the climate-induced displacements of a group of Antandroy people from southern Madagascar’s drought-stricken Androy region to the Boeny region, 1,500km to the north. Droughts, one of Madagascar’s most severe climate events, have driven thousands to flee famine. The Malagasy government has failed to establish national plans to protect and assist Antandroy drought-induced internally displaced persons (IDPs), violating their rights to freely move and choose their residence within a state, adequate housing and an adequate standard of living under regional and international law. Displaced Antandroy lack access to basic support during their journey to the Boeny region, particularly in terms of transportation, food, and shelter, as well as family reunification and adequate resettlement upon arrival. Many have settled in protected forests, creating a context in which the failure to protect and assist drought-induced IDPs has far-reaching adverse consequences for biodiversity protection. Instead of providing protection and assistance, authorities have forcibly evicted them, without offering adequate alternatives. A 2023 pilot resettlement site proved inadequate, raising serious human rights concerns, particularly for women and children. The site is isolated from essential services such as markets, pharmacies, hospitals, schools, and police stations. During the rainy season, the site is totally cut off from the rest of the region by the Kamoro River floods, which surround the site with crocodile-infested waters, cutting off access to food, water, and services, and trapping residents in conditions akin to an open-air prison.