

**DISPLACED BY ENVIRONMENTAL DISASTERS: EVALUATING THE
KAMPALA CONVENTION'S (IN)EFFECTIVENESS TEN YEARS AFTER IT
CAME INTO FORCE. THE CASE OF ANGOLA**

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RESUMEN: La evidencia científica acumulada por el IPCC demuestra que “el cambio climático es una amenaza para el bienestar humano y la salud planetaria”. Los desplazamientos de las poblaciones, mayoritariamente internos y que se cuentan por millones, es una de las dramáticas consecuencias de todo ello. Con el fin de prevenirlos y brindar protección integral a las víctimas (las Personas Desplazadas Internas), la Unión Africana adoptó, en 2009, su Convención para la Protección y Asistencia a los Desplazados Internos en África (Convención de Kampala). Cuando se han cumplido diez años desde la entrada en vigor de este tratado regional (2012), este texto pretende hacer un balance de los progresos realizados en su aplicación y, en particular, evaluar su eficacia en la protección de las personas desplazadas por los desastres asociados con el cambio climático. Para ello, se esfuerza por identificar los procesos normativos, políticos e institucionales existentes y en curso en el continente, de manera particular en Angola, en materia de implementación de la referida convención, tratando de explorar el grado en que dichos procesos proporcionan la protección debida a estas personas desplazadas. Y concluye señalando que existen reseñables avances en el proceso de incorporación a la

legislación nacional e implementación de la Convención de Kampala. Sin embargo, se constata en los ejemplos considerados el predominio de la atención a los desplazamientos internos motivados por los conflictos y la violencia. La atención a aquellos desplazamientos causados por desastres ambientales es manifiestamente escasa. Incluso se registra cierta resistencia a admitir como víctimas a los efectos de protección y asistencia aquellas poblaciones cuyo desplazamiento resulta de eventos climáticos de evolución lenta o progresiva. Además, el ejemplo de Angola pone de manifiesto la dominante tendencia a reducir la Convención de Kampala a la condición de mero convidado de piedra o de papel mojado.

RESUM: L'evidència científica acumulada per l'IPCC demostra que "el canvi climàtic és una amenaça pel benestar humà i la salut planetària". Els desplaçaments de les poblacions, majoritàriament interns i que es compten per milions, n'és una de les dramàtiques conseqüències. Per tal de prevenir-los i brindar protecció integral a les víctimes (les Persones Desplaçades Internes), la Unió Africana va adoptar, el 2009, la seva Convenció per a la Protecció i Assistència als Desplaçats Interns a Àfrica (Convenció de Kampala). Quan s'han complert deu anys des de l'entrada en vigor d'aquest tractat regional (2012), aquest text pretén fer un balanç dels progressos realitzats en la seva aplicació i, en particular, avaluar-ne l'eficàcia en la protecció de les persones desplaçades pels desastres associats amb el canvi climàtic. Per això, s'esforça per identificar els processos normatius, polítics i institucionals existents i en curs al continent, de manera particular a Angola, en matèria d'implementació de la convenció esmentada, tractant d'explorar el grau en què aquests processos proporcionen la protecció deguda a aquestes persones desplaçades. I conclou assenyalant que hi ha avenços ressenyables en el procés d'incorporació a la legislació nacional i implementació de la Convenció de Kampala. Això no obstant, es constata en els exemples considerats el predomini de l'atenció als desplaçaments interns motivats pels conflictes i la violència. L'atenció als desplaçaments causats per desastres ambientals és manifestament escassa. Fins i tot es registra una certa resistència a admetre com a víctimes als efectes de protecció i assistència aquelles poblacions el desplaçament de les quals

resulta d'esdeveniments climàtics d'evolució lenta o progressiva. A més, l'exemple d'Angola posa de manifest la tendència dominant a reduir la Convenció de Kampala a la condició de simple convidat de pedra o de paper mullat.

ABSTRACT: The scientific evidence accumulated by the IPCC shows that climate change is a threat to human well-being and planetary health. Forced displacement of populations, mostly internal and numbering in the millions, is one of the dramatic consequences. To prevent it and provide comprehensive protection to the victims (Internally Displaced Persons), the African Union adopted, in 2009, its Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (Kampala Convention). Ten years after the entry into force of this regional treaty (2012), this paper aims to take stock of the progress made in its implementation and, in particular, to assess its effectiveness in protecting people displaced by environmental disasters associated with climate change. To this end, it endeavours to identify the existing and ongoing normative, political, and institutional processes in the continent, particularly in Angola, regarding the convention's implementation, seeking to explore the extent to which such processes provide adequate protection to people environmentally displaced. It concludes that there has been considerable progress in the domestication and implementation of the Kampala Convention. However, attention to internal displacement caused by conflict and violence appears predominant. There is little attention to displacement driven by environmental disasters. There is even a certain reluctance to admit as victims for protection and assistance those populations whose displacement derives from slow-onset climatic events. Moreover, the Angolan case highlights the pervasive trend to reduce the Kampala Convention to the role of a mere stone guest or wet paper.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Migraciones forzadas — Cambio climático — Personas desplazadas internamente — Ratificación — Implementación — Convención de Kampala.

PARAULES CLAU: Migracions forçades — Canvi climàtic — Persones desplaçades internament — Ratificació — Implementació — Convenció de Kampala.

KEYWORDS: Forced migration — Climate change — Internally displaced persons — Ratification — Implementation — Kampala Convention

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I. INTRODUCTION

Based on unequivocal accumulated scientific evidence, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) warns in its Sixth Assessment Report that climate change is a threat to human well-being and planetary health. This is especially so for those global hotspots of high human vulnerability, particularly in West, Central, and East Africa, South Asia, Central and South America, Small Island Developing States, and the Arctic¹.

The Southern Africa region does not fall within these three identified zones. However, almost all of its countries are notable for the increasing manifestations of the impacts of climate change, which is a powerful accelerator and an amplifier of other vulnerability factors, including poverty, inequality, violence, and poor governance. Forced displacement of populations, primarily internal, muted, and of undetermined magnitude, is one of the dramatic consequences of all this. Over 7.4 million people are estimated to have been displaced on the

¹ IPCC, *Climate Change 2022: Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability*. Contribution of Working Group II to the Sixth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, February 2022, p.vii. Available at <<https://www.ipcc.ch/report/ar6/wg2/>> [Retrieved on 29 April 2023].

continent by 2022 alone due to environmental disasters. At the forefront of this reality are countries such as Nigeria, Somalia, Ethiopia, South Sudan, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)².

To prevent this situation and provide comprehensive protection to the victims (Internally Displaced Persons, hereafter IDPs), the African Union adopted, in 2009, its Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa, commonly known as the Kampala Convention (hereafter KC)³. Hence, ten years after the entry into force of this regional treaty⁴, this paper aims to take stock of the progress made in its implementation, in particular, to assess its effectiveness in preventing internal displacement and protecting people displaced by environmental disasters in the context of climate crisis resulting from global warming, in the African continent, taking Angola as a specific case study. To this end, by using a human rights/legal methodology based on a rigorous literature review and analysis of secondary data, this text identifies and describes the existing and ongoing normative, political, and institutional processes and mechanisms in the continent, particularly in Angola, with regard the implementation of the KC, seeking to ascertain the degree to which such processes and mechanisms do or do not provide due protection to people already displaced or who may be internally displaced as a result of environmental disasters. Current dynamics of human mobility, recorded with particular frequency and intensity in southern Angola, motivated by climate-environmental phenomena, suggest that the internal (and also cross-border) displacement of populations remains an actual severe and potential problem, which seriously compromises fundamental rights of the affected people, and undermines national, regional and international agendas of human security, peace, and sustainable development.

In terms of structure, this text is divided into four sections. In addition to this introduction, the second section briefly describes forced human mobility in the

² IDMC, Global Report on Internal Displacement 2023, Geneva, May 2023, p. 16.

³ Adopted on 23 October 2009, in the Ugandan capital, Kampala, the KC entered into force on 6 December 2012, and registered with the United Nations on 1st December, 2014, Registration No. 52375. Multilingual text available at <<https://au.int/en/treaties/african-union-convention-protection-and-assistance-internally-displaced-persons-africa>>.

⁴ In accordance with its Article 17, the KC entered into force 30 days after the deposit of the 15th instrument of ratification by Eswatini (then Swaziland).

continent, paying particular attention to internal displacement engendered, among other factors, by environmental disasters, whether or not attributable to global warming. The third section summarises the content of the KC, highlighting those provisions that regulate the protection due to victims of environmental displacement. The fourth examines the processes and mechanisms of transposition and implementation of the KC adopted by the State parties to this regional treaty, particularly Angola, while also gauging the degree of its protective effect on the environmentally displaced persons. Finally, and by way of conclusion, a brief critical assessment and concluding remarks are made, in which this text breaks a spear in favor of the KC as an innovative and necessary instrument for the prevention of forced displacement and the comprehensive protection of victims, particularly in the context of the increasingly adverse impacts of climate change.

In a nutshell, this paper finds that there has been considerable progress in terms of domestication and implementation of the KC. Nevertheless, attention to internal displacement caused by conflict and violence is predominant. There is little attention to displacement driven by environmental disasters. Certain reluctance to admit as victims for protection and assistance those populations whose displacement is triggered by slow-onset climatic events has even been registered. Moreover, the Angolan case likely illustrates and highlights the pervasive trend to reduce the KC to mere stone guest or wet paper.

II. FORCED MIGRATION ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT: AN OVERVIEW

Before delving into the characterisation of forced migration, especially internal displacement on the African continent, particularly in Angola, briefly presenting the concepts and the debates surrounding these issues is worthwhile.

1. A brief conceptualisation of forced migration

It goes without saying that at all times in history, human beings have been forced or obliged to flee, leaving their homes, country, or community due to violence, persecution, and environmental disasters. This has undoubtedly been a pressing reality in the past. However, in recent times, forced migration has acquired an unusual complexity that makes it difficult to conceptualise. This is

primarily due to the markedly increasing interaction of anthropogenic climate change impacts with socio-political and economic factors that generate coercion and vulnerability⁵.

In an attempt to overcome this difficulty, the International Association for the Study of Forced Migration (IASFM) proposes to define forced migration as an umbrella term referring to the movements of refugees and internally displaced persons (due to conflict), as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine or development projects⁶.

This paper adopts the above definition as sufficiently comprehensive but without losing sight of the need to broaden it, as pointed out by some social scientists. The geographer William Wood, for example, one of the pioneers of these debates, suggests incorporating the interaction of ecological and economic dimensions among the parameters to be considered when broadly defining the concept of forced migration. He introduces the term "forced eco-migration" as a type of migration driven by economic downturn and environmental degradation, arguing that groups unable to sustain themselves at a minimum level face an ecological and economic crisis. Consequently, forced eco-migrations occur when these conditions become life-threatening in the immediate term⁷.

It is worth recalling that, despite its appeal as a shorthand expression, from a legal perspective "forced migration" is not yet a common term in international

⁵ See, among others, Samuel Huckstep and Michael Clemens, *Climate Change and Migration: An Overview for Policymakers and Development Practitioners*. CGD Policy Paper 292, May 2023. Center for Global Development. Washington, DC, May 2023; Susana Borrás, *Flujos migratorios y refugiados climáticos*. European Climate Law Papers 5/2021, UNED, 2021; Susana Borrás, "Retos e incertidumbres en la protección jurídica internacional de las migraciones ambientales", in *Revista Temas Socio Jurídicos*, Vol. 36 núm. 72, enero-junio de 2017, pp. 129-156; Susana Borrás, "La migración ambiental: entre el abandono, el refugio y la protección internacional", *Papeles de relaciones ecosociales y cambio global*, núm. 132, 2016, pp. 31-49; Beatriz Felipe, *Migraciones climáticas: una aproximación al panorama actual*, ECODES. Madrid, 2018; José Ariza de la Cruz, Alessandro Forina, Yago Martínez Álvarez, Francesca Ricciardi, Alba Sánchez López, Beatriz Sevilla Valderas, Pablo Socorro Arencibia, *Migraciones forzadas por motivos ambientales. Un enfoque sociopolítico*, Ecologistas en Acción, diciembre 2022; Etienne Piguet, Antoine Pécoud, Paul de Guchteneire, "Migration and Climate Change: An Overview", *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, nº30, Issue 3 (2011), pp.1-23.

⁶ IASFM, 'Mission of the IASFM' <<https://www.efms.uni-bamberg.de/iasfm/mission.htm>> [Retrieved on 29 April 2023].

⁷ William B. Wood, "Forced Migration: Local Conflicts and International Dilemmas", in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, num. 84(4), 1994, p. 617.

law, where the category of "forced migrant" has not yet been recognised, with a legal status that could determine rights and obligations or entail protection responsibilities⁸.

Far from triggering concern, this scenario has given rise to creative approaches and allowed human rights to enter the discussion to produce a definition capable of informing broader protection standards. As Susan Gzesh suggests, these should be facilitated by considering a "forced migrant" any migrant whose human rights had been violated in their country of origin or place of habitual residence⁹. The need for the centrality of the human rights approach in the analysis and governance of forced migration is a constant demand of many scholars in the field, who understand that being forced to leave one's home or homeland constitutes a severe human rights violation. And that public political and academic discourse should shift from accepting forced migration merely as a sad but inevitable consequence of war to giving it the same attention as other human rights violations¹⁰.

It is worth noting that the difficulty of defining forced migration is both conceptual - due to the blurred boundaries between the "forced" and "voluntary" character of displacement - and practical in nature since displacement is often the result of a complex constellation of concomitant or successive factors (multicausality), often making it not easy to identify the initial driver. Thus, for instance, development imbalances, economic recession, ecological distress, the authoritarian exercise of State power, armed conflict, and other forms of violence and human rights violations¹¹.

⁸ International Organization for Migration (IOM), *Glossary on Migration*, IOM. Geneva, 2019, p. 73; Raquel Celis Sánchez y Xabier Aierdi Urraza, *¿Migración o desplazamiento forzado? Las causas de los movimientos de población a debate*, Universidad de Deusto. Bilbao, 2015.

⁹ Susan Gzesh, "Una redefinición de la migración forzosa con base en los Derechos Humanos", in *Migración y desarrollo*, num. 10, 2008, pp.111-112.

¹⁰ See, among others, Wenona Rymond-Richmond, "Forced Migration and Human Rights", in Gerben Bruinsma and David Weisburd (eds), *Encyclopedia of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, Springer. New York, 2014, pp. 1675-1682; David Hollenbach, "Human rights as an ethical framework for advocacy", in David Hollenbach ed), *Refugee rights: ethics, advocacy, and Africa*, Georgetown University Press. Washington, DC, 2008, pp. 1-12.

¹¹ Raquel Celis Sánchez y Xabier Aierdi Urraza, *¿Migración o desplazamiento forzado?... op.cit.*; Giorgia Priorelli, "The Past and Future of Forced Migration Studies", in Javier Rodrigo and Miguel Alonso (eds), *Forced displacements: a European History*, Villa Decius. Krakow, 2021, pp. 30-42; Camillo Boano, Roger Zetter and Tim Morris, *Environmentally displaced people Understanding the linkages between environmental change, livelihoods and forced*

In the absence of a formal legal definition for the concept of forced migration, it is helpful to consider the following three criteria to delimit it and distinguish it from any other form of human mobility: the coercion that compels displacement, the human rights violation it entails and is accompanied by, as well as the frequent absence of protection by national authorities¹². Forced migration, therefore, expresses itself as a vast reality, encompassing multiple situations and configuring different categories of displaced people whose protection needs are not overlapping and, for the most part, are not covered by a specific legal regime of protection and assistance¹³. Even for those covered by a specific protection regime, history reveals that national and international responses have too often fallen short, and sustainable solutions remain elusive for millions of people forced to flee and condemned to increasingly protracted displacement¹⁴.

It should be stressed that conceptual issues aside, forced migration per se entails the violation or non-fulfillment of the fundamental right to live in peace in one's own country or place of habitual residence, which should be addressed through cause-based preventive action¹⁵. As such, forced migration should be understood as all those displacements resulting from threats, violence, political, economic, or environmental constraints, or other forms of coercion, not voluntary decisions¹⁶.

Ultimately, depending on the characteristics of their causes, generally associated with threat, fear, catastrophes, violence, and violations that expel or force people to flee their places of residence in search of safety, forced migration can be divided into two main categories: those caused by natural

migration. Forced Migration Briefing Policy 1. Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford University, November 2008.

¹² François Gemenne, Caroline Zickgraf, Elodie Hut & Tatiana Castillo Betancourt, "Forced displacement related to the impacts of climate change and disasters". Reference Paper for the 70th Anniversary of the 1951 Refugee Convention. UNHCR, October 2021.

¹³ Jack M. Mangala, "Límites y posibilidades de la prevención de los desplazamientos forzados de la población civil", in *Revista Internacional de la Cruz Roja*, num. 844 (2001), pp.1067-1096.

¹⁴ Ninette Kelley, *People Forced to Flee; History, Change and Challenge*, Oxford University Press. Oxford, 2021, pp. 356-357.

¹⁵ Mangala, Jack M., "Límites y posibilidades de la prevención..." cit.

¹⁶ François Gemenne, Caroline Zickgraf, Elodie Hut & Tatiana Castillo Betancourt, "Forced displacement related to the impacts of climate change and disasters". Op. cit., pp. 6-8; Susana Borrás, *Flujos migratorios y refugiados climáticos...* op. cit., pp.2-6.

disasters, and those provoked by human will, which triggers violence in the form of armed conflict, human trafficking, terrorism, repression, persecution, and systematic human rights violations¹⁷. The latter category includes those ironically called "development-induced displaced people" - whose displacement results from large-scale development projects¹⁸ - and "environmentally displaced people" due to environmental disasters linked or not to climate change, and generically described by the IOM in the following terms:

a person or group(s) of persons who, predominantly for reasons of sudden or progressive changes in the environment that adversely affect their lives or living conditions, are forced to leave their places of habitual residence or choose to do so, either temporarily or permanently, and who move within or outside their country of origin or habitual residence.¹⁹

Forced migration can therefore be seen as a highly complex reality, manifested, among other things, in the multiplicity of faces that make it up, including refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced persons, development-induced displaced persons, environmentally displaced persons, and trafficked migrants²⁰.

2. Approaching forced migration on the African Continent: internal displacement

¹⁷ IOM, *Glossary on Migration*, op. cit., p. 73.

¹⁸ As stated in the UN, Report of the Special Rapporteur on the human rights of internally displaced persons, Cecilia Jimenez-Damary, 18 July 2022 (A/77/182), par. 24, "While internal displacement is often seen as an issue linked to conflict, disasters and climate change, development projects regularly force communities around the world to leave their homes. (...) the effects of development megaprojects are among the leading drivers of new displacement. However, development-induced displacement is something of an "orphaned issue" in terms of global governance, as it is not perceived as a humanitarian issue and, as such, falls outside the remit of agencies that traditionally address forced displacement". See also Chris de Wet (ed.), *Development-Induced Displacement: Problems, Policies and People*, Berghahn Books. New York, 2006; Bogumil Terminski, *Development-induced displacement and resettlement: social problem and human rights issue*, Research Paper N° 9/2013, Geneva, May 2013.

¹⁹ IOM, *Glossary on Migration*, op. cit., p. 60.

²⁰ IOM, *Glossary on Migration*, op. cit., p. 73; Stephen Castles, "La política internacional de la migración forzada", in *Migración y Desarrollo*, num.1 (octubre de 2003), pp. pp.3-7.

Consistent with the above, forced migration on the African continent can be characterized as a complex and multifaceted reality regarding the factors that trigger and sustain it and its manifestations, intensity, and orientation²¹.

Although it has features and dynamics specific to each national context, forced migration within and from the continent is due to the interrelation of a series of causal factors, some structural and others circumstantial, common to all the countries where such migration occurs.

Over the last ten years, to a greater or lesser extent, several African countries have experienced movements and waves of forced human mobility, mainly due to armed conflict, jihadist terrorism, indiscriminate violence, political instability, political repression, systematic violation of human rights and, increasingly and recurrently, the adverse impacts of climate change, notably drought, floods, and acute food insecurity. In terms of their geographical orientation, these movements are both cross-border and, to a greater extent, internal.

Moreover, while rarely operating in isolation but amplifying and exacerbating all other causal factors, the adverse impacts of climate change are increasingly becoming the most powerful driving force behind forced human mobility on the continent.

In that sense, it is worth remembering that the Sahel region mentioned above has one of the harshest climates in the world, having already been recognized as one of the three global ecological hotspots, which include areas with the highest environmental stress and most prone to collapse. This is because, in general, the Sahel's climate is characterized by extreme temperatures with fluctuating periods of rainfall and intense droughts, an area particularly vulnerable to climate change, with temperatures increasing at 1.5 times the global average rate²². In recent years, recurrent droughts and flash floods have seriously affected people's ability to grow crops and raise animals, particularly

²¹ See among others Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, Gil Loescher, Katy Long, and Nando Sigona (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2014, chapters 42-45; Kevin M. DeJesus, "Forced migration and displacement in Africa: contexts, causes and consequences", in *African Geographical Review*, vol. 37, num. 2 (2018), pp.79-82.

²² Melinda Jones, "The Sahel Faces 3 Issues: Climate, Conflict & Overpopulation", *Vision of Humanity*, 2021 <<https://www.visionofhumanity.org/challenges-facing-the-sahel-climate-conflict-and-overpopulation/>> [Retrieved on 29 April 2023].

worsening food insecurity and forced migration. In this context, there seems to be no doubt that "women and children are the most affected and are disproportionately exposed to extreme vulnerability and the threat of gender-based violence"²³. In just three countries of the so-called Central Sahel (Burkina Faso, Mali, and Niger), an estimated 4.9 million children were at risk of attack, abduction, or recruitment by armed groups in 2020 and needed urgent humanitarian assistance²⁴.

As an approximation to the overall continental picture, the table below shows the magnitude of internal displacement caused by conflict, violence, and disasters in African countries, according to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) count for 2021²⁵.

Table 1 - Estimated number of IDPs at the end of 2021

No.	Country	Total people displaced by conflict/violence	Total people displaced by disasters
1	Algeria	-	3,500
2	Angola	-	7,500
3	Benin	2,700	-
4	Botswana	-	-
5	Burkina Faso	1,6 million	-
6	Burundi	19,000	94,000
7	Cameroon	909,000	28,000
8	Cape Verde	-	-
9	Central African Republic - CAR	692,000	36,000
10	Chad	392,000	24,000

²³ UNHCR, "Decade of Sahel conflict leaves 2.5 million people displaced", Press release, Geneva, 22 January 2022.

²⁴ UNICEF, "Nearly 5 million children will need humanitarian assistance in central Sahel this year as violence surges", Press release, New York, 27 January 2020.

²⁵ IDMC, Global Report on Internal Displacement 2022, Geneva, May 2022.

11	Comoros	-	-
12	Congo	57,000	100
13	Côte d'Ivoire	-	302,000
14	Dem. Rep. Congo - DRC	5,339,000	201,000
15	Djibouti	-	-
16	Egypt	-	1,100
17	Equatorial Guinea	-	-
18	Eritrea	-	-
19	Eswatini	-	-
20	Ethiopia	3,6 million	-
21	Gabon	-	-
22	Gambia	-	-
23	Ghana	-	3,700
24	Guinea	-	2,600
25	Guinea-Bissau	-	-
26	Kenya	190,000	54,000
27	Lesotho	-	-
28	Liberia	-	-
29	Libya	160,000	-
30	Madagascar	-	2,800
31	Malawi	-	-
32	Mali	326,000	24.000
33	Mauritania	-	-
34	Mauritius	-	-
35	Morocco	-	-
36	Mozambique	735,000	138,000

37	Namibia	-	-
38	Niger	224 000	40,000
39	Nigeria	3,228,000	107,000
40	Rwanda	-	-
41	Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic	-	-
42	São Tomé and Príncipe	-	-
43	Senegal	8,400	-
44	Seychelles	-	-
45	Sierra Leone	5,500	-
46	Somalia	2,968,000	-
47	South Africa	-	7,800
48	South Sudan	1 369, 000	527,000
49	Sudan	3, 175, 000	85,000
50	Tanzania	-	940
51	Togo	-	-
52	Tunisia	-	150
53	Uganda	1,700	24,000
54	Zambia	-	220
55	Zimbabwe	-	43,000

Source: Own elaboration based on IDMC GRID 2022 data.

Combined with the table above, data compiled by the African Centre for Strategic Studies (taken from UNHCR, IDMC, and the World Bank)²⁶ allow two pertinent observations to be made: firstly, there are 14 countries (enlisted in the

²⁶ Africa Center for Strategic Studies, Record 36 Million Africans Forcibly Displaced, 19 July 2022, <<https://africacenter.org/spotlight/record-36-million-africans-forcibly-displaced-is-44-percent-of-global-total-refugees-asylum/>> [Retrieved on 30 April 2023].

table below) that, by the end of 2021 (and during the first half of 2022), had contributed the most to forced displacement on the continent.

Table 2 – Countries most contributing to forced internal displacement in Africa

No.	Country	Total people displaced by conflict/violence	Total people displaced by disasters
1	Burkina Faso	1,902,150	-
2	Cameroon	936,767	28,000
3	CAR	602,134	36,000
4	Chad	381,289	24,000
5	Côte d'Ivoire	301,705	302,000
6	DRC	5,339,000	201,000
7	Ethiopia	4,509,081	-
8	Mali	370,548	24,000
9	Mozambique	872,188	138,000
10	Niger	264,257	40,000
11	Nigeria	3,119,692	107,000
12	Somalia	2,967,500	-
13	South Sudan	2,229,593	527,000
14	Sudan	3, 175, 000	85,000

Source: Own elaboration based on African Center for Strategic Studies and IDMC data.

These countries' contribution has been and still is so significant that, except for its northern region, Africa retains the sad reputation of being the continent most disproportionately affected by the scourge of internal displacement²⁷, with 27.2 million victims counted, 46% of the global total, in 2021²⁸. More than 25 million of this figure resulted from conflict and violence, with DRC, Ethiopia, Nigeria,

²⁷ AU, Explanatory Note on the African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of the Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (Kampala Convention), Addis Ababa, October 2009 <<https://www.internal-displacement.org/sites/default/files/inline-files/200910-training-KC-Explanatory-Note-Eng.pdf>> [Retrieved on 30 April 2023].

²⁸ IDMC, Global Report on Internal Displacement 2022, cit., pp.29-30.

Sudan, South Sudan, and Somalia leading the way. And more than 2 million resulted from disasters, with Ethiopia, South Sudan, DRC, Mozambique, and Nigeria at the top²⁹.

It is worth noting that, in line with the IPCC, which, as aforementioned, includes almost all West, Central, and East African countries among the global hotspots of high human vulnerability³⁰, the humanitarian community places the world's fastest-growing forced displacement crisis in this same geographical area, having increased tenfold in the last decade, due to the extraordinarily active and intense interaction and concomitance of three powerful causes: conflict, violence, and climate-environmental disasters. In this regard, UNHCR makes the following diagnosis about the Sahel countries in particular:

devastating floods, droughts and heat waves are preventing access to water, food and livelihoods, and are increasing the risk of conflict in the Sahel. The climate emergency severely threatens stability in the region and generates forced displacement. Rising temperatures and extreme weather conditions, resource scarcity and food insecurity are worsening conflicts in many countries in the area³¹.

Beyond the three regions mentioned above (West, Central, and East Africa), two countries in the Southern African region - Mozambique and Malawi - deserve special attention, both because of increasingly frequent and catastrophic weather and climate phenomena in both countries and also due to the interaction of these phenomena with armed violence (in the case of Mozambique).

The second observation from the first table above is the striking absence of any mention given to development-induced displacement. The persistent reality of forced displacement due to large-scale development projects in many African States since independence is well known. Implementing projects such as

²⁹ IDMC, Global Report on Internal Displacement 2022, cit., pp.29-30.

³⁰ IPCC, Climate Change 2022: Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability. ... op.cit., p.vii. See also Institute for Economics & Peace (IEP), Ecological Threat Report 2022: Analysing Ecological Threats, Resilience & Peace, Sydney, October 2022 <<http://visionofhumanity.org/resources>> [Retrieved on 26 June 2023], pp. 8 and 17.

³¹ ACNUR, "Crisis en el Sahel", Press release, Madrid, 2021 <https://eacnur.org/es/crisis-humanitaria-en-el-sahel?gclid=EAlalQobChMIxlzOxsa__glVQeTmCh25EQx0EAAYASAAEgJTTPD_BwE> [Retrieved on 30 April 2023]; UNHCR, "Decade of Sahel conflict...", cit.

constructing dams and airports, urban renewal, and extracting natural resources, among others, is often carried out to the detriment of the rights of thousands of people forced into displacement without any legal guarantees. Here and there, this reality is assumed as an imperative of the development process so that the economic interests of the majority are unquestionably considered above the interests and human rights of groups of people and communities displaced by development projects. The legal ramifications of this reality have just started being studied in depth in the light of the KC³². Nevertheless, despite its continuous and incessant trickle-down in several countries, displacement induced by so-called development projects has yet to receive the political, humanitarian, and academic attention commensurate with its seriousness. On the contrary, its character as a politically sensitive problem may explain the total absence of statistical databases incorporating this reality. In any case, the need to prevent internal displacement caused by any of the causes mentioned above and to provide comprehensive protection to victims is the *raison d'être* of the KC.

III. THE KAMPALA CONVENTION

In the explanatory memorandum displayed in the preamble to the KC, the signatories state that the starting point for this regional treaty is the recognition of the seriousness of internal displacement and the suffering and vulnerability it entails for the victims and that it is a source of continuing instability and tension for African communities and States.

Based on this awareness, the KC seeks to fill a normative and institutional vacuum in this area, adopting a human rights approach as its central axis. Hence, in addition to the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (1998)³³, its normative foundations include numerous regional and international human rights instruments.

1. Brief overview of its content

³² Romola Adeola, *Development-induced Displacement and Human Rights in Africa: The Kampala Convention*, Routledge. Oxon, 2020.

³³ Report of the Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Francis M. Deng, submitted pursuant to Commission on Human Rights resolution 1997/39. Addendum. Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement. UN Doc. E/CN.4/1998/53/Add.2, 11 February 1998.

The preamble to the KC provides the rationale for developing this regional treaty and contextualizes the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement to the plight of internal displacement in Africa. It also provides the legislative intent of the Convention, affirming its complete alignment with the African Union (AU) and United Nations (UN) systems. Finally, it recognizes the need for a binding legal instrument for managing internal displacement on the continent, thus filling the *lacuna legis* on the comprehensive protection of IDPs existing in the international system.

The Convention is structured in two main blocks, a total of 23 articles, divided into 14 main and 9 final provisions.

The first block (Articles 1 to 14) contains the conceptual framework and objectives of the Convention, as well as the general and specific obligations of States Parties, international organizations, and humanitarian agencies concerning the protection and assistance of internally displaced persons in all phases of displacement, including the search for durable solutions to their situation.

This is so because the Convention sets as its overall objective the promotion and strengthening of regional and national measures aimed at preventing or mitigating, prohibiting, and eliminating the causes of internal displacement, as well as offering definitive solutions. These measures include establishing a supportive and cooperative legal framework to prevent internal displacement and its terrible consequences and protecting and assisting victims. They also include stipulating and giving effect to the obligations, responsibilities, and roles of States Parties, armed groups, non-state actors, and other relevant actors, including civil society organizations, in preventing internal displacement and protecting and assisting victims.

In analogy to the classic solutions enshrined in international refugee law, the KC provides for voluntary and sustainable return, local integration, and relocation in safety and dignity as safe solutions to displacement. Article 12.2 states that any of these should be accompanied by mechanisms for just and fair compensation and other forms of reparation, as appropriate, for the harm suffered due to displacement. It advocates for the freedom of displaced persons to choose their residence. It encourages the establishment of national

regulatory frameworks to ensure fair compensation and to remind States of their obligation to protect the properties of displaced populations. In doing so, the Convention recognizes and obliges to address the complex issues associated with displacement, particularly disputes over displaced persons' land or other properties, thus promoting reconciliation and peace.

On another level, the Convention reveals the urgent need to restrict the tendency of particular governments and armed groups to displace populations as a strategy of war, counter-insurgency, or even to disenfranchise political opposition groups. As a result, it requires States to amend their criminal law systems to make acts of arbitrary displacement of populations punishable by law (art. 4.6). And it requires the registration of displaced persons (art. 13) to prevent situations in which governments manipulate the numbers of displaced persons to hinder their access to social services or even humanitarian assistance.

In Article 14, the KC provides for and establishes two mechanisms for monitoring implementation: the Conference of States Parties and regular reports. The first is a platform for governments to report on progress in protecting and assisting IDPs and supporting durable solutions and share their expertise and best practices in addressing displacement. The second, regular reports, are submitted in accordance with Article 62 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and within the framework of the African Peer Review Mechanism³⁴. This reflects the need for ongoing and systematic monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of the Convention's objectives. Both mechanisms are intended to alleviate the usual reluctance of States to

³⁴ Established in 2002, within the framework of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), the APRM functions as an instrument for assessing political, economic and social performance and progress among participating African countries in accordance with principles, legislation, policies, standards, norms, benchmarks and practices conducive to political stability, high economic growth, accelerated and sustainable development and continental economic integration. In essence, the APRM seeks to ensure that adhering countries are fully identified and committed to the principles, priorities and objectives of good governance, and willing to allow their Peers to assess the situation in their respective countries, in areas such as: democracy, governance, political, economic, corporate management and socio-economic development. See in this regard Felisberto Semedo, *O Mecanismo Africano de Revisão de Pares (MARP) no quadro da NEPAD: oportunidade e desafio para os Estados Africanos*, Dissertação de Mestrado. Universidade Técnica de Lisboa. Instituto Superior de Economia e Gestão, Maio 2010.

adhere to binding norms, to avoid them engaging in sterile diplomatic rhetoric, and to ensure pan-African cooperation in response to internal displacement.

The second section of the Convention's articles (Articles 15 to 23) contains the final provisions relating to the application, signature, ratification, accession, entry into force, amendment and revision, denunciations, exception clauses, reservations, dispute settlement, and deposit of the ratification instruments.

2. Special reference to environmentally displaced persons

As a result of regional efforts to comprehensively address the plight of internal displacement, the KC can boast of being the world's first legally binding normative instrument regulating the protection of the human rights of IDPs resulting, among other things, from environmental disasters, "which have a devastating impact on human life, peace, stability, security, and development"³⁵.

Under Article 1(k), environmentally displaced persons are all persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence as a result of or to avoid the effects of natural or human-made disasters, including climate change, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border.

In addition to persons or groups of persons who are forced or obliged to flee their homes or places of habitual residence as a result of natural or human-made disasters, the above-mentioned legal provision also covers other persons who may be displaced in advance to avoid the effects of disasters, both sudden and slow-onset disasters. It also includes persons who may be replaced due to adaptation measures taken by States, particularly evacuations and relocations. In this sense, persons considered victims of arbitrary displacement, because their forced evacuation in the event of natural or human-made disasters is not necessary for the safety or health reasons of the affected populations are also deemed as environmentally displaced and subject to the protection of the Convention.

It should be recalled that the KC is born out of a dynamic interpretation of regional and international criminal law, human rights, international humanitarian

³⁵ As stated in the Preamble of the KC.

law, and regional and international refugee law. As such, it adopts a human rights approach at its core, in line with the above-mentioned Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement. Consequently, on the one hand, it identifies the needs and rights of internally displaced persons and, on the other hand, affirms the responsibility of States to prevent internal displacement, guarantee protection during displacement, and ensure durable solutions to displacement. This responsibility must be exercised by States both individually and jointly, using existing regional and international cooperation and solidarity mechanisms for the protection of the human rights of populations. Therefore, in the area of environmental displacement, the KC promotes the exercise of national sovereignty as the "responsibility to protect", both as the primary duty of each State and as the collective responsibility of States, at the regional level and beyond.

Under Article 5(4), each State must take appropriate measures to protect and assist persons displaced by natural or human-made disasters, including climate change. This includes special measures to ensure protection against environmental degradation in areas and communities of settlement or reception of displaced persons.

The principle of non-discrimination is also enshrined in the KC (Articles 3, 4, 5, and 9), which means that in the context of environmental displacement, victims must be treated without discrimination of any kind and their right to seek safety elsewhere, whether within or outside the country, must always be respected.

The State should carry out the necessary environmental impact assessment of each project before it is carried out by the public authorities and the private sector (Article 10[3]). And it will ensure that populations are not forcibly returned or resettled to any place where their life, safety, liberty, and health could be at risk due to environmental problems (Article 9[2]).

To prevent environmental displacement, each State must enact relevant legislation (Article 3[2]), designate a national focal point, and provide the necessary funding for protection and assistance programs and mechanisms to operate effectively. In this regard, the Convention requires States to establish, develop and implement not only early warning systems in areas of potential displacement but also disaster risk reduction strategies and disaster

preparedness and management measures (Article 4[2]). The Convention also requires States to assess or facilitate the assessment of the needs and vulnerabilities of both displaced populations and their host communities (Article 5[5]).

State responsibility in the context of natural and human-made disasters also implies an obligation to compensate displaced persons for damages resulting from its failure or omission to protect and assist. This obligation should operate especially concerning the responsibility of private multinational companies and other non-state actors whose industrial, extractive, and natural resource exploitation activities degrade the environment and cause displacement of populations (Article 3[h]).

3. Ratification and implementation processes: an overview

As of May 2023, 40 of the 55 African Union (AU) Member States had signed the KC. Of these, 33 had ratified and deposited the corresponding ratification instrument, as illustrated in the table below³⁶.

Table 3 - Ratification status of the KC

Country	Ratification Yes/No
Algeria	No
Angola	Yes
Benin	Yes
Botswana	No
Burkina Faso	Yes
Burundi	No
Cameroon	Yes
Cape Verde	No

³⁶ The list of countries that have signed and ratified/acceded to the KC can be found here: <https://au.int/en/treaties/1162>

CAR	Yes
Chad	Yes
Comoros	Yes
Congo	Yes
Côte d'Ivoire	Yes
DRC	Yes
Djibouti	Yes
Egypt	No
Equatorial Guinea	Yes
Eritrea	No
Eswatini	Yes
Ethiopia	Yes
Gabon	Yes
Gambia	Yes
Ghana	No
Guinea	No
Guinea-Bissau	Yes
Kenya	No
Lesotho	No
Liberia	Yes
Libya	No
Madagascar	No
Malawi	Yes
Mali	Yes
Mauritania	Yes

Mauritius	No
Morocco	No
Mozambique	Yes
Namibia	No
Niger	Yes
Nigeria	Yes
Rwanda	Yes
Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic	Yes
São Tomé and Príncipe	No
Senegal	No
Seychelles	No
Sierra Leone	Yes
Somalia	Yes
South Africa	No
South Sudan	Yes
Sudan	No
Tanzania	No
Togo	Yes
Tunisia	No
Uganda	Yes
Zambia	Yes
Zimbabwe	Yes

Source: Own elaboration based on AU data.

Therefore, there is no doubt that the ratification process of this Convention has been a success to date. In fact, before the Agreement Establishing the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA)³⁷, the KC had become the fastest AU treaty to enter into force (6 December 2012), barely three years after its adoption (23 October 2009).

Even with this proven success, it is hoped that the remaining States will ratify or accede to the KC at the earliest possible date, even if many of the provisions of this regional treaty are based on existing obligations under international law and are already part of national legislation. Or even if internal displacement is not currently a relevant problem in a given national context.

Ratifying or acceding to the KC is essential and even necessary because, among other reasons: (i) it promotes prevention of and preparedness for displacement; it enables participation in the Conference of States Parties, provided for in Article 14 as a mechanism for monitoring and evaluating the implementation of the objectives of the Convention; (ii) it gives the State concerned the ability to submit proposals for amendment or revision of the Convention, in accordance with its Article 18; (iii) it strengthens protection and assistance to IDPs on the continent, given that this Convention provides greater clarity on how existing legal obligations on the matter should be interpreted and implemented; (iv) it sends a positive message to citizens and other States about a country's government's compliance with the provisions of the KC on the prevention of internal displacement, the comprehensive protection of victims, and the promotion and management of relevant durable solutions to internal displacement; (v) it "can help authorities attract technical and/or financial support from international actors and donors for the different aspects of the implementation process"³⁸.

³⁷ Adopted on 21 March 2018, came into force on 30 May 2019.

³⁸ ICRC, *The Kampala Convention: key recommendations ten years on*, Geneva, December 2019, p. 18.

However important it may be, ratification per se is just a first step towards making the KC effective, a legal and social change instrument correctly conceived and regarded as a necessary roadmap for action³⁹.

In fact, from the beginning, a formal commitment has been made and strongly reaffirmed by heads of State and government and massively supported by civil society on the need to translate the KC into effective national policies and strategies without delay⁴⁰. Furthermore, African States are frequently reminded to resolve the usual gap between the assumption of international legal obligations and their actual implementation. Otherwise, adopting additional instruments, including the KC, may turn out a dead letter, without benefitting particularly vulnerable populations, in this case, the victims of internal climate-environmental displacement, which tends to become one of the worst African tragedies of this century⁴¹.

It seems clear that, over the past almost fourteen years, there has been “considerable momentum in upholding States’ primary responsibility and obligations to the plight of IDPs”. Yet “the Kampala Convention can only truly realize its full potential once all States across the continent have joined it and taken the necessary steps to implement it fully”⁴². Therefore, ratification

needs to be accompanied by State action to incorporate the Convention’s provisions into its domestic legal framework and operationalize them. Only this can ensure that the potential of the Convention to prevent displacement and improve protection and assistance for IDPs on the continent is fully realized⁴³.

That being said, it is worth noting the significant efforts made by several States Parties to incorporate the Convention into their domestic law and to give effect

³⁹ United Nations, Report of the Special Rapporteur on the human rights of internally displaced persons, Chaloka Beyani, A /HRC/26/33, p.8.

⁴⁰ Erin Mooney, African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons: the Role of Civil Society in Implementation. Stakeholders Roundtable on the AU Convention for Protection and Assistance of IDPs Co-sponsored by the African Union and Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, Kampala, Uganda -16 October 2009.

⁴¹ Prisca Kamungi, “Beyond good intentions: implementing the Kampala Convention”, *FMR*, num. 34, February 2010, pp. 53-55.

⁴² ICRC, Translating the Kampala Convention into practice. A stocktaking exercise, Geneva, October 2016, p. 66.

⁴³ ICRC, The Kampala Convention: key recommendations ten years on... cit., p. 18.

to its implementation⁴⁴. Some States, such as Sudan and Kenya, still need to be signatories. Yet, they are among the countries with legislation, national policy, strategy, or program for protecting and assisting IDPs. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has compiled much of this remarkable progress in successive KC implementation stocktaking exercises⁴⁵.

The AU's impetus to the KC ratification and implementation processes has been substantiated, to date, by two landmark initiatives: the first Conference of States Parties to the KC and the African Union Model Law for the Implementation of the African Union Convention for the Protection of and Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons in Africa.

The first Conference of States Parties to the KC was held in Zimbabwe's capital, Harare, in April 2017. The resulting Action Plan (the Harare Action Plan) sets out priorities and activities that should be adopted by the AU, States Parties, Regional Economic Communities (RECs), and partners to facilitate the implementation of the KC. All this is structured around the five goals of the KC in the following terms:

(i) Establish a framework for solidarity, cooperation, and promoting durable solutions between States Parties. (ii) Establish a policy framework for the prevention, protection, and assistance of internally displaced persons (IDPs) at the national level. (iii) Promote and strengthen regional and national measures to prevent and eliminate internal displacement's root causes and provide durable solutions. (iv) Promote the obligations and responsibilities of State Parties. (v) Identify specific obligations, roles, and responsibilities of armed groups, nonstate actors, and other relevant actors, including civil society organizations⁴⁶.

⁴⁴ On the crucial issue of implementation, see the indispensable book by Allehone Mulugeta Abebe, *The emerging law of forced displacement in Africa. Development and implementation of the Kampala Convention on internal displacement*, Oxon, Routledge, 2017, pp.191-257.

⁴⁵ ICRC, *Translating the Kampala Convention into practice. A stocktaking exercise ...*, cit.; ICRC, *The Kampala Convention: key recommendations ten years on...*, cit.. See also Stacey White, UNHCR Engagement with National Human Rights Institutions for IDP Protection. Stocktaking exercise, UNHCR, February 2016.

⁴⁶ AU, "Plan of Action for the implementation of the Kampala Convention adopted by conference of States parties", Press release, Harare, 5 April 2017 <https://au.int/sites/default/files/pressreleases/32341-pr-pr_051_-_kampala_convention.pdf> [Retrieved on 12 May 2023].

Formalized and published by the AU in early 2018, the AU Model Law on the Kampala Convention⁴⁷ is a valuable resource for States' efforts to draft national legislation to implement the KC. Using it, national authorities can be facilitated in their task of condensing into a single national instrument all the different aspects of displacement regulated by the Kampala Convention.

By way of examples of good practice, at the national level, in the transposition and implementation of the KC, it is worth noting that Niger is the first and only African country to adopt, in 2018, a comprehensive national law on protection and assistance to IDPs⁴⁸. Before this, in 2016, it had created an appropriate institutional framework, the Ministry of Humanitarian Action and Disaster Management, coordinating the national humanitarian response to internal displacement.

Through its Electoral Proclamation of 2019⁴⁹, Ethiopia guarantees the right of its internally displaced citizens to vote in elections and to exercise their right to vote in security.

With its National Policy on Internally Displaced Persons, adopted in 2021⁵⁰, Nigeria has an adequate framework for preventing forced and arbitrary displacement and ensuring the protection of victims, including durable solutions. Nigeria also amended its National Commission on Refugees, Migrants, and Internally Displaced Persons Act to accommodate specific provisions of the Kampala Convention in a sort of partial domestication of the regional treaty⁵¹.

Burkina Faso adopted, in 2014, its Law number 012-2014/AN to regulate the prevention and management of risks, humanitarian crises, and disasters,

⁴⁷ AU, African Union Model Law for the Implementation of the African Union Convention for the Protection of and Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons in Africa, AU, Addis Ababa, 2018 <<https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/5afc3a494.pdf>> [Retrieved on 12 May 2023].

⁴⁸ Niger, Loi n° 2018-74 du 10 décembre 2018 relative à la protection et à l'assistance aux personnes déplacées internes, 10 December 2018, available at: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/5ce404914.html> [Retrieved on 26 June 2023]. See also UNHCR, "Niger Becomes First African Country to Adopt a National Law for Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced People", Press release, 7 December 2018.

⁴⁹ Ethiopia, Electoral Proclamation No. 1162/2019, available at <<https://www.lawethiopia.com/images/Ethiopian%20Election%20Proclamation%201162%202019.pdf>> [Retrieved on 13 May 2023].

⁵⁰ National Authorities, Nigeria: National Policy on Internally Displaced Persons, 1 September 2021, available at <<https://www.refworld.org/docid/632af49b4.html>> [Retrieved on 13 May 2023].

⁵¹ ICRC, The Kampala Convention: Key recommendations ten years on..., cit., pp. 19 y 62.

including protecting and assisting internally displaced persons. However, there are worrying reports of the refusal of this country's authorities to fulfill their responsibility to protect displaced populations, in stark contravention of the stipulations of the KC⁵².

In Cameroon, the Humanitarian Coordination Centre was established in 2019 to address the humanitarian crises in the northwest and southwest regions of the country, where more than 444,000 people were displaced at the end of 2018⁵³.

In Chad, progress is being made within the legislative process to codify the protection and assistance measures and responsibilities stipulated in the KC. In the meantime, the resistance to accepting those displaced by slow-onset climate-environmental factors as environmentally displaced and thus eligible for protection and assistance is striking and worrying⁵⁴.

South Sudan is also witnessing legislative efforts to implement the KC. Meanwhile, the Revitalised Agreement on Conflict Resolution in the Republic of South Sudan, in particular its paragraph 3.1, operates as a normative framework for the protection of displaced persons, containing provisions regulating durable solutions to displacement, registration, and the right to documentation for victims of forced displacement⁵⁵. Similarly, the Agreement for

⁵² Alexandra Lamarche and Arden Bentley, "After the Coup: Burkina Faso's Humanitarian and Displacement Crisis", Refugees International, April 2022, <<https://www.refugeesinternational.org/reports/2022/4/20/after-the-coup-burkina-faso-humanitarian-and-displacement-crisis>> [Retrieved on 13 May 2023].

⁵³ UNICEF, *Cameroon Humanitarian Situation Report*, June 2019, <<https://www.unicef.org/media/78701/file/Cameroon-SitRep-June-2019.pdf>> [Retrieved on 13 May 2023].

⁵⁴ Alexandra Lamarche, "Responding to Chad's displacement crisis in the Lac province and the implementation of the Kampala Convention", Refugees International, 29 September 2022, <<https://www.refugeesinternational.org/reports/2022/9/27/responding-to-chads-displacement-crisis-in-the-lac-province-and-the-implementation-of-the-kampala-convention>> [Retrieved on 13 May 2023].

⁵⁵ IGAD – Intergovernmental Authority on Development, *Revitalised Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (R-ARCSS)*, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia 12 September 2018, available at <<https://www.peaceagreements.org/viewmasterdocument/2112>> [Retrieved on 13 May 2023]; Eli Stamnes and Cedric de Coning, *The Revitalised Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (R-ARCSS)*, Oslo, Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), 4 May 2022, available at <<https://reliefweb.int/report/south-sudan/revitalised-agreement-resolution-conflict-republic-south-sudan-r-arcss>> [Retrieved on 13 May 2023].

Peace and Reconciliation in Mali, which resulted from the Algiers Process⁵⁶, includes provisions on durable solutions advocated by the KC.

In all these examples, finding a predominance of attention to internal displacement caused by conflict and violence is unsurprising. The focus on displacement caused by environmental disasters must be more conspicuously lacking. There is even a certain reluctance to admit as victims of displacement for protection and assistance those populations whose displacement is caused by slowly or progressively evolving climatic-environmental phenomena. In the meantime, it should be recalled that, due to its capacity to exacerbate other factors of vulnerability and displacement, climate change, with its adverse impacts, is likely to become the most potent driver of forced human mobility across the continent. This is why the analysis of the Angolan case is of interest, as it allows to examine the KC implementation process in a national context where environmental disasters seem to operate with increasing frequency and intensity and, consequently, trigger internal (and cross-border) displacement by exacerbating its cumulative and concomitant causes.

IV. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE KAMPALA CONVENTION IN THE CONTEXT OF ENVIRONMENTAL DISPLACEMENT IN ANGOLA

In the late 1980s, the acute crisis of internal displacement in Angola and Mozambique triggered the international debate on the lack of international mechanisms (normative and institutional) to protect and assist IDPs as a particularly vulnerable group⁵⁷.

With the adoption in 2001 and 2002, respectively, of the Norms on the Resettlement of Displaced Populations⁵⁸ and the Standards on the

⁵⁶ United Nations, *Agreement for Peace and Reconciliation in Mali resulting from the Algiers process*, 24 July 2014, available at <https://www.un.org/en/pdfs/EN-ML_150620_Accord-pour-la-paix-et-la-reconciliation-au-Mali_Issu-du-Processus-d%27Alger.pdf> [Retrieved on 13 May 2023].

⁵⁷ United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), *Analysis of the Need for Rehabilitation and Development Assistance as a Result of the Presence of Refugees, Returnees and Displaced Persons in Southern Africa*. Paper for International Conference on the Plight of Refugees, Returnees and Displaced Persons in Southern Africa, Oslo, 22-24 August 1988, p.3.

⁵⁸ Angola, Council of Ministers Decree Number 1/01, 2001 of 5 January.

Resettlement of Displaced Populations⁵⁹, Angola became the first country to incorporate into its domestic legislation the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (1998), to regulate the process of return and/or temporary or permanent resettlement of its nearly 5 million IDPs⁶⁰.

In September 2004⁶¹, the Government announced that some 4 million IDPs had been resettled. And the remaining 340,000 should return to their places of origin as soon as possible, given the Government's willingness to declare the closure of the resettlement process at the end of the year and the consequent closure of all the existing reception centers and camps for displaced persons, a measure justified by the need to "normalize and stabilize the country"⁶².

According to the Angolan Government, IDPs have ceased in Angola since 2005⁶³. Consequently, there has not been any monitoring of internal displacement in the country, nor has the situation of the former IDPs and the level of their socio-economic integration⁶⁴ been examined.

However, sooner rather than later, the events showed that forced displacement of populations is still an actual and potential problem in this country. Indeed, it appears that the high level of informality in IDPs survival practices has prevailed over formal solutions and continues to compromise the human security of thousands of people, turning many of the former IDPs by war and returned refugees into new IDPs in the context of development projects and environmental disasters. Surviving in rural areas or, more commonly, mixed with the rest of the impoverished population in slums, these people may have

59 Angola, Council of Ministers Decree Number 79/02 of 6 December, adopted to ensure the implementation of the "Norms on the Resettlement of Displaced Populations", approved by Decree 1/01 of 5 January, to facilitate the organised resettlement and return to IDPs to their areas of origin. Attached to the decree are the implementing regulations, known as 'Standard operational procedures of the Norms on Resettlement of Displaced Populations'.

60 In 2003, this figure of Angolan IDPs was estimated at 4.6 million. See HRW, *World Report 2003* (Angola section), 14 January 2003 <<http://www.hrw.org/legacy/wr2k3/africa1.html>> [Retrieved on 13 May 2023].

61 IDMC, *The government announces that 340,000 IDPs should return by the end of the year* (September 2004), <<http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/3ae6a6200.pdf>> [Retrieved on 13 May 2023].

62 Andrea Lari, "Returning home to a normal life? The plight of Angola's internally displaced", *ISS Paper* 85, February 2004, p.2.

63 This with the exception of the Cabinda enclave. IDMC, *Angola: Former IDPs share the common challenge of recovery and reconstruction*, 12 December 2007, pp.4-5, <<http://www.internal-displacement.org/countries/angola>> [Retrieved on 13 May 2023].

64 IDMC, *Angola: Former IDPs share the common challenge...* op.cit., pp. 4-5.

become invisible and excluded from humanitarian attention. At the same time, their vulnerability is perpetuated, exposing them, in a cyclical and intergenerational manner, to successive and cumulative risks, including new displacements, mostly internal and, to a lesser extent, cross-border.

Therefore, the root causes of forced human mobility in Angola are likely to be structural rather than cyclical, reinforced by the persistence and mutations of its predominantly political historical reasons, exacerbated by highly harsh environmental and economic factors. The poorly healed and even bleeding wounds of the 27-year armed conflict are likely to be compounded by the impacts of climate change and exclusionary development projects that, in many cases, target the same victims of the past war.

This being said, it is worth noting that by incorporating the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement into its national legislation, as mentioned above, Angola assumes as drivers and triggers of forced displacement not only armed conflicts and situations of widespread violence but also human rights violations, large-scale development projects as well as natural and human-made disasters. This fundamental assumption has been further strengthened by the ratification of the KC on 14 May 2013.

1. Approaching the scale of displacement by environmental disasters in Angola

Angola is severely affected by the adverse effects of climate change, as recognized by the Angolan national authorities themselves, in line with IPCC projections⁶⁵.

In addition to the extreme weather events that occur suddenly (especially floods), those of a slow and progressive nature, such as desertification, drought, erosion, and soil degradation, are also of great concern in Angola⁶⁶. The data collected on Angola's critical vulnerabilities in the context of climate

⁶⁵ Governo de Angola, Ministério da Cultura, Turismo e Ambiente, *Nationally Determined Contribution of Angola 2021*, May 2021, available at <<https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/NDC/2022-06/NDC%20Angola.pdf> > [Retrieved on 14 May 2023].

⁶⁶ Oliver Sykes, *Vulnerabilidade rural, alterações climáticas y adaptação em Angola*, Christian Aid, Junho 2013, p.17.

change for the historical series from 1980-2020 yields the following worrying picture outlined in terms of main trends as follows:

Flooding is a recurring natural hazard throughout Angola. In the first part of the 21st century, floods have been particularly devastating to the cities of Ondjiva, Luanda, Benguela, and Namibe, where water inundated houses and commercial buildings and disrupted transportation for extended periods. Rural areas are also highly vulnerable to flooding as many residents live on riverbanks, leading to loss of possessions, loss of crops, and increasing the risk of waterborne diseases during floods.

Soil erosion threatens many parts of Angola, both rural and urban, though it's more of an urban problem. Extreme rainfall events can trigger massive mudslides in poorly constructed urban areas and degraded and deforested slopes. Additionally, increases in the intensity of rains with climate change will seriously affect agriculture, sedimentation rates, infrastructure, and industry.

Sea level rise is expected to increase along Angola's coast, putting 50% of the population at risk and affecting coastal erosion rates and sedimentation patterns.

Droughts greatly impact agricultural production and the population, as evidenced by a drought that affected 25,000 people in 2000. Furthermore, droughts will seriously threaten food security, people's main livelihood activity (agriculture), and water resources if intensified.

Epidemics of vector-borne diseases and water-associated diseases in Angola will likely worsen under climate change. Increasing temperatures are expected to expand the geographic range and prolong the vectors' seasonality (e.g., malaria-carrying mosquitos). This is particularly important for Angola, where malaria is the leading cause of death and accounts for 20% of maternal mortality. Additionally, increases in floods intensify the risk of water-associated diseases such as cholera, gastrointestinal disorders, and malaria. In Luanda in 2008, heavy rains and floods led to a surge in these diseases⁶⁷.

⁶⁷ The World Bank Group, "Angola", Climate Change Knowledge Portal, 2021 <<https://climateknowledgeportal.worldbank.org/country/angola/vulnerability>> [Retrieved on 13 May 2023].

Still, in terms of projections, in 2011, the National Adaptation Programme of Action (NAPA) estimated that, in this country, the possible effects of the scenarios generated by the global models for a time scale of 50 to 100 years might be as follows:

the occurrence of extreme climatic events; the extension of arid and semi-arid areas in the south of Angola; a reduction in rainfall below the dividing line between Lubango, Huambo, and Malange; an increase in rainfall in the north of Angola; changes in ocean currents; an increase in average sea levels leading to changes in erosion and sedimentation; changes in river currents, leading to modified erosion and sedimentation patterns; change of temperature in lagoons⁶⁸.

In terms of the size of the population affected, it is estimated that droughts in 2020 alone negatively impacted more than 3 800 000 people⁶⁹. Furthermore, it is estimated that an average of 2 million people per year are currently affected by drought in the country, and this figure is expected to increase to almost 8 million people per year. As a result, more than 40 percent of the livestock population, an essential source of livelihood and accounts for 31.4 percent of the national agricultural GDP, is currently exposed to drought, a percentage that will increase to 70 percent under expected climatic conditions⁷⁰.

All indications are that the impact of all this on human mobility is significant and translates into a steady trickle of environmental displacement⁷¹, the magnitude of which tends to increase unless the necessary adaptation and mitigation measures are firmly taken⁷².

68 Government of Angola, Angola National Adaptation Programme of Action under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, Luanda, December 2011, p.89.

69 The World Bank Group, "Angola", Climate Change Knowledge Portal..., cit.

70 UN Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNDRR), *GAR Special Report on Drought 2021*, UN, Geneva, 2021, p. 88.

71 OCHA Humanitarian Data Exchange (HDX), "Angola - Internally displaced persons - IDPs (new displacement associated with disasters)", April 2023 <https://data.humdata.org/dataset/idmc-idp-data-for-angola?force_layout=desktop> [Retrieved on 13 May 2023]; AU / NRC, *The Kampala Convention. One year on: Progress and prospects*, Geneva: IDMC, October 2013, p.28.

72 Sykes, Oliver, *Vulnerabilidade rural, alterações climáticas...*, op.cit.; Marthe Wens and Roberto Rudari, "Drought disaster risk in Angola, Tanzania and Zambia", UNDRR, 2021 <<https://www.undrr.org/publication/drought-disaster-risk-angola-tanzania-and-zambia>> [Retrieved on 14 May 2023].

Evidence compiled by the World Bank indicates that more than 22,000 new cases or incidents of displacement associated with environmental disasters were recorded in the country in 2021 alone, up from 15,000 in the previous year⁷³.

Since 2019, there have been widespread reports of the displacement of thousands of people from southern Angola into neighboring Namibia due to severe food insecurity caused by a combination of the worst drought cycle in 40 years and practices of land grabbing and forced evictions⁷⁴. It follows that hunger is not only the result of drought in southern Angola, especially in Huila and Cunene provinces. Food insecurity has arisen, in part, due to another crucial element: the diversion of communal grazing land to livestock farms. Indeed, the expropriation of the community's most fertile grazing land for commercial cattle ranching has compromised pastoralist communities' economic and social resilience, notably their ability to produce food and survive droughts in southern Angola⁷⁵. According to Amnesty International, this practice continues, despite calls by local and international human rights organizations to end it. Land transfers from pastoralist communities to commercial ranchers exacerbated food and water shortages by limiting local people's access to farmland and preventing them from moving their livestock to alternative seasonal grazing lands. Land transfers often occur without pastoralist communities' free, prior, and informed consent, including indigenous and tribal peoples. Authorities and ranchers violate pastoralists' procedural and political rights, including their right to fair compensation, community consultation, environmental impact assessment, and resettlement⁷⁶.

In this context, it is estimated that more than 7,000 Angolans were forced to flee to Namibia in March 2021 as a desperate survival measure⁷⁷. This shows that sudden or slow-onset water-related disasters can trigger cross-border

⁷³ CEIC, "Angola AO: Internally Displaced Persons: New Displacement Associated with Disasters", 2022 <<https://www.ceicdata.com/en/angola/population-and-urbanization-statistics/ao-internally-displaced-persons-new-displacement-associated-with-disasters>> [Retrieved on 14 May 2023].

⁷⁴ Amnesty International, *O fim do paraíso do gado: seca extrema e insegurança alimentar no sul de Angola*, London, 2021, p. 4.

⁷⁵ Amnesty International, *O fim do paraíso do gado...* op.cit., p. 5.

⁷⁶ Amnesty International, *Report 2022/23*, London, 2023, pp. 72-74.

⁷⁷ Amnesty International, *O fim do paraíso do gado...*, cit., p. 4.

displacement if this is the only way people have to save their lives. However, most people displaced in these contexts remain in their country as IDPs⁷⁸. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the number of internally displaced people in the current Angolan context of disasters associated with climate change is likely to be substantially high. In any case, this is stated without ever losing sight of the fact that displacement in such a context is always multi-causal.

Within the scope of this paper, such a basic assumption raises the question of to what extent and how effectively the Angolan authorities and humanitarian and human rights organizations are implementing the KC to address these displacements.

2. Making the Kampala Convention effective: a fully pending issue?

It is only fair to acknowledge that Angola's ratification of the Kampala Convention on 14 May 2013 is welcome news and a clear demonstration of the willingness of the national authorities to be legally bound to prevent forced displacement and protect its citizens from it.

This is not surprising given Angola's strong commitment to environmental issues and climate change, as manifested in many relevant international legal instruments to which the country is a signatory or in the process of becoming a signatory⁷⁹.

The adoption at the national level of, among others, the NAPA above (2011), the National Strategy for Disaster Risk Reduction (2018)⁸⁰, as well as the National Action Programme to Combat Desertification (2015), the latter in compliance with the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification in Those Countries Experiencing Serious Drought and Desertification, Particularly in Africa⁸¹, is a commendable sign of such willingness.

⁷⁸ Walter Kaelin, "Water and Displacement – A Statement", Platform on Disaster and Displacement. Follow-up to the Nansen Initiative, 6 December 2021, <<https://disasterdisplacement.org/staff-member/water-and-displacement-a-statement-by-prof-walter-kaelin/>> [Retrieved on 14 May 2023].

⁷⁹ Governo de Angola, Ministério do Urbanismo e Ambiente, *Relatório do Estado Geral do Ambiente em Angola*, 2006, capítulo 5, pp.29-34.

⁸⁰ UNDRR, "Angola steps up for risk-informed growth", Press release, 3September 2018.

⁸¹ Adopted in June 1994, it entered into force on 26 December 1996 and was ratified by Angola on 30 June 1997.

While all of this relates to preventing and protecting against environmental displacement, there remains a strong need to define and promote a national legal and policy framework under the umbrella of the Kampala Convention. The issue of internal displacement and its complexity should be taken seriously in the country's current and future development context, where socio-political and economic vulnerabilities are already being and can easily be exacerbated by the impacts of climate change-related disasters.

Admittedly, the above-mentioned Angolan law on internal displacement was considered by many to be "excellent"⁸² at the time. However, its implementation was plagued by profound irregularities and contradictions, which, in many cases, worsened the vulnerability and helplessness of IDPs. Many were involuntarily resettled, exposed to landmines and severe weather, and deprived of basic infrastructure and social services. Many others remained or returned to urban slums, mainly in the country's capital, Luanda, where they remain trapped in chronic, intergenerational poverty.

All indications are that linked to the unsatisfactory management of the end of war-induced displacement, decisive factors such as persistent poverty, shocking socio-economic inequality, increasing land speculation, exclusionary development projects, and climate change-related environmental disasters are interacting and negatively impacting human mobility in the country. As a result, thousands of Angolans are displaced, turning many formerly displaced by war into development-induced displaced people and environmentally displaced people.

Several non-governmental organizations have been campaigning for years demanding that the Angolan government end forced evictions, which have been a persistent problem in urban areas, especially in Luanda, since the end of the war in 2002⁸³. All indications are that, although it is occurring silently, the displacement of rural populations is an installed reality in the Angolan countryside, driven by the unstoppable extractivist rush for natural resources,

82 HRW, *Coming Home: Return and Reintegration in Angola*, March 2005.

83 Amnistía Internacional, "Angola realoja a víctimas de desalojo forzoso", Press release, 10 June 2011; Lusa/Ver Angola (VA), "Angola realoja a víctimas de desalojo forzoso", VA, 3 March 2023.

including water, and accompanying land grabbing⁸⁴. It is no coincidence that several analysts are concerned that the economic diversification policy implemented by the national government, encouraging foreign and domestic investment in agribusiness, is detrimental to rural and pastoralist communities, who are deprived of their land and water⁸⁵.

In addition, although still quantitatively few, emerging studies on the links between adverse climate and human mobility provide increasing scientific evidence of the growing number of environmental displacements in various parts of the country. Indeed, there is no doubt that long-term drought in the country's southern region has led to forced displacement. And that as climate change hazards increase, mobility is set to become a more frequently employed coping mechanism for more than a few rural communities⁸⁶.

The domestication, operationalization, and implementation of the KC in Angola should translate into a solid multi-level commitment by the Angolan State. In this regard, it is more than desirable to subsume the existing (and outdated) Rules on the Resettlement of Displaced Populations into a new and comprehensive legal and policy framework, which should merit a systematic and effective budgetary allocation. In the meantime, there is no sign of such a development. Preventing environmental displacement and protecting victims under the Kampala Convention remains an entirely pending task in Angola.

In 2018 Angola adopted its most recent migration legislation, the so-called Angolan Migration Policy⁸⁷, designed to be a guiding platform for all bodies involved in the management of migration flows and to guide their actions, both

⁸⁴ Amnesty International, *O fim do paraíso do gado...* op.cit.; Lutheran World Federation (LWF), "Securing land and livelihoods in Angola", Press release, 28 April 2018 <<https://www.lutheranworld.org/news/securing-land-and-livelihoods-angola>> [Retrieved on 25 June 2023].

⁸⁵ Malungo Germano, "Land grabbing and forced resettlement in Angola. Does the diversification of the economy with agro-business projects go at the expense of small farmers?" The Lutheran World Federation (LWF), 2017 <https://www.afrika-sued.org/files/presentation_land_conflicts_malungo_germano.pdf> [Retrieved on 25 June 2023]; Maka Angola, "Angola: Land-Grabbing As a Path to Riches and Status in Angola", *Maka Angola*, 29 January 2016; Conor Foley, "Land rights in Angola: poverty and plenty", *HPG Working Paper*, November 2007.

⁸⁶ Mixed Migration Centre (MMC), *Cunene Province, Angola: Cahama*. Climate and mobility case study, January 2023, <<https://reliefweb.int/report/angola/climate-and-mobility-case-study-january-2023-cunene-province-angola-cahama>> [Retrieved on 15 May 2023].

⁸⁷ República de Angola, Decreto Presidencial nº 318/18 de 31 de Dezembro. *Diaário da República* nº 193.

in the definition of strategies and in the implementation of policies and concrete measures on migration. Its introductory section describes migration as a global phenomenon, consisting of the voluntary or forced movement of people from one geographical space to another, temporarily or permanently, which can be triggered by several reasons (economic, cultural, religious, political, and natural). However, the law expressly states that its scope of application is limited to international migration "characterized by the movement of people from one country to another".

The exclusion of internal migratory movements from the scope of the law is far from good legislative practice in human (in)mobility. Even so, it can be seen as a starting point and an opportunity to launch the KC implementation by moving towards a holistic, innovative, and safeguarding regulation of human (in)mobility governance in the country, in line with the relevant regional and global sustainable development agendas.

V. CONCLUSION

The KC was designed to include prevention and all causes, phases, and victims of internal displacement. Its Article 9 calls on States Parties to protect the human rights of all IDPs, regardless of the cause of their displacement and at all stages, until a durable solution is achieved, as appropriate in each case.

Without prejudice to this inclusive or holistic nature of the Convention, this text has attempted, not without a certain amount of academic daring, to focus analytically on internal displacement attributable to increasingly intense and frequent environmental disasters linked to climate change on the African continent.

To address the initial question as to whether, in general terms and specifically in the case of Angola, the KC is being implemented effectively to protect victims of internal displacement caused by the adverse impacts of climate change, this paper has begun by providing a brief overview of forced migration, elucidating its various conceptual aspects and outlining its salient features on the continent, especially its intra-border manifestation. Next, the content of the KC was briefly outlined, with particular attention paid to the provisions regulating the protection of victims of displacement due to climatic and environmental factors. Finally,

this regional treaty's implementation process has been described and examined, and an attempt has been made to assess its impact and effectiveness in the States Parties, particularly in Angola.

From all the above, it is necessary to conclude that, ten years after its entry into force, the KC proves to be an essential instrument whose existence is fully justified by the imperative to protect human rights whose violation or impossible enjoyment is, *per se*, consubstantial to forced displacements, including those caused by environmental disasters associated with climate change.

Prominent humanitarian actors located on the African continent, precisely in the Sahel zone, the fastest growing crisis of forced displacement in the world over the last decade, a fact that is due to the extraordinarily intense, powerful, and concomitant interaction of conflict, violence and environmental disasters associated with climate change.

The ratification process of the KC by the 55 member States of the African Union, although still incomplete, can be described as a genuine success. It is also fair to acknowledge that, thanks to the persistent push by civil society organizations, progress is being made, albeit slowly and tentatively, in several of these countries in the domestication and implementation of this regional treaty.

Indeed, there is a clear need for more and better data to reliably gauge the impact and effectiveness of the implementation of the KC in each of its 33 States Parties to date. In the meantime, this does not preclude acknowledging the yet imperceptible concrete impact of the provisions of this treaty on bolstering the protection of people internally displaced by the adverse effects of climate change. So far, the relevance of these effects has yet to be considered commensurate with their severity as a powerful driver of forced displacement. Of particular concern in this regard is the reluctance (as seen in countries such as Chad) to include among the victims of internal displacement for protection and assistance persons whose displacement is engendered by slow-onset and persistent environmental events.

The dominant trend, perhaps led by Angola, is no less worrying to reduce the KC to a mere stone's guest. Indeed, it has not been possible to identify any

legislative, political, or programmatic development in this country aimed at incorporating into its national legislation the obligations derived from Article 3(2) of this regional treaty.

In Angola, as in all States Parties, the objective of making the KC effective, taking it beyond its ratification and good intentions, demands a more significant political commitment, which also involves the adoption of the appropriate systemic analytical approach, which allows to identify and address devastating climate-environmental displacements in isolation, without ever neglecting the fact that the enormous complexity of internal displacement is largely due to its nature as an essentially multi-causal problem.

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