


Evidencing the Impacts of the Humanitarian Crisis in Southern Madagascar on Migration, and the Multisectorial Linkages that Drought-induced Migration has on other Sectors of Concern



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Executive Summary

Since February 2015, the greater south of Madagascar, known as the “Grand Sud”, is affected by a drought and its population is experiencing a protracted humanitarian emergency. This situation originated in 2013 and was further exacerbated due to irregular rainfall since September 2014 and by precipitation well below the seasonal levels under El Nino effects in 2015. Prolonged periods of drought depleted households’ resources, causing severe food insecurity and malnutrition.

Through the national Disaster Risk Management Authority (DRM), the Office of Disaster and Risks Management (Bureau National de Gestion des Risques et Catastrophes – BNGRC), the Government of Madagascar, with the support of the Humanitarian Country Team (HCT), is still carrying out humanitarian response interventions aimed at reducing the severe impacts and effects of the drought. Several parameters and indicators have been considered in these responses, but due to lack of data availability, migration indicators have not been considered. However, it is well document in other contexts that drought-induced mobility is an indicator of crisis as much as mobility is itself a factor that can exacerbate vulnerabilities, as populations resort to migration as a survival strategy once all other coping strategies have been exhausted.

In order to obtain more accurate information on migration trends in the Grand Sud, IOM mandated an expert on Migration, Environment and Climate Change to carry out a rapid qualitative assessment in December 2016, in order to determine: how does the drought affect migration in the Grand Sud; whether there been an increase in outmigration during the current humanitarian crisis (since 2013); and what are the key sectors of intervention that affect migration in the Grand Sud, and in turn, how does migration affect these sectors. The methodology consisted of a compilation and review of relevant literature and a qualitative field study in the Androy and Anosy regions with the support and collaboration of the BNGRC.

Living in extreme climatic conditions exacerbated by poverty, the population of the Grand Sud remains in a situation of vulnerability and faces challenge to adapt effectively. Populations affected by the drought seek alternative sources of income, change their food consumption habits, sell the household goods (zebu, land, pots, etc.), and retort to migration as the ultimate adaptation strategy.

There is an apparent correlation between the latest episode of severe drought and a significant migratory flow – beyond the well-documented phenomena of traditional mobility from the region since the 1970s. In fact, most people do not move voluntarily, but are forced to migrate because there is no other choice, migration being characterized therefrom rather as a survival strategy than an adaptation strategy, leading to potential negative impacts for the migrants themselves, for communities of origin, and for communities of destination.

According to the results of the rapid assessment, 88 per cent of respondents believe that the main reason out-migration is the drought. This is clearly illustrated by the case of Beloha-Sud where 35 per cent of the Fokontany population reportedly migrated, most of them having left in 2014 and 2015 when

the effects of the drought were felt the most. In Andragarivo, 10 percent of Fokontany members have left over the last three years for the same reasons.

The destination areas are usually the urban areas of the north, north-west of the country and the south, and Ilakaka, areas of sapphire exploitation. The means used to move are the “taxi-brousse” (each week about two “taxi-brousses” leave the capital of the District), bicycle or even on foot for lack of other means. There is a risk of not reaching the destination (deaths en route due to dehydration and exhaustion have been reported), and the risk of not finding suitable work once arrived. Indeed, jobs of newly arrived migrants are often only unstable, low-skilled and low-paying jobs that expose migrants to different forms of exploitation.

It also appears that for most households, migration would be considered as permanent rather than cyclical or seasonal, and that those who left would return only if there were opportunities for employment and access to basic services, despite a strong attachment to their lands in the local communities of the Androy Region. Challenges of integration of migrants in the destination were also noted.

These intra- and inter-regional migratory dynamics induced by drought in the far south must be understood and approach in a holistic way, and all the same, should not neglect positive impacts and effects that this mobility can induce, notably through the remittances of migrants who left the Androy region (16 per cent of Androy households, with migrants in their families, reported receiving remittances at least once since their members left), or access to a higher paying job in the destination.

Based on these various elements of information, the study recommends a targeting of humanitarian aid that integrates migration indicators among the vulnerability criteria. Short-term responses are proposed, including tracking of displacement and migration trends through the deployment of tools such as the Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) to ensure reliable and regular data on migratory movements and related multisectoral needs is available to stakeholders. In the medium term, the implementation of stabilization and recovery programs for drought-affected communities and the facilitation of the migrants’ integration in destination areas are to be achieved. Lastly, the long-term goal would be to seek and ensure that communities are well prepared to droughts and that Government and other actors have strengthened capacities to respond to drought-induced migrations.

Introduction

The greater south of Madagascar, known as the “Grand Sud”, is characterized by alternating periods of rain and drought. The condition of food insecurity and famine, which in these regions is intimately tied to drought, is known as the “Kere” in Malagasy. Since 2013, the region has experienced an exceptionally harsh Kere due to the extremely low levels of precipitation, further exacerbated by the effects of El Nino in 2015. In a country where 80 per cent of the population¹ is dependent on rain-fed agriculture for both revenue and subsistence, such prolonged periods of drought exhaust household resources, causing severe food insecurity and famine. As highlighted in the RIASCO Action Plan for Southern Africa, the Integrated Phase Classification (IPC) categorized 300,000 persons in IPC Phase 4- the “emergency” phase of food insecurity and an additional 515,000 persons in IPC Phase 3, i.e. in a “crisis” phase in October 2016 (RIASCO 2016, UNRC 2016c). The Action Plan also emphasized that staple crop production had declined by 95 per cent, having significant impacts on the future of food security and development in the Grand Sud (RIASCO 2016).

To address this emergency, the Government of Madagascar, through the National Disaster Risk Management authority (Bureau National de Gestion des Risques et des Catastrophes - BNGRC) alongside the Humanitarian Country Team (HCT) consisting of United Nations (UN) agencies, international and local Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) undertook relief activities in the Grand Sud. Rapid evaluations conducted by these agencies repeatedly highlighted that households were using migration as a survival strategy to deal with the drought. A report produced by FAO in March 2016 noted that “this phenomenon has become spectacular in the last three years” (FAO, 2016). This was corroborated by anecdotal evidence on steady outmigration, both forced and voluntary, from drought-affected areas to northern parts of Madagascar, gathered since August 2015 by IOM from humanitarian stakeholders in Antananarivo and in the field, and from meetings with local authorities in the Capital city and in different regions.

However, details on the migration trends (such as key source areas, destinations, timeframes) remain absent, along with base line data on migration in the Grand Sud. Given that projected climate scenarios for Madagascar anticipate continued temperature rise and lower levels of precipitation in the South and South East regions (Government of Madagascar, 2016); it is pertinent to understand how drought affects human mobility in the region. In order to obtain reliable evidence, IOM conducted a rapid qualitative assessment in December 2016. The objective of this assessment was to determine the impacts of the drought and ensuing humanitarian crisis on migration, as well as the multi-sectorial linkages that drought-induced migration was having on other sectors of concerns such as Food Security, Education, Health, WASH, Protection, and Response Coordination. The first section of this report will outline the methodology used in data collection, along with the limitations, and the profiles of the

¹ www.un.org/esa/coordination/Alliance/madagascar.htm

selected Fokontany²; the second section will detail the key findings, while the final section will draw conclusions and make recommendations on the way forward.

² Lowest administrative subdivision equivalent to villages

Methodology

The methodology of the rapid assessment included two key activities: compilation and review of literature to assess gaps and frame key questions, followed by field research. To carry out this assessment, IOM deployed a Migration, Environment and Climate Change (MECC) expert to Madagascar between 5 and 16 December 2016. The expert worked in coordination with the IOM Antananarivo Office prior to arrival in Madagascar to scan available literature, followed by 3 days in Antananarivo to meet with key stakeholders and a week in the field to conduct research in the regions of Androy and Anosy. The field mission was conducted in collaboration with BNGRC, and the IOM team was accompanied by an official from the BNGRC and a local government official from the Androy region, who facilitated sites selection and coordination with the Fokontany.

While available literature dedicated to migration trends in relation to the drought in Madagascar are inexistent, certain reports based on evaluations by UN agencies (such as FAO's report referenced above), provided insight into the issue. Situation reports prepared by the UN Office of the Resident Coordinator, and humanitarian action plans were also important in framing the key questions. The two research questions identified for the purpose of this assessment are as follows:

- 1) *How does the drought affect migration in the Grand Sud? Has there been an increase in outmigration during the current humanitarian crisis (since 2013)?*
- 2) *What are the key sectors of intervention that affect migration in the Grand Sud, and in turn, how does migration affect these sectors?*

The literature review also brought to light the challenge in obtaining quantitative data, given the absence of an existing baseline. As a result, the field assessment employed a qualitative approach to address the questions listed above. To this end, field research tools – open ended questionnaires and checklists – for key informants on the ground, community consultations for affected communities and migrants and local leaders were developed.

In total, 13 key informants were interviewed including six humanitarian actors based in Antananarivo and six local actors including government officials and chiefs of Fokontany. In addition, 11 community consultations were organized from 7-13 December in the three most affected districts in the region of Androy, namely Ambovombe, Tsihombe and Beloha to understand first-hand the impact of the drought and community response strategies.

The Androy region was selected as the principal region for undertaking this study as it is widely known to be a source region for migrants, while the three districts were classified by the IPC as the worst affected by the current drought. Furthermore, these districts were consistently referenced in evaluations conducted by humanitarian stakeholders as critically affected by the drought, implying that the districts also receive humanitarian assistance from a range of actors which enabled IOM to understand of the impact of and on the key sectors of intervention.

The Fokantany (3 per district) where community consultations were organized were selected on the basis of migration trends observed by local authorities in each district (Chef de district) while logistical constraints posed by the limited budget and time also shaped the site selection. In order to obtain quantitative data, a survey was conducted amongst a small sample of 60 participants distributed equally amongst the three districts in the Androy region. Finally, to complement and verify the evidence collected from source districts in Androy, key informant interviews (KIIs) and a community consultation was organized in Fort Dauphin. All community consultations were conducted in Malagasy and were translated into French.

The rapid assessment concluded with a briefing to share preliminary findings with humanitarian actors, government partners, academics and other relevant stakeholders, held at the BNGRC's headquarters in Antananarivo on 16 December 2016.

Image 1: People attending a community consultation in the village of Ambaditse



Limitations and Terminology

Given the short amount of time available and limited resources to conduct the study, the assessment was limited to collecting mainly qualitative data within a specific geographical focus. The lack of data concerning numbers of migrants and current and past population of Fokontany also affected the findings as any statistics in the report are based on the perceptions of those interviewed and their estimations, rather than hard facts. Any generalizations based on this study should thus be made with caution.

Furthermore, language also limited the study as the community consultations were conducted in Malagasy and then translated. Language needs to be referenced as an important factor to consider while conducting any study on the perception of climate change impacts and migration as many local dialects do not have terms to effectively translate nuances in these thematic areas that may exist in higher level policy discussions.

The study employed the following IOM definitions:

Migration: "the movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification."

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

The essence of these definitions we preserved when translating into the local dialect.

Profile of the Fokontany

Community consultations were organized in three Fokontany in each of the districts selected for the study. As time and resources available were limited, the Fokontany selected were located between 3 and 30 kilometers from the district capitals, and were accessible by road. Houses in the Fokontany were mainly made of wood with thatched roofs, while fewer houses had tinned roofs. In some Fokontany, cement structures (schools, town centers) could be observed.

In terms of access to services, most Fokontany reported no or limited access to potable water. In the absence of rain, most water sources were deemed too saline and therefore unsuitable for consumption. On the other hand, all Fokontany but one³ had access to health services through the presence of a

³ Andranarivo being the exception

Centre de Santé de Base (CSB). However, it was reported that these could be understaffed and that access was constrained by lack of funds as medicines and consultations were often expensive.

Schools were located near most sites and served school meals provided by the World Food Programme (WFP). This was a key determinant for ensuring continued enrolment during the drought period.

Finally, given that the Fokontany could be easily accessed from the city centres, eight out of nine reported that they received humanitarian assistance from a range of actors such as WFP, FAO, BNGRC, Catholic Relief Services, UNICEF, ADRA and Office National pour la Nutrition (ONN). This consisted of distribution of food and seeds, cash transfers and restoration of wells. Despite having access to relief materials and programmes, participants of the community consultations reported lacking food and revenue. Consequently, the top needs reported across all the districts were food (particularly rice), seeds and money. Table 1 provides a detailed overview of each of the Fokontany, their access to water, health services and education.

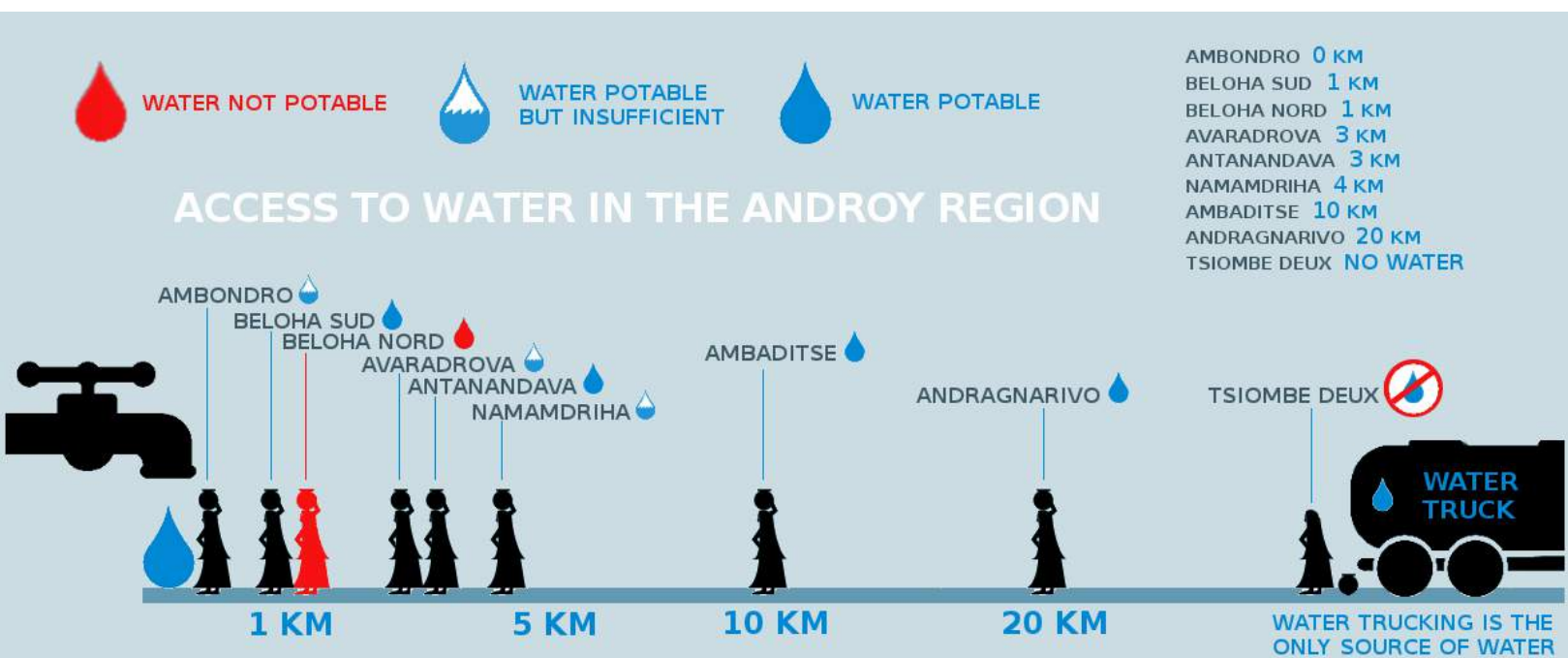
Table 1: Selected Fokontany per district for community consultations

	Overview	Principal water sources	Access to Health Centres	Access to schools
Region of Androy				
District Ambovombe				
Ambondro	Amobondro is situated 28 km north of Ambovombe, the capital of the district. Due to this proximity, Ambondro receives humanitarian assistance from a range of actors. In the fokontany, concrete structures serving as meeting points for the community were observed. Small shops and market places can also be found.	There are water sources (wells/pumps) on site, although this is not sufficient during the drought.	There is a CSB located on site. The hospital is reported to have been destroyed a few years ago, however there is a doctor located in the village. For emergencies, patients must be driven to Ambovombe.	Primary school on site with a school meals programme organized by WFP.
Antanandava	The Fokontany is located 7 km from Ambovombe. Cemented houses can be observed in the village. The village also receives humanitarian assistance such as food distribution (rice, maize) from WFP and BNGRC and cash transfer.	There are water sources such as wells and boreholes 3 kms from the village. One borehole broke down 2 months after it was constructed.	A CSB is located 5 km from the village. It is free for children under the age of 10. Above this age, one must pay for consultations and medicines.	A public primary school is nearby with a school meals programme organized by WFP.
Andragarivo	Andragarivo is located 32 kms from Ambovombe. In comparison to the other fokontany visited in the districts, no cement houses were observed; houses were made of wood with thatched roofs. Residents	There is a borehole in the village but the water is reported to be saline. The potable water source is around 20 kms away and the women reported that they	The nearest CSB is 32 kms away in Ambovombe. Community members reported instances of pregnant women walking the distance to access medical services.	A primary school is located less than five minutes away. Community members reported that meals have not been served in the school for a long time. During the

	reported that they receive no humanitarian assistance. The fokontany has a tamarind tree which is an important source of food.	need to collect water.		drought period, school hours are shortened.
District Tsihombe				
Tsihombe deux	Tsihombe deux is located 1.5 kms from the centre of Tsihombe, the capital of the district. Cement constructions were observed on site. Residents receive humanitarian assistance in this Fokontany.	Water sources are not potable. The Fokontany has pumps but they are broken. They receive water from the AES (Alimentation en Eau dans le Sud).	There is a hospital at 500 m from the village. There are public and private hospitals located nearby. Prices are affordable.	A school is located in the city centre, with a school meals programme by WFP.
Avaradrova	Avaradrova is 3 kms from Tsihombe. The houses have both tinned and thatched roofs; houses are located next to each other and the whole village is enclosed by a fence. Residents reported having household assets such as refrigerators and televisions.	A well is located 500 mts away but the water is saline. It is also possible to buy water although it is expensive (around 2000 ariary for 20 litres). A river is located 3 kms away and however, the water is potable only when it rains.	The fokontany has access to a CSB which is 900 mts away, however it is not affordable for all. The CSB is manned by 7 people.	Several schools located nearby including public and private primary and secondary schools. They have school meal programmes which increase enrolment rates.
Ambaditse	The Fokontany is located around 6 km from the district capital, Tsihombe. The Fokontany is very spread out. Some houses are made of wood and have either tinned or thatched roofs. Residents noted instances of kidnapping and organ trafficking in the region.	Residents access water from the river located 10 km from the Fokontany. As the water is saline, they walk to Tsihombe to fetch water. When it rains, they use the water pump which is located on site.	The nearest CSB is located in Tsihombe, 6 km from the fokontany. Residents reported a recent Malaria outbreak which killed 5 infants.	A primary school is located on site, whereas the secondary school is located in Tsihombe. Both have access to school meals programmes. However, the threat of kidnapping makes parents reluctant to send children to the secondary school.
District Beloha				
Namamdriha	Namamdriha is located 3 kms from the district capital, Beloha. The Fokontany is very spread out and houses are made of leaves and thatched roofs.	There is potable water from a well at 4 km from the village, which is free but insufficient.	There is a CSB in Beloha, 3 kms away. Medicines and consultation are expensive but hospitalization is free. Consultation is free for children under the age of 5. Deaths due to malnutrition have been reported in the village.	Children go to school in Beloha, where they have a school meals programme. Although the meals are not always sufficient, this relieves stress on the families and this is a major driver for attending school.
Beloha sud	Beloha sud is located 1 km away from the district capital. Given the	Residents reported that they have access to potable water in	A CSB is located 100 mts away but is reported to be	A school is located on the site with school meals programmes.

	proximity, the Fokontany has access to services and a market place, although the services are often beyond the household budget. Cement structures like meeting centers are observed.	the city centre, 1 km away. There is also the possibility of buying water, but it is expensive.	understaffed. The consultation is reported to be affordable, but the medicines are expensive.	However, residents reported that at times these are not sufficient.
Beloha Nord	Beloha nord is also located 1 km away from the district capital. Like with Beloha sud, services are available but not always affordable. The Fokontany also has cemented structures.	A well is located 1 km from the village, but the water is not potable. In order to access water, residents must queue for hours at another well located at walking distance, but the water is free.	A CSB is located 100 mts away but is reported to be understaffed. The consultation is reported to be affordable, but the medicines are expensive.	A school is located on the site with school meals programmes. However, residents reported that at times these are not sufficient.
Region of Anosy				
Fort Dauphin				
Ampamakiambato	The Fokontany is located 3 kms from the city centre right next to the taxi brousse terminus. Residents report good access to services. However, lodging is precarious as some residents reported living in public spaces like sidewalks and airport hangars.	Several water sources are located nearby; residents did not report any challenges in accessing water.	A CSB is also located nearby but it is reported to be too expensive to frequently access.	Several schools are located nearby; however, it was reported that while some children go to school, the majority do not as parents prefer that they support with household chores or by searching for employment.

Figure 1: Access to water in the Androy region as perceived by local villagers



Key Findings

Impact of the drought and survival strategies

The population of Androy Region is mainly engaged in subsistence farming as no other opportunities for work, such as industries or services, are present in the region. The conditions are however unfavorable for agriculture: the South of Madagascar is a semi-arid zone with low productivity whereas infrastructural inputs like large scale irrigation facilities is absent, leading to dependence on rain. As a result, the population remains highly vulnerable to droughts and cannot effectively adapt to extreme climatic conditions.

A key informant noted that at least 80 per cent of the harvests of the last three years have been lost, which has depleted the principle source of food and revenue in the region. To cope without yields, affected populations seek income from other sources of which the most commonly cited were livestock (zebus, goats, pigs and chicken); production and sale of charcoal and/or borrowing money. Other lesser referenced livelihood strategies were employment in the district capital as domestic workers and sale of “mofo”.

The drought has however also affected livestock, as respondents reported increased deaths and thefts during the current dry period. Borrowing money, on the other hand, was not a preferred strategy due to difficulty in paying back debts. Nonetheless, the ability to rely on alternative means of livelihood is an indicator of resilience and should be seen as an *adaptation* strategy. As the drought wears on, communities must take more extreme and sometimes unwanted or undesirable measures in order to survive (*survival strategie*).

Image 2: Stock of dry manioc in the village of Andragnarivo, the manioc comes from the district of Toliara 480 km away

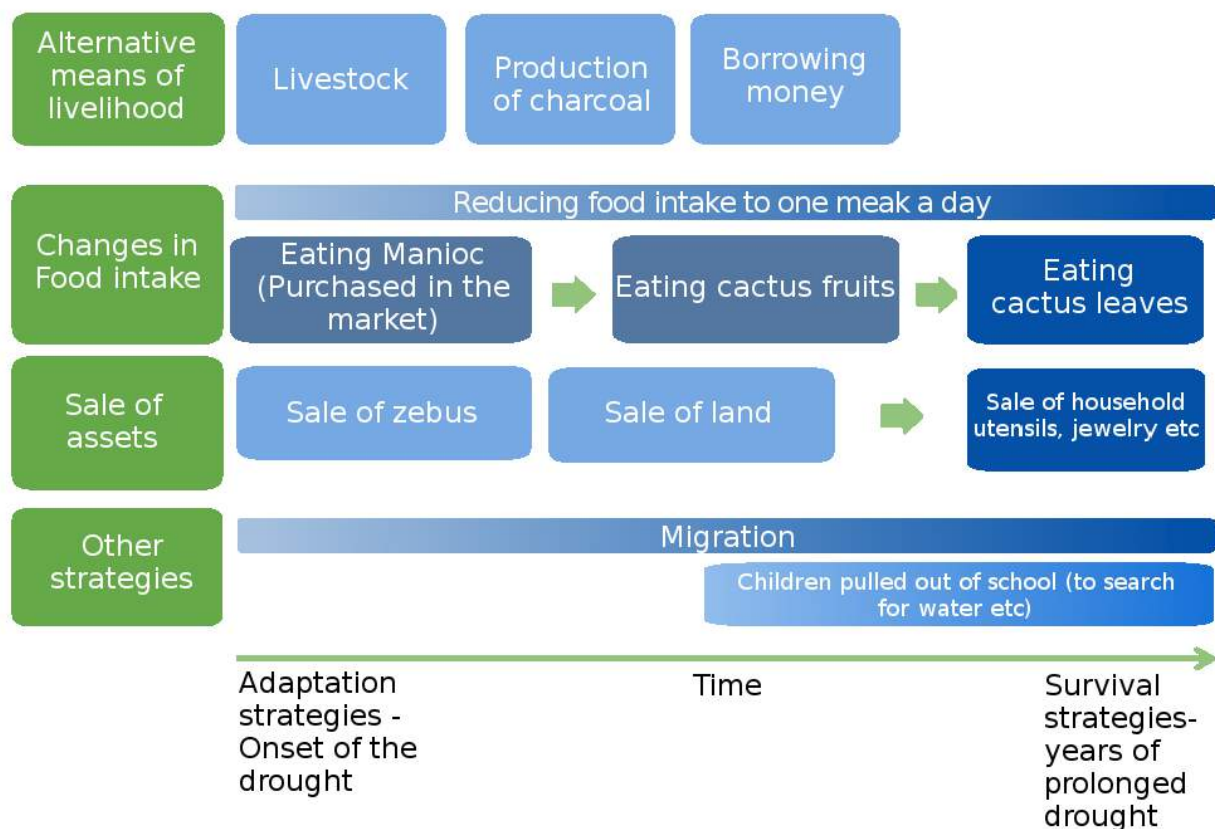


Communities are also dependent on harvests for subsistence and so changes in food intake are observed during the drought. Consultations with communities revealed that majority of the households have reduced daily food intake from three meals to one. Furthermore, the limited income available is usually spent on purchasing food, mainly manioc, which is widely available in marketplaces in the three studied districts, as it is imported from other regions. Consumption of solely manioc further indicates a change in the diversity of the diet because in normal conditions, this is supplemented by rice, corn and lentils amongst others.

Households no longer purchase rice due to price inflation by 50 per cent since the onset of the drought in 2013; all Fokontany reported an increase from 400 Ariary (US \$ 12 cents) to 600 Ariary (US \$ 18 cents) for a goblet of rice. When household income is exhausted, all informants from the different Fokontany stated that they eat red cactus fruits and in extreme cases when these have been fully consumed, the cactus leaves. These contain nearly no nutrients, contributing to malnutrition and other illnesses, such as diarrhea which were pervasive across the Fokontany surveyed for the purpose of this study.

Another consistent adaptation strategy noticed across the three districts was the sale of household assets. Amongst the assets, communities mentioned that the zebus (worth around 160,000 Ariary (US \$ 48) during drought) were the first to be sold, followed by the land (either partially or wholly) if the custom allowed. With an increasing supply of zebus in the market, the price of livestock diminished by nearly 50 per cent. A pattern could be observed regarding the sale of lesser valued assets like household utensils or jewelry; this indicated that the household had entered into a crisis mode, employing extreme survival strategies.

Figure 2: Observed adaptation and survival strategies



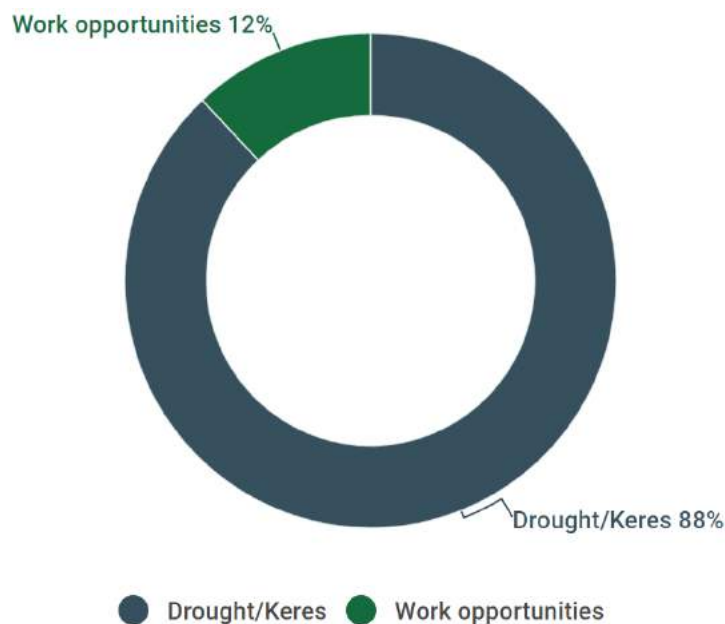
The final type of coping strategies employed by the population related to family decisions. This includes migration as a means to find alternative income and taking children out of school to support the

household by searching for food, water etc. as necessary. The second strategy was seen as a last resort, especially since majority of the schools provided meals which relieved stress on the household. Only in cases where the school meals were deemed insufficient, parents felt obliged to take this undesirable step.

Migration trends in the Grand Sud

Androy is a source region for internal migrants and at the same time, experiences intra-regional migration from rural areas to district capitals. Consensus prevailed throughout the community consultations that migration was occurring from the selected study sites. This was corroborated by the quantitative survey showing that nearly 62 per cent of the respondents had family members who had migrated, averaging three migrants per household. Furthermore, testimonies were collected from areas of origin (in Androy), as well as from areas of destination (in Fort Dauphin, Anosy) of people who had migrated in the 70s and 80s and from those who had subsequently returned. The reasons for this migration, as elaborated on during the community discussions are closely entwined with the climatic conditions of the region.

The study demonstrated that people from Androy have always considered migration as a means to earn income, due to the “Kere” and the lack of local employment opportunities. Nearly 88 per cent opined that the main reason for migrating from the Fokontany was the drought or the “Kere”, whereas the remaining 12 per cent stated that migration occurred in search of work opportunities. These two reasons are in fact interlinked as a lack of employment opportunities arises due to persistent drought.



No single household outlined any other reasons- poverty⁴, marriage, access to services or conflict (as indicated in the survey) - as the main driver for migration.

Figure 3: Main reasons for migration according to quantitative survey

Participants explained that when there is abundant rain, households are mostly self-sufficient, and the reliance on external sources for revenue is reduced. However, during periods of drought, people seek work as they need income to purchase food for consumption. As Androy Region has only limited employment

⁴ While migration due to kere does essentially imply a situation of extreme poverty, it is relevant to note that in the perception of the people, “poverty” was not the first response to the question “why do people migrate?”, rather it was “kere”, implying that this is the most important root cause of migration (and also of poverty) in the region.

opportunities on offer, drought affected populations migrate out of the region to urban areas in search of work. Traditionally, and as explained by migrant returnees in the Fokontany, migrants would return if they anticipated a sufficient rainy season.

An absence of baseline data complicates the answer as to whether the current drought increased outmigration. In certain Fokontany, Chiefs reported keeping a “cahier de passage” in the past which detailed the name, data of birth, date of arrival and origin of migrants although this was no longer in use in the context of the current drought. Key informant interviews conducted in Antananarivo hence emphasized the challenge in ascertaining the impact of the drought on migration; and highlighted that migration was a constant phenomenon in the region even prior to the current drought. On the other hand, interviews conducted by informants on the ground in Androy (notably amongst local authorities) and community consultations unanimously agreed that outmigration from the region was at its highest since 2010.

Although based on estimations of the community, a consistent theme across the community consultations was of this increased trend in migration since the onset of the drought: In Andragarivo, the communities stated that “tens to twenties of people are leaving each week”. In Avaradrova, the chief of the Fokontany noted that the population of the Fokontany was 4000 before the drought (which started in 2013), and that at the time of this assessment, only 3600 people were left, indicating that 10 per cent of the Fokontany migrated within the past 3 years. The community consultation in Avaradrova reported that “in April 2016 itself, 8 households had left due to the “Kere” to move to Ilakaka, a region rich in sapphire mining”. Similarly in Ambaditse, respondents mentioned that “around 500 people had migrated since 2009, with the majority leaving in 2014 and 2015”. In Beloha Sud, “migration began in 2010 when people used to leave with permission of the Chief Fokontany, but since the drought, everyone leaves”; they estimated that 35 per cent of the Fokontany had migrated, and most moved in 2014 and 2015 which is when the effect of the drought was felt the strongest. Further proof of the links between migration and the drought was that majority of the participants responded that they would leave if the drought continued and they had the opportunity to do so.

Based on these discussions, it can be concluded that firstly, the drought was the key factor for moving, and this had a strong emphasis given the structural problems in the region, such as lack of irrigation facilities and employment and secondly, although migration is a frequently relied on recourse, the current drought exacerbated outmigration in the region.

Key characteristics of migration trends

Forced vs. voluntary migration

The field research also made it evident that in the perception of the affected communities, the drought played a crucial role in instigating migration from the region. Participants of community consultations felt that people do not move voluntarily, but feel coerced to do so. Many explained that if they had the means to stay, that is, if irrigation channels were constructed and if the rain became regular, migration would not need to be considered, especially as the people of Androy Region have a strong attachment

to the land. Migrant returnees emphasized this point, pointing out that they had returned “because of the rain”.

Despite the popular perspective that migration is coerced, in the context of slow-onset events such as drought, any decision to move stems from a rational decision making process as household resources erode only gradually, over time. This can be contrasted with sudden onset events (cyclones, floods) that destroy houses and render environments uninhabitable within hours, leaving people without resources or a place to stay within a single stroke. This implies that migration in the context of the drought is (to an extent) a conscious decision (even if not *voluntary*), and if planned in the initial phases of the event can be deemed an adaptation strategy, whereas if it occurs following years of prolonged drought, indicates vulnerability.

The study revealed both perspectives that migration can be voluntary or forced. In Fort Dauphin, testimonies of migrants who had migrated before the current drought indicated that they were better off- with access to more revenue and services than in their place of origin. These migrants also mentioned that they still had household assets such as zebus and land back home as they decided to move prior to the drought depleting their resources. This can be compared with those who migrated after the drought eroded all assets, that is, those who migrated on foot, without any money in hand as all was spent trying to survive in their areas of origin.

Individual vs. family migration

The study showed that migration of individual members of the family occurs as frequently as migration of the whole family. In cases where individual members migrated, this may also have been a consequence of a household decision.

“We discussed amongst ourselves (me and my son) about how to make ends meet. We decided to borrow money – around 30,000 Ariary (US \$ 9) - and my son would go to Tuléar. He travelled there by foot and now owns a bicycle that he rents out. He has sent money once which we used to buy food.”

Male member of community consultation, Beloha Sud

In the case of family migration, when households would begin to prepare their movement, community respondents stated that they would usually begin selling all their household assets. Participants also explained that often the household head (usually male) would leave for the destination in advance, and once he was able to secure a job, he would return and take his family with him. On the other hand, families also moved altogether and without any preparation: once they had depleted all their assets during the course of the drought they would leave on foot once they had no means to survive in their Fokontany.

According to a key informant interview with the Chef de Fokontany of Ambinanikely, the characteristics of families and individuals migrating were different. When individuals migrated, it was usually young men who would move to urban areas in search of work. Many individuals would be employed in Ambinanikely in the nearby cobalt mine. Families, on the other hand, would flee the drought and would

look for social networks through the assistance of associations set up in destination districts. The key informant could not elaborate in terms of differences of occupation, and it is likely that men of migrant families are also employed in the mining industry or as rickshaw pullers and security guards.

Main destinations and means of transport

The main destination regions were urban areas in the North-North-East quarter of the country and in the South, notably to Mahajunga, Diego-Suarez and Tuléar. Another important destination was Ilakaka, a small town that increased dramatically in size with the discovery of large sapphire deposits in the late 90s; most of the migrants in Ilakaka were thus engaged in sapphire mining.

Some migrants would use the taxi brousse service to reach their destination. Several of the Fokontany reported that 2 taxi brousses would leave from the district capital each week, and these would transport migrants all the way to Mahajunga in the north. From Beloha, it reportedly costs between 20,000 Ariary (US \$ 6) to travel to Tuléar and 70,000 Ariary (US\$ 21) to travel to Mahajunga. The price of the ticket is therefore beyond the reach of many, and so willing migrants would embark on foot or bicycle, making 400 kilometer journeys, and stopping at villages within the district or region till they reached their final destination. Hitch hiking was therefore employed, and stories of migrants dying en-route⁵ due to exhaustion and dehydration to their destination were cited.

Main occupations in destination regions

In Mahajunga, Diego-Suarez and Tulear, migrants would be mainly employed as rickshaw pullers, security guards and domestic workers. A few seemed to be engaged in agriculture, while several others sought daily work. In Fort Dauphin, it was reported that migrants from Androy Region work as ambulant vendors, while the women engage in domestic work or laundry.

Many participants noted that finding work in the destination regions was not always easy, and in Fort Dauphin, migrants provided testimonies of not having stable jobs despite residing in the destination for over 15 years. Employment is thus unstable and limited to lower skilled jobs in sectors where long hours and low pay is the norm. This is not surprising considering that most migrants from the Androy Region do not have qualifications or diplomas.

Nonetheless, migrants testified that they can earn sufficient money in their new locations. In Fort Dauphin, participants of the community consultation reported that they can earn from 10,000

“I have four sons who have all migrated to Tulear. First three left, then the last one. The oldest son works as a security guard, the second son as rickshaw puller, the third son fetches and sells water and the youngest is still looking for work. They are between 18 and 25 years old and most of them abandoned their studies after class 4. I do not receive any remittances.”

Male member of community consultation, Avaradrova

⁵ In Ambondro, Beloha Sud, Fort Dauphin, community consultations revealed that participants knew of migrants who had died during their journey to the destination. In one case, a participant had a relative that had died on route. According to the participants, these migrants had departed because of complete desperation, and when they were already in a very frail state, weakened by months of insufficient food intake which made them unfit to undertake such a physically taxing journey and more vulnerable to exhaustion.

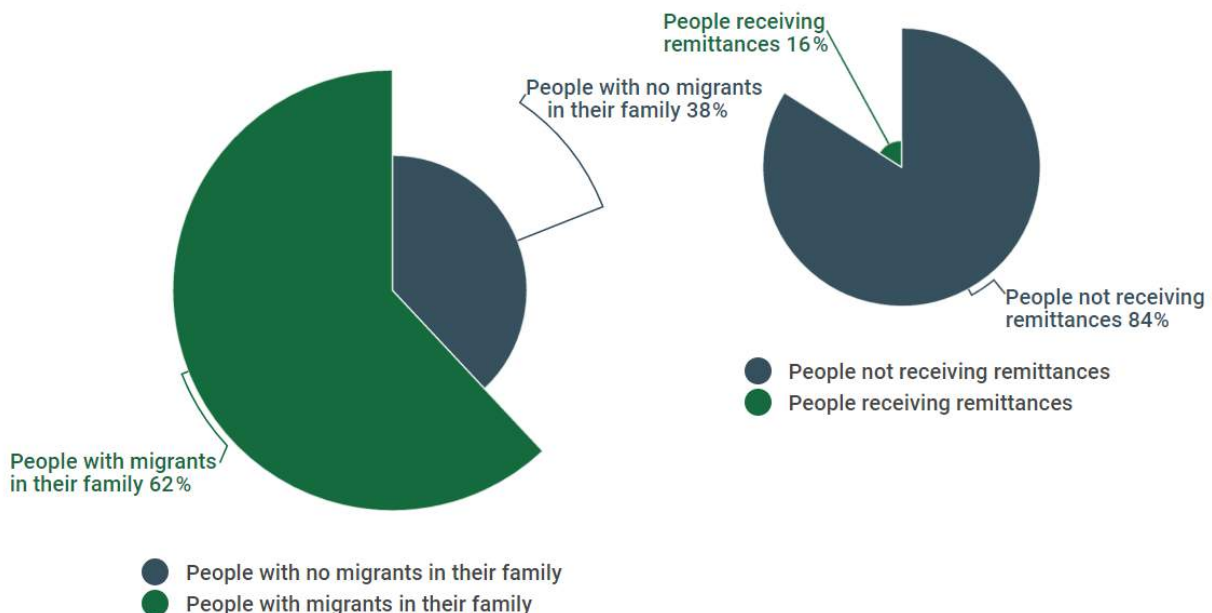
Ariary (US\$ 3) per month engaging in daily work (although this was at the lower end of the scale and with only a few days of daily work) while another participant stated that as a domestic worker she earns 45,000 Ariary (US\$ 13) per month. Another household from Beloha Sud said that their migrant son rents out his rickshaw for 1,000 Ariary (US\$ 30 cents) a day. This amount is far more than what could be earned in the area of origin.

Remittances

Although 62 per cent of the participants surveyed had migrant families, only 16 per cent of the households in Androy Region with migrant members (or 10 % of the total number) said they had received remittances at least once. Of these, every single household noted that they spend this income on buying food as that it is the most urgently required item. The community consultations in Androy revealed that the remittances were not frequently received– either once or twice a year- and neither were they very significant (only 5000 Ariary or around US\$ 1.5).

As explained by respondents, most of the migrants in their families struggle once they reach their destination, as they have unstable and low-paying jobs, barely enough to cover their own needs and certainly too limited to send money home. In fact, instead of receiving remittances, a few respondents testified that they required to send money to those who had migrated, to support their journey home after the movement was not successful and they were unable to find jobs. One woman said, “he (the migrant) expected a better life, but did not find it.” This placed an additional stress on a drought affected households.

Figure 4: Proportion of remittances received by people who have migrants in their family



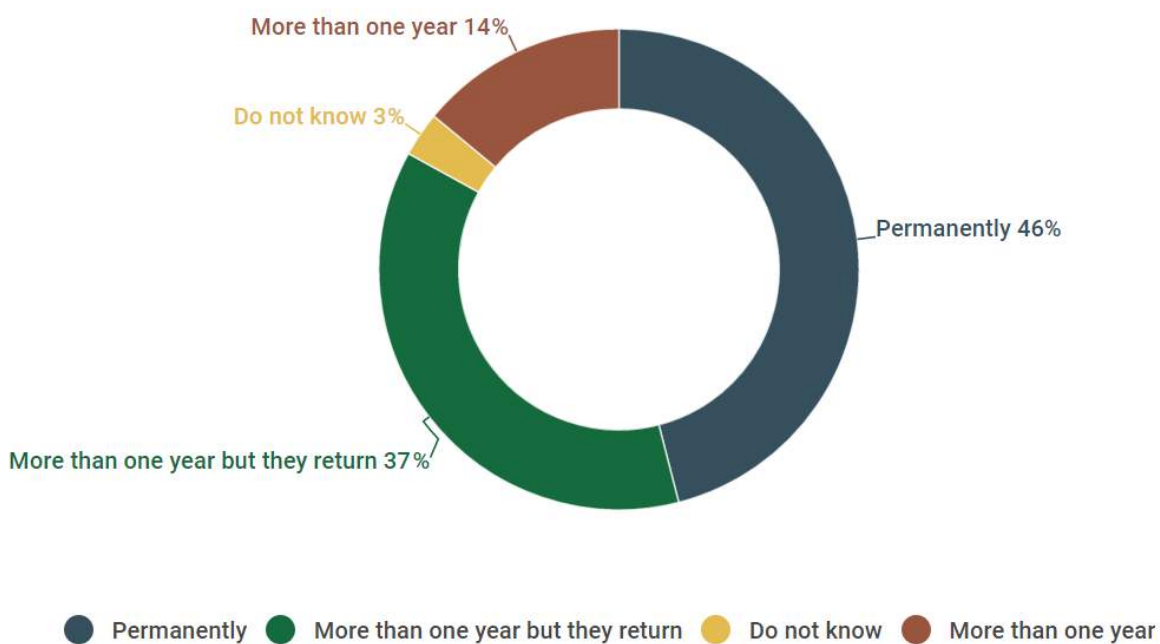
Interviews in Fort Dauphin offered a different perspective. Participants of the community consultation reported sending frequent amounts of money- roughly 5000 Ariary (US\$ 1.5) per week- to those family members who were left behind. This deviation can perhaps be explained by the fact that these migrants had been in Fort Dauphin for a longer time (more than 5 years) and were able to settle down

considerably in their new location. A key informant also specified that migrants always send remittances, particularly for funerals and other occasions of importance in the local custom.

Length of migration and desire to return

The survey conducted amongst households in Androy also sought to understand how long migrants intended to remain at their destination. Results show that majority of the respondents (46 %) felt that migration was permanent. They explained that once households or even individuals leave their area of origin (and particularly in the cases where they sell all their assets) they have no intention to return.

Figure 5: Respondent’s perception on the average length of migration among locals



A key informant interview in Fort Dauphin mentioned that migrants move permanently with the intention of buying land and bringing over their extended families. The fact that so many migrants from Androy were relocating permanently led to the creation of “associations” where migrants from the region could go to determine if they had relatives in the destination district.

Participants of the community consultation in Fort Dauphin endorsed this perspective. None of the migrants expressed any interest in returning, owing to the difficulties posed by the drought. Many of these migrants had already been in the city for at least 10 years. They stated that they would only return if opportunities for employment and basic services (such as access to water) were available in their areas of origin.

Another 37 per cent of survey respondents in Androy believed that migrants would remain in the destination for at least one year. Those who still possessed land and livestock had a higher chance of returning. Only a handful (14 per cent) mentioned that people would migrate from their Fokontany for 5-6 months at a time, during the dry season and return during the harvest.

Impacts of migration

Both the migration of individuals and of families had an impact on other sectors. When individuals would migrate, this would leave a gap in implementation of household level responsibilities. As the male head of the household was frequently the one to leave, the women would be left responsible for the children and even the elderly. This would increase the burden on the left-behind parent and lead to children being pulled out of school to help with the housework by fetching water or searching for cactus fruits, or even being made to look for jobs or additional income.

In fact, education of children was consistently affected both in areas of origin and destination. The children of migrants in destination regions would not go to school, but instead were tasked with looking after younger siblings or securing small paid jobs such as searching for water or domestic work.

In the case where families would migrate but they would leave household assets such as s or land behind, often a family member also stayed behind to “guard” these assets. Many times these people left-behind were the elders. As reported in Fort Dauphin, these family members would feel obliged to stay, challenges of food insecurity and saline water notwithstanding. This reflects the situation of “trapped” populations that remain in situations of insecurity due to the inability to migrate.

Migration also has multisectoral impacts that require intervention from humanitarian actors. Migrants in destination regions reported having insufficient access to food and having to limit meals to once a day. Furthermore, challenges of protection and integration were noted. Protection issues may arise during the journey itself and in relation to the jobs they get in the destination. These, as specified before, are low-skilled jobs in sectors vulnerable to abuse and an increased exposure to various risks of exploitation and trafficking.

Integration challenges in places of destination relate to inability to find proper jobs, but also insecure shelter. Interviews in Fort Dauphin reported that when migrants are unable to afford proper housing or cannot stay with relatives, they resort to sleeping on pavements or occupying public spaces. In Fort Dauphin, a testimony emerged of 42 households living in an airport hangar, fearing eviction. Other challenges related to conflict over resources and drain of work force were also referenced. A key informant interview urged the importance of addressing migration flows in order to curb potential conflict that could arise. In relation to this, in drought affected communities, participants feared that the current rate of steady outmigration could lead to demographic challenges in the future, with a rapid decline of workers to plough the fields when the rains do arrive.

Although not directly surveyed through this assessment, integration challenges for new settlers to and around cities in the North and Northeastern corner of the country were consistently voiced by local authorities and NGOs.

Migration, however, did have positive impacts as well. Testimonies of migrants from Fort Dauphin and interviews in Androy showed that migrants have better access to services in areas of destination; water is readily available and free, while health centers are affordable (even though migrants preferred not to visit them). When migrants were able to secure stable jobs with a steady income, they sent back remittances, which raised household income of families left behind and was used to purchase food for

consumption. This demonstrates that if migration is managed well- in a way that mitigates all negative effects on migrants, host communities and families left behind- it can indeed be a strategy for adaptation during the drought.

Understanding these impacts of migration is relevant not only in the context of the ongoing humanitarian situation created by the drought, but more broadly in the context of defining development paradigms, effective policies and programmes in the Grand Sud. The lessons learnt, that is, that migration can indeed be beneficial for all stakeholders involved but that at present (due to the fact that it is not well-planned and there is no governmental assistance or support to potential migrants) is leading to negative consequences, is an important one and should be addressed both during the emergency phase of this response, but also in the mid to long term responses proposed for the region.

Image 3: Taxi-brousse full of people leaving the Androy region directed to Fort Dauphin



Conclusion and Recommendations

The impact of the drought is still being felt strongly in the selected sites studied for the purpose of this assessment. The communities surveyed suffer from malnutrition despite prevailing humanitarian assistance, and resort to survival strategies including selling all household assets, eating cactus leaves and removing children from school.

In such a context, migration is and has been for decades a commonly relied on strategy in the Androy region. The harsh climatic conditions, notably the frequency of drought, but also the larger structural issues pertaining to the lack of employment and absence of infrastructural inputs such as irrigation all act as push factors for migration from the region towards urbanized regions, frequently located in the north.

Despite the fact that migration is commonplace, the increase in current migration trends in response to the drought has been exceptional, with communities in the selected study sites reporting the departure of at least 35 per cent of their populations. The frequency of droughts since the turn of the millennium and the intensity of these disasters has led migration to be relied on more readily as a coping strategy.

From the perception of the communities, this movement is coerced, yet when migration occurs, migrants have a tendency to stay in their destinations indefinitely. These destinations can be within the region of Androy, but more frequently include urban areas such as Mahajunga, Tulear and Diego-Suarez or areas with heavy mining industries that they reach by *Taxi Brousse* or by foot.

At the destinations, migrants are employed in unstable, low-skilled and low-paying jobs. Housing can also be precarious. Nevertheless, migrants perceive an improved quality of life owing to the abundant access to water and opportunities for income. However, remittances are sent rarely, and only if the migrants have sufficient income to survive in their destination. If remittances are received, they contribute to the income used to buy food. This indicates that migration can indeed have positive outcomes both for migrants and families left-behind.

In the current context where the drought has been ongoing for several years, households are resorting to migration as a survival strategy. The sale of all their assets before they embark on their journey indicates that they have few resources to set up in their new destinations. They are recent migrants struggle to find employment and suffer from protection and integration challenges. Urgent steps should be taken to ensure that the immediate negative impacts of migration are mitigated, and that in the long term, migration can be an effective adaptation strategy. To do so, it is essential to firstly, scale up existing humanitarian responses before enhancing recovery and resilience of communities. As alluded to before, migration should be addressed not just in the context of the ongoing emergency response, but more broadly in the context of development, given that it is a recurrent issue and likely to continue in the years to come.

Table 2: Short, medium, and long term responses recommended to mitigate forced migration

Enhancing humanitarian assistance to mitigate forced migration	
Short term response	<p>Monitoring of trends related to displacement and migration to identify source regions or districts for forced migration, through the roll out of context-tailored IOM Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) Tools</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inclusion of migration-indicators to existing streams of data collection on most vulnerable populations and their most urgent needs • Extension of humanitarian assistance to Fokontany most-at-risk of forced migration <p>As indicated above, the immediate response required is to enhance humanitarian assistance, including provision of food and non-food items to Fokontany most at risk for forced migration. In the absence of baseline data, it will be essential to monitor trends in order to identify source regions where this humanitarian assistance should be provided. This should also include data collection disaggregated by gender and age on most vulnerable populations and required life-saving materials.</p>
Medium term response	<p>Scaling up recovery programmes for drought affected communities and facilitating integration of migrants in destination areas</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enhancing livelihood diversification in the aftermath of the drought such as through provision of livestock • Construction and restoration of small scale irrigation facilities • Training on improved farming techniques/climate smart agriculture • Skills development and training for migrants • Migrants assistance in destination areas including provision of education and health services <p>The top priority following the end of the emergency phase will be to ensure that communities are able to recover and successfully bounce back better. Targeted groups include both drought affected communities, and migrants that suffer from protection and integration challenges in destination areas. For communities in origin areas, this will involve provision of alternative means of livelihood, training and information on climate smart agricultural techniques, and skills development for potential migrants. In destination areas, the establishment of resource centers or enhanced engagement with migrant associations will be able to resolve challenges faced by migrants.</p>
Long term response	<p>Supporting communities to be well prepared for droughts and enhancing capacity of government and other actors to respond effectively to forced migration in the context of drought</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Integrating migration management into relevant disaster management and risk reduction plans • Development of community based preparedness plans through community participation • Training for government partners and other stakeholders to enhance disaster response • Engagement of public and private sector to enhance provision of infrastructure, energy and employment

In the long term, it will be critical to address the structural challenges that persist in the region through improvement of policy and legal frameworks and training, both at the national and local level. Given that many of the challenges in Androy that act as push factors for migration also stem from challenges related to lack of services and infrastructure, it will be viable to engage private and public partners to enhance rural development in the Grand Sud.

Image 4: Fetching water from the Mandrare river, Mandrare



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Annex I: List of key informant interviews

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6. UNICEF, Ambovombe 08/12/2016
7. FAO, Ambovombe 09/12/2016
8. Prefect of the Region, Region of Anosy 07/12/2016
9. Prefect of the Region, Region of Androy Ambovombe 08/12/2016
10. Chef Fokontany, Tsihombe Deux (Tsihombe) 10/12/2016
11. Chef Fokontany, Avaradrova (Tsihombe) 10/12/2016
12. Chef Fokontany, Ambaditse (Tsihombe) 10/12/2016
13. Chef Fokontany, Ambinanikely (Fort Dauphin) 12/12/2016