

PATTERNS OF DISPLACEMENT

General

Many IDPs have been displaced numerous times as a result of both military strategies and wilful neglect (2001)

- Government forces remove people from rural areas in order to deprive UNITA of human and material support
- UNITA in turn punishes civilians for "choosing" the government side - attacking them and laying mines near their fields
- Once in government-controlled towns, civilians do not receive the food and medical care they require, but are inaccessible by international agencies
- Many people are forced to move again because of malnutrition and disease

"The most obvious examples of areas of concern are the towns of Cuemba, in Bie province, and Mussende, Cuanza Sul province. Both are pockets of areas under government control, while the surrounding areas remain very unstable.

People abandon their homes and fields in compliance with government counter-Unita tactics of removing people from the rural areas. Populations also flee violent oppression and destruction (or theft) of harvests, primarily but not only by Unita. Unita forces effectively prevent people from returning to their fields to gather food, attacking them – punishing them for having “chosen” the government side – or laying mines on paths to fields. Once crowded into government-controlled cities and towns that are inaccessible to aid organizations, people rely on the civil and military authorities for essential food or medical assistance. However, these are not forthcoming.

Many of the people coming from Cuemba municipality are originally from Andulo and Bailundo regions and were forced to follow Unita when those areas came under government control by late 1999. Unfortunately, when the people later (forcibly) joined areas under government control, such as Cuemba, it did not put a final end to their long journey as they had again to flee malnutrition and diseases. Basically, they have been living for years on the move, and have been displaced multiple times as a result of both military strategies and wilful neglect of the parties.

Since early April/01, over five thousand ill and malnourished people have had to make a desperate and dangerous journey from Cuemba to the town of Camacupa (also Bie province) in search of humanitarian assistance. Many arrive there in a state where they need to be urgently referred to Kuito (Bie province) for medical treatment in MSF's programmes (for figures, see below). Further North, along the border between Malange and Cuanza Sul provinces, thousands more people are making a similar journey, fleeing from emergency conditions in Mussende to Cangandala, where many need admission to MSF's therapeutic feeding centre (TFC).

[...]

In addition to these statistics, newly arrived IDPs tell consistent stories: they flee Mussende and Cuemba because the living conditions are unbearable. Put simply, there is no (or insufficient) food or medicine, and many people are dying, especially children. Their journeys are difficult and perilous, as they walk for days with no protection (Cuemba to Camacupa - 80 km., Mussende to Cangandala, 100 km.). IDPs arriving in Camacupa routinely recount that others, too weak to make it, died along the long road. These IDPs also tell us that many more people remain behind in Mussende and Cuemba.

In Mussende, lots of people are dying of sickness, vomiting, diarrhoea, and swelling . . . I was sick and had no family. I could not go to the lavras [fields] because UNITA had laid new mines to stop the people from returning to the fields to collect food. My niece had her leg blown off from a mine . . . while trying to collect food. – 41 year old IDP from Mussende.

MSF is worried that these cases are not isolated, but the emerging tip of a humanitarian crisis in many Angolan localities which are beyond the tight security perimeters that limit the reach of international humanitarian aid, and sometimes the civilian government itself. Cuemba, Camacupa and Mussende are seemingly just a few dramatic examples of what MSF believes is a pattern repeated throughout the war-torn provinces of Angola. Field workers hear (but are unable to verify) reports from IDPs that similar suffering exists in other areas under government control yet beyond our access (e.g., Massango, in Malange province, and Luando, in Bie)."

(MSF 2 July 2001)

And earlier (excerpt taken from Andrade study of IDPs conducted in 1996/1997):

"The research showed that most displaced people have moved not once, but at least twice. These movements of population were at the end of the 1970s (in Benguela), during the 1980s (Malanje), and in 1992/93 (both provinces). Before the last move, many displaced people had returned to their 'original homes' during the period of relative stability that followed the Bicesse Accord (1991). Then, after armed conflict restarted, they were forced to flee for a second time (or, in some cases, a third time), in worse conditions than before. (Andrade 2001, p. 119)

Initially, people flee in large groups; later, they break off into nuclear families (2001)

- People generally fled on foot and suffered from hunger during course of journey
- Initially, people formed large groups which provided solidarity and mutual support
- Later, they split off in order to travel faster and avoid attack

Excerpt taken from Andrade study of IDPs in Malanje and Benguela conducted in 1996-1997:

"Only a few people fled in vehicles. Most fled on foot, carrying very little. Journeys could take several days and there were often attacks.

Hunger was frequently mentioned, as a cause of death and as creating severe difficulties when fleeing through not having enough energy to continue. Alternative foods were used, and this in turn led to unknown illnesses, which even traditional medical knowledge was unable to combat. Such events were most dramatic during the siege of Malanje. Men and women of all ages said unanimously that women were more resistant to these hardships than men. Some women ended up helping men.

While children suffered from the cold and rain, it was women of all ages who stressed the problem of partial or complete nakedness. Nudity is seen to be an exhibition of the woman's 'core' to everybody's view, and is considered a violation. It was some time into the research before we understood that women use the term 'to abuse' to mean anything from removal of clothing to rape.

Taking away young women to be the wives of soldiers is seen as improper, mutilating, and morally wrong. Older people in particular grieved because the rituals were not respected, and there was no consideration or dignity.

At a certain point the displaced people, particularly those who fled under fire, had to make difficult choices about maintaining the composition of the groups. Initially, they tended to form large groups, which

provided solidarity and mutual support to deal with the difficulties. As the walk continued the circumstances changed – big groups were more vulnerable to attack because their pace was slower. Therefore many small groups (frequently just one nuclear family) split off and travelled faster; but the potential for solidarity and mutual support was diminished." (Andrade 2001, sect. 4)

For a comprehensive analysis of the coping strategies employed by IDPs, refer to Filomena Andrade's analysis in Construction and Reconstruction in Angola available from Development Workshop - Angola.

IDPs in larger peri-urban environments do not necessarily retain ties with host communities (2001)

- IDPs in camps and smaller neighborhoods often retain ties with resident communities
- Other IDPs, particularly those in urban centres, split away in order to survive
- Community ties often break down during period of displacement, particularly in bigger towns and cities
- Level of trust and collective action is low as a result

"In certain camps for displaced people, and perhaps in certain neighbourhoods of displaced people in inland cities, people live in 'communities' i.e. they have organised the camps so that people from the same place live together, they have maintained their old leadership (or perhaps chosen a new one from among themselves), and tend to have moved together to this new location.

But it is very rare to find anything like this in the larger towns and cities (Luanda, Benguela, Lobito, Lubango and Huambo) where the bulk of displaced people are living. There seem to be various reasons for this.

While people may move as a group on the first stage of their flight, successive stages are made in smaller groups.

In towns, people tend to seek out people from their own community to lodge them during an initial period. But they then seek their own home, and the stresses of the period when people stay together in this initial period mean that they do not necessarily want to live afterwards with the people who helped them when they arrived.

While it may have been more common in the past for people to build a house in the town alongside someone from their own community, this is now much less true: urban neighbourhoods are full and it is difficult to find space near to a previous migrant or to build in a group. There is a market in land and housing, and land prices and rents are higher in the old neighbourhoods so poorer, new migrants have to build on the edge of the towns, away from people from their own community.

It is interesting to note that in the camp of Kasseque, near to Huambo, displaced people live grouped according to their place of origin. In the poor neighbourhoods of the town of Huambo itself this is not the case.

People told us that we would find neighbourhoods of people from the same origin, and we looked very hard for this phenomenon but we did not find it.

This has certain implications for life in the towns. People rarely know their neighbours, the level of trust and collective action is low, Churches are one of the few places where people can make friends, develop trust, participate in collective action (though the number of Churches can be a divisive influence as well). Few development initiatives have taken these factors into account." (Robson 30 January 2001)

Also refer to *Construction and Reconstruction in Angola* edited by Paul Robson. The book is available from *Development Workshop - Angola*.

Traditional movement of displaced has been from rural areas to provincial urban centres (1999-2001)

- 50 to 60 percent of Angolan population concentrated in urban centres
- Civilians seek protection from attacks in government-secure zones
- Widespread looting and destruction of property makes life in rural areas difficult
- Lack of access to land makes it difficult for IDPs to gain livelihood

"In areas accessible to humanitarian agencies, IDPs have tended to collect in urban areas that are generally under government control, such as Malange, Kuito and Huambo. This is largely because many of the rural areas are heavily insecure and farming practices are frequently interrupted by security incidents...The urban areas offer some hope of security as well as access to the possibility of humanitarian assistance. However, the obvious lack of access to land in these urban locations limits their opportunities for food production resulting in affected populations becoming heavily reliant on food assistance." (ACC/SCN July 2001, p. 36)

"Large-scale displacement has resulted in rapid urbanisation throughout the country, estimated at 50 per cent (UNDP 1999:47). Cities and towns may be safer than rural areas, but livelihoods are harder to come by in urban zones. The massive migration into urban areas has not been followed by the necessary investments in infrastructure to provide basic sanitation, water, health care and schools." (Birkeland and Gomes 2001, p. 19)

"The continuous shift of populations from rural to urban areas has changed the demography of the country from one predominantly rural-based to one in which around 60 percent of the population now live in urban centres. As a result, pressure has increased on the psychosocial and physical status of these urban dwellers. They all must vie in overpopulated conditions for the same meagre resources, much of them coming from the international assistance community, itself circumscribed by a limited capacity to meet growing needs.

[...]

The majority of IDPs are concentrated in the coastal belt and in major urban centres with more than half located in Luanda, Cuando Cubango, Benguela, Huambo and Malange provinces." (UN 30 November 1999, pp. 7, 28)