

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **Human Mobility in Angola**

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## Introduction

It is now more than a decade since Angola signed the Luena Peace Accord in 2002, ending a 30 year brutal civil war that decimated most of the country's infrastructure and left an estimated one million people dead and four million displaced (IRIN 2006). This period of peace and tranquillity in the country has come as a welcome relief to the African continent and to the world generally, given the destruction, suffering, and brutality that the war inflicted on the Angolan people.

Taking advantage of this period of peace, the Angolan government has made tremendous strides in rebuilding the country, especially the economic infrastructure, as well as the lives of its citizens whose socio-cultural livelihood was destroyed during the past three decades of conflict. In particular, the country's economy has experienced rapid economic growth reaching 4.1 percent in 2013 (World Bank 2013) and there has also been massive infrastructure development across the country. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) observes that Angola has returned to a path of solid economic growth, with single-digit inflation, a strong international reserves position, and a stable exchange rate. In 2014 the estimated growth is projected to be 3.9 percent (IMF 2014).

The IMF also acknowledges that the Angolan government has made progress in strengthening some areas of its fiscal and monetary policies. However, recurrent domestic arrears and the reconciliation of oil revenue remain as challenges for public financial management (IMF 2014). Politically, the country also successfully held its second legislative elections under the new constitution, thus allowing its citizens to democratically elect the country's president. Despite significant economic progress, a large number of the country's 21 million people are still living in abject poverty. At present the country's poverty head count ratio stands at 37 percent countrywide, and 60 percent in rural areas (IMF 2014). The life expectancy is 51.9 years old which is low, even by Southern African standards (UN DESA 2013).

Since the end of the civil war Angola has been facing the issue of reintegration of internally displaced people (IDPs) and former refugees returning from neighbouring countries. On top of this, the country continues to experience significant inflows and

outflows of people, who are lured into and outside the country respectively, by various socio-economic and political factors. Apart from internally displaced people and Angolan war returnees, the country is currently facing an influx of both internal and international migrants. The positive shift in the country's economic and political fortunes has, in fact, attracted a whole range of economic migrants.

This situation has created a litany of challenges and opportunities for the country's policy makers, civil society organisations, international humanitarian agencies, communities where the migrants originate and where they are hosted after migration, and the migrants themselves.

### **Human Mobility in Historical Context**

The structure of Angola's history has migration written all over it. From pre-colonial times, Khoi-khoi hunter-gatherer societies, the original inhabitants of the country, had been roaming across the country in search of food and other material resources for sustenance. When one of the first migration voyages was undertaken by Bantu people from the Katanga region of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to Angola around 1300 A.D, they found Khoi-khoi societies occupying the northern and southern regions of the country, and fishing along the Congo River. By 1500 A.D. the country's ethno-linguistic composition had been developed with the migration of the Kongo, Ovimbundu, Mbundu, Lunda-Chokwe, and Herero people settling in various parts of the country. The name Angola itself is a product of migration derived from the early Bantu kingdom of Ndongo whose king was called Ngola. It is estimated that the largest migration of Bantu peoples occurred in the 14<sup>th</sup> century just before the first contact between the Bantu and Portuguese explorers took place (Viera 1980).

Portuguese occupation and eventual colonisation of Angola also has its background firmly rooted in migration. The first Portuguese navigator to reach Angola was Diego Cao, who arrived around 1482. Thereafter, a number of Portuguese and other European explorers, missionaries and merchants arrived on the country's shores, resulting in the establishment of Portuguese

colonial rule in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century. From this time onwards, the country became an important link in trade between Europe (Portugal), India, and the wider South East Asian region. Trade in silk and other oriental products was superseded by the export of slaves from the country to Portuguese controlled Brazil and the 'New World' in the Americas. Portuguese colonisation of the country contributed greatly to the Trans-Atlantic Slave trade by sending an estimated four million Angolan slaves to Brazil and Portugal (Tvedten 1997). Four million is, however, a conservative estimate considering that as many slaves reached their destination as those who died on their marches to slave depots and on sea crossings. Historians are generally agreed on the fact that Angola suffered the worst socio-economic and political consequences of the Slave Trade relative to any other African country, as millions of its able bodied citizens were taken away. This situation had long term negative effects on national productivity, local authority, and family structures (Chabal & Vidal 2007).

Bender (2007) observes that with the abolition of the slave trade in 1836 the Portuguese colonialists in Angola sought to assert their control over African labour by legalising the colonial forced employment of natives. By making forced labour of natives obligatory, the colonialists hoped to use African labour to rapidly develop newly established coffee and rubber plantations in the northern part of the country. They therefore enlisted forced labour from the native Bakongo, Ovimbundu and other tribes in order to accomplish this endeavour. This situation entailed large movements of thousands of people within the country (in-ward migration). Hodges (2001) notes that due to the harsh working conditions on the plantations, an estimated half a million indigenous Angolan labourers escaped to neighbouring countries such as the DRC and Zambia during the 60 years that this forced labour system was in place.

Colonial rule in Angola was also characterised by lack of investment in physical infrastructure and social services such as education and health. This was largely a product of Portuguese colonial policy of systematically exploiting their colonies to the maximum but at the least cost i.e. maximum extraction of wealth but little or no reinvestment into the economy. Colonial Angola was characterised by poor social service delivery and very low

infrastructural development. Because of this under-investment and discriminatory colonial social service delivery, policies aimed at favouring European colonialists, and to a smaller extent *assimilados* (assimilated non-white Angolans), at the expense of the *indigenas* (the uneducated native Angolans mostly residing in rural areas) triggered a huge rural-urban migration flow as thousands of *indigenas* flocked to urban areas such as the capital, Luanda, to search for menial employment opportunities and to access some social services. Church-led organisations attempted to provide some educational and health assistance to the under privileged *indigenas*. In response, the colonial government imposed a national identity card registration for every Angolan citizen with the aim of stemming this tide of rural-urban migration. This created significant income inequalities among all Angolan nationals, which together with forced labour, bred huge resentment to colonial rule especially among the poor rural citizens (Bender 2007). The situation eventually contributed to the birth of independence movements in the 1960s and 1970s, which aimed at ending the Portuguese colonisation of the country. According to Birmingham (2002) the main liberation movements in Angola during the 1960s and 1970s were the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), and the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA).

Due to ideological differences among the liberation movements especially between MPLA and UNITA, war broke out soon after the end of Portuguese colonisation of Angola in 1975. The Angolan civil war, mainly waged between MPLA and UNITA, lasted for 27 years (1975-2002) leaving behind a decimated country, with the majority of the population dispersed and the infrastructure destroyed (Hodges 2001). Even though it is extremely difficult to come up with the exact number of civilian casualties, there is a considerable consensus among experts that an estimated one million people were killed during the conflict and another four million were displaced (IRIN 2006). The high casualty numbers result from the main warring factions deliberately making civilians pawns in the conflict. Furthermore, the civil war left tens of thousands of Angolans displaced (*deslocados*) as IDPs or refugees in neighbouring countries such as the DRC, Zambia, Namibia, and Botswana. The Internal

Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) observes that as of the end 2007, the four million IDPs represented 30 percent of the total Angolan population.

## **Contemporary Trends in Human Mobility**

### ***Immigrants***

#### *Sources of Data*

Human mobility is still a dominant issue facing Angolan society, over a decade after the end of the civil war. Thousands of people have been moving not only in and out of Angola but also within the country for various socio-economic and political reasons, as refugees, asylum seekers, and economic migrants.

The absence of reliable and rigorous data on migration trends in Angola represents a great challenge; this lacuna is the result both of the civil war and the fact that it has not been possible to collect sound scientific information (Martins Almeida 2010). The absence of a comprehensive and reliable set of data, and the limited capacity of national authorities with regard to the collection and management of information, prevent researchers from conducting comprehensive and scientifically accurate studies on the matter. The process of analysis, updating and dissemination of information about internal and international migration is particularly inconsistent (Lopes 2013).

The results of the national census conducted in May 2014, the first since the country's independence, will likely provide useful information and will constitute the basis for further research on human mobility. Given the current context only rough projections and estimates, based on the available statistics, are possible. In this regard, the need to pursue reliable migration data and to expand the knowledge base on the multi-faceted phenomenon of human mobility is highlighted in the conclusions of this report.

Data for this section are mainly drawn from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA) the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) and Consular Services. Statistics on remittances derive from World Bank, IOM

and Finmark Trust reports. The United Nations estimates the international migrant stock as the number of foreign-born individuals (or in the absence of such data the number of people of foreign citizenship) living in a given country at mid-year. Most of the statistics are obtained from national population census (70 percent), population registers (17 percent) and nationally representative household surveys (13 percent). These figures include refugees who in many cases do not acquire citizenship in the hosting country, but excludes temporary and unauthorised migrants. Therefore the information reported below seems extremely conservative mainly due to differing interpretations of the definition of “immigrant” and to the lack of updated and reliable information about foreign populations.

UN DESA (2013) estimates that the international stock of migrants in Angola is 87,436 (52% of whom are women) and constitutes 0.4% of the population, while the net migration rate (2010-2015) is 0.6 migrants/1,000 population (IOM 2014). Table 1 below presents a high level view of migration in Angola.

Table 1  
*Migration in Angola*

<b>Total Migrants</b>	<b>Females</b>	<b>Net Migration Rate (2010-2015)</b>	<b>Immigrants (2013)</b>
87,400	52 percent	06 migrants /1000 population	0.4

Source: IOM 2014

The majority of international migrants come from countries in the region and have strong language and cultural links with Angola, such as Cape Verde (8,559) and Sao Tome and Principe (7,466). A large number of migrants, particularly refugees, come from the DRC (35,345) and South Africa (5,846). Table 2 presents the distribution of immigrants in Angola by age and sex. The data show a significant increase in the immigrant population stock between 2000 and 2013.

Table 2  
*International Migration Stock by Age and Sex (2013)*

Age	2000			2013		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0-4	902	1,108	2 010	1,839	2,684	4,523
5-9	1,296	1,649	2,945	2,078	3,111	5,189
10-14	1,868	2,443	4,311	2,580	4,021	6,601
15-19	2,186	2,969	5,155	3,257	5,057	8,314
20-24	2,607	3,450	6,057	3,980	5,506	9,486
25-29	2,956	3,137	6,093	4,635	5,436	10,071
30-34	2,733	2,135	4,868	4,850	4,737	9,587
35-39	2,090	1,351	3,441	4,523	3,714	8,237
40-44	1,553	963	2,516	3,847	2,797	6,644
45-49	1,221	755	1,976	2,987	2,096	5,083
50-54	1,068	660	1,728	2,319	1,620	3,939
55-59	1,020	636	1,656	1,880	1,403	3,283
60-64	915	663	1,578	1,611	1,252	2,863
65+	952	822	1,774	1,790	1,826	3,616
<b>Total</b>	<b>23,367</b>	<b>22,741</b>	<b>46,108</b>	<b>42,176</b>	<b>45,260</b>	<b>87,436</b>

Source: Adapted from United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division 2013.

As a result of bilateral agreements between Angola and China one of the largest groups of foreign nationals in Angola is Chinese. In 2011 China became the main international investor in Africa and in 2013 Chinese investments in the continent increased by 5.9% reaching a total of US\$210.2 billion (CEDOC 2014).

Park (2009) observes that Chinese migrants, both independent and attached to Chinese businesses, are arriving in African countries such as Angola, often following paths cut earlier on by Chinese diplomats, Chinese multinational corporations, large Chinese infrastructure projects, and in some cases, Taiwanese businesses. The Chinese arrive in Angola and other African countries by various means. For instance, the immigration of a



small number of Chinese professionals and labourers is arranged via direct government-to-government arrangement; this is normally the case for Chinese medical doctors or agricultural advisors linked to development aid projects in the country. Emmanuel Ma Mung (2008) identifies three types of Chinese migrants to Africa: temporary labour migrants linked to public building works and large infrastructure development projects undertaken by large Chinese enterprises; small-time entrepreneurs; and transit migrants. Added to this is a fourth category consisting of Chinese agricultural workers. The Chinese Chamber of Commerce reports that there are more than 500 companies operating in Angola and about 100,000 workers mainly employed in post reconstruction activities. On the other hand, the Angolan government estimates the number of Chinese immigrants to be in 260,000 (CEDOC 2014).

Portuguese nationals represent one of the largest foreign communities in Angola; between 2008 and 2012, between 10 and 12 percent of the total Portuguese migrants decided to move to Angola and Mozambique. In 2009, 23,787 Portuguese moved to Angola. In 2013 the number of Portuguese citizens living in Angola and registered at the Consular Section was 115,595 (Portuguese Observatory of Emigration 2014). This figure is likely to be underestimated as the Portuguese Embassy constitutes the exclusive source of information regarding the inflow of Portuguese in Angola. In 2013 the outflow of remittances from Angola to Portugal reached a total of €304,328 million this amount accounted for 10% of the total remittances that were received by Portugal, proving that Angola is currently one of the top destinations for Portuguese migrants (Portuguese Observatory of Emigration 2014). As noted by Tolentino and Peixoto (2011) over the last decade the influx of Angolans to Portugal has diminished while the number of Portuguese moving to Angola has significantly increased.

According to Kurunova (2013) the decision to immigrate depends mainly on factors such as lack of social security and justice, a low level of confidence in the state and better opportunities for work abroad. In the context of Angola, different types of immigrants exist. These include refugees, asylum seekers, economic migrants and others. The following section provides information about the various types of immigrants in Angola.

*Refugees and Asylum Seekers*

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) observes that as of the end of 2013, there were approximately 23,783 refugees residing in Angola of which 12,300 live in Luanda province. The majority of them (21,104) are from the DRC. Among the other nationalities there are Rwandans (458); Ivoirians (407); Sierra Leoneese (413); Sudanese (281) and Somalis (215).

In 2013, 20,039 people were recorded as asylum seekers. Their main countries of origin are: Guinea Conakry (4,562); Ivory Coast (4,183); the DRC (2,300); Mauritania (2,257); Sudan (1,555); and Somalia (1,353). The recorded number of asylum seekers is primarily made up of a huge backlog of applicants. As at the end of 2013, only 1,208 new applications were received by national authorities. The majority of new applicants are from Ivory Coast (423) followed by Eritrea (293) and Somalia (267).<sup>8</sup>

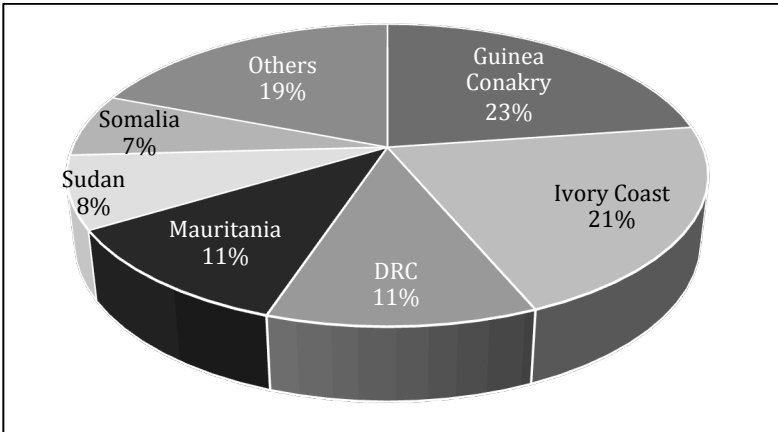
Angola is still a refugee producing country and according to UNHCR (2014b) a total of 10,297 Angolans worldwide hold refugee status. At the end of 2012, five Angolans received refugee status in Belgium while another 103 received international protection in France (UNHCR 2013). By the end of 2013 1,448 refugee claims were still pending. Figure 1 provides information on Asylum seekers by the country of origin

The UNHCR (2014b) has compiled an updated statistical report for Angola including refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced persons (IDPs), stateless persons and others persons of concern to UNHCR, as given in the table below. Worldwide there are still over 150,000 Angolans under UNHCR's mandate.

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<sup>8</sup> Data released by UNHCR staff member, interview conducted in Luanda in August 2014. At this regard a lawyer for human rights interviewed in Luanda in August 2014 revealed that some of the asylum seekers from Somalia have previously transited and resided in South Africa.

Figure 1  
*Asylum Seekers by the Country of Origin*



Source: UNHCR 2014

Table 3  
*Refugees, Asylum Seekers, Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs),  
Stateless Persons and Others of Concern to UNHCR*

Residing in Angola	
Refugees (DRC, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Sudan, Somalia, Chad)	23,783
Asylum seekers (DRC, Ivory Coast, Mauritania, Somalia, Sudan, Guinea Conakry)	20,039
Returned refugees	1,666
Originating from Angola	
Refugees	10,297
Asylum seekers	1,448
Various	96,786
<b>Total population of concern</b>	<b>154,019</b>

Source: UNHCR 2014b

*Returned Refugees*

The migration situation in the post-war Angola has been largely dominated by the return of former refugees from neighbouring countries. The UNHCR observes that with the cessation of hostilities between MPLA and UNITA forces in 2002, former Angolan refugees returned from exile mainly from neighbouring countries such as Namibia, Zambia, the DRC and the other countries of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) such as Botswana and South Africa. Between 2003 and 2012 the Voluntary Repatriation Programme (VOLREP) assisted the return of 423,343 former Angolan refugees (CEDOC 2014). Out of this number “another 150,000 returned spontaneously but received UNHCR assistance upon arrival, and 100,000 repatriated without any assistance” (Kaun 2008:10). To implement the voluntary repatriation operation, UNHCR worked closely with the Governments of Angola and countries of asylum, as well as other agencies, including the World Food Programme (WFP), the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) and several national and international NGOs.

Between 2013 and early 2014, 2,022 Angolans where voluntarily repatriated from Zambia, Namibia, Botswana and South Africa (CEDOC 2014). In August 2014 the last programme of voluntary assisted repatriation began and will end in December 2014. Over this period 29,659 former Angolan refugees are expected to return to Angola, while 18,192 in the DRC have opted for local integration. The Zambian government has offered to grant permanent residence to 10,000 former Angolan refugees who have decided not to return to Angola (UNHCR 2014a). Former refugees from Zambia have mainly returned to Moxico province, while those who lived in the DRC have relocated in the provinces of Zaire and Uije (CEDOC 2014).

*Irregular Migration*

Since the end of the civil war in 2002, Angola has experienced unprecedented economic and political stability as a result of booming global petroleum prices and the cessation of military hostilities between MPLA and UNITA forces. This positive shift in the country’s economic and political fortunes has attracted not

only displaced Angolan people from exile, but also a whole range of economic migrants and refugees. All these factors contributed to the creation of a favourable environment for increased unauthorised migration between Angola and its neighbouring countries over the past years.

Unauthorised migration has prompted the Angolan government to strengthen border controls. The securitization of migration has led to an increase in detention and mass expulsions of foreign nationals, particularly from northern regions bordering the DRC (Human Rights Watch 2013). According to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, the Angola government expelled over 400,000 unauthorised migrants between 2003 and 2012 (OCHA 2012). According to Angola's Migration Foreign Service (SME) between June 2013 and June 2014 a total of 2,046 unauthorised migrants of different nationalities were repatriated from the northern provinces of the country (CEDOC 2014).

It is impossible to estimate the number of unauthorised migrants present in Angola and due to the lack of reliable data available estimates can be misleading. Nonetheless, Angolan authorities believe that over a million unauthorised migrants are living in the country (MIDSA 2013). Both government and media are reporting an increasing influx of unauthorised migrants. Borders are difficult to patrol and the booming economy is attracting more people; this phenomenon is affecting every province in the country particularly those bordering with the DRC where Congolese and other African migrants are often involved in illegal mining activities and traders from the same ethnic group often engage in cross-border transactions.<sup>9</sup>

### *Human Trafficking*

Human trafficking is a serious contemporary issue affecting Angolan migration, and Angolan authorities have repeatedly stated their concerns with regard to the link between unauthorised migration and the trafficking of people (MIDSA 2013).

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<sup>9</sup> Interview with Salvatore Sortino, IOM Head of Mission in Angola, August 2014

Cases of women, children, young boys and men being trafficked both internally and externally for various menial jobs in the agriculture, construction, domestic service and artisanal diamond mining sectors are a common phenomenon (United States Department of State 2011). Popular foreign destinations for trafficked women and children include Namibia, the DRC, Portugal, and South Africa. Traffickers target young boys and children mainly for pottering jobs on the Namibia-Angola border and cattle herding in Namibia. Domestically the traffickers entice poor families with various material and monetary benefits in exchange for women and men to work mainly in primary sectors of the economy. In Angola women from Vietnam, China and Brazil are often victims of sex trafficking, while Chinese, Southeast Asian, Namibian and Congolese are subject to forced labour mainly in the construction industry (United States Department of State 2014).

The US Embassy observes that unaccompanied children in cities are the easiest targets for human trafficking. It is estimated that 30 percent of Angolan children work in conditions of forced labour. These children, normally aged between five and 14 years, experience both economic and sexual abuse when working as domestic servants, farm workers and in the informal sectors of the economy (United States Department of State 2011).

### *Internal Migration*

Urbanisation and internal migration are relevant issues and their root causes date back to way before Angola's independence. The onset of civil war in 1975, however, is the main contributor to the masses of internally displaced people in Angola. The movement of people during the civil war followed a migratory path starting in the rural areas of the central parts of the country, moving towards the coastal region, and ultimately ending in Luanda (Cain 2013). When the government went on the offensive, they also targeted civilians in the rural areas, moving them out of the countryside to create "free-fire zones" (Cain 2013) and to remove the access to food and resources that the rebels could get from the local communities. The internal migration of people that Angola experienced during the civil war was the main cause of the rapid urbanisation in the country during the period from 1975 to 2002.

The rapid urban growth and the large increase of informal settlements (*musseques*) in peri-urban areas of Luanda have put a huge strain on the provision of basic services and facilities such as health services, potable waters and electricity (Ammassari 2005). Between 2000 and 2013 the percentage of urban population in Angola increased significantly from 49 percent to 61 percent (UN DESA 2013).

Research conducted by Cain (2012) shows that within Luanda the movement of people has been mainly inner-city movement, as people migrate from the old city center to the periphery due to development that is taking place. The study reveals that 75% of the property buyers in Luanda are from the older areas of the city. This is often the result of free and voluntary movement of people where individuals apply a cost benefit analysis to their decisions. In 2010 only 18% of the property buyers in the areas of the study were from outside Luanda.

### *Emigrants*

Emigration is one of the important issues dominating post war Angola. There are many reasons that cause, and accelerate, the rate of out-migration (emigration) in Angola. Castles and Loughna (2002) observe that the main push factors of migration in the country include the long-standing civil war, low levels of human development, high rates of unemployment, lack of study opportunities, desire to engage in international trade, high numbers of internally displaced persons relative to the total population, and low life expectancy. However, due to dearth of official data on Angolan emigration there are serious challenges in terms of monitoring, policymaking and planning the flows and trends of Angolans leaving the country. According to the International Organisation for Migration (2010) the stock of emigrants from Angola is estimated at 522,964 (compared to the 533,000 estimated by the World Bank, 2011) and the major destination countries include Portugal, Zambia, Namibia, the Republic of Congo, Germany, France, the United Kingdom (UK), Brazil, the Netherlands and the United States (World Bank 2011). In addition, it must also be pointed out that Angolan emigration flows have been male-dominated ever since the country's emigration peak during the 1990s. Indeed Angolan emigrants

have primarily consisted of young adults coming from poor, working class and middle class social backgrounds (Alvarez Tinajero 2009).

UN DESA (2013) estimates that some 4,133 Angolans are pursuing their tertiary education abroad. The main countries of destination are Brazil (1,552), South Africa (1,167), the United States (686), Cuba (425) and the UK (303).

### ***Remittances***

A related issue to emigration is that of remittances that the Angolan diaspora send back to the country. Basically, remittances are the product of migration caused by conflict or economic incentives. They are transfers from “people to people” usually made by family members in the diaspora to their families in their countries of origin. Domestic remittances can also be considered as financial transfers from urban workers to their families in rural areas within the same country (Ratha & Shaw 2007). Remittances in Angola are intrinsically linked to the country’s population, which is in the diaspora. The IOM observes that 30 percent of the Angolan diaspora is in Portugal, 42 percent in other European countries, 4 percent is in Brazil, 3 percent in North America, 5 percent in South Africa, 13 percent in other African countries and 3 percent is in the rest of the world. Linguistic and cultural proximity facilitated the migration of nationals to Portugal. Portugal is the single country hosting the largest Angolan diaspora community. Similarly, South Africa is a convenient destination for others due to its geographical proximity. Table 4 below provides a summary of global distribution of Angola’s diaspora.



Table 4  
*Global Distribution of Angola's Diaspora*

Country	Estimated %
Europe (excluding Portugal)	42%
Portugal	30%
Other African countries	13%
South Africa	5%
Brazil	4%
North America	3%
Rest	3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: IOM 2014.

Data on the sources of remittance flows to Angola are not available mainly due to non-reliable statistical records and a poor data collection and management system. However, estimates based on bilateral migration stocks, incomes in destination countries, and incomes in countries of origin, indicate that the top sources of remittances for Angola are Portugal and South Africa. Estimates indicate that in 2010 a total of US\$ 18 million was remitted to Angola by members of its diaspora (World Bank 2011). This figure is likely to be underestimated primarily due to the lack of accurate and reliable information on the number of migrants in the country and of the actual migration flows (Martins Almeida 2010). The outflow of remittances for 2012 is estimated at US\$ 546 million. This figure shows that Angola is also a remittance sending country, mainly due to the fact that the country is receiving more and more immigrants, including skilled workers from Europe and other countries (Tolentino & Peixoto 2011). Based on an estimation of the Angolan migrant's stock in South Africa (10,200) Finmark Trust (2012) reports that every year between US\$ 2.08 million and US\$ 3 million in remittances are sent to Angola. These figures also account for remittances sent through informal channels such as cross border mini-bus taxis or

buses. Each migrant sends on average between US\$ 450 and US\$ 600 per year (Truen & Chisadza 2012).

A World Bank (2014) report indicates that remittances improved the basic needs for the majority of the households (food) and ensured educational opportunities. In general, in the context of Angola, remittances are a source of supplementary income that contribute to the welfare of the household. IOM (2008) studies revealed that one third of the transfers are made regularly on a monthly basis and findings also reveal that 24% of household remittances represent the primary and only source of monthly income for families (Baganha 2009).

### **Angola's Migration Policy Framework**

Angola does not have a migration policy framework; instead it has an immigration control policy to select and admit foreign nationals (MIEUX 2010). The few legal statutes governing migration in the country derive from Angola's colonial heritage and have neither been amended nor reviewed since independence in 1975 (United States Department of State 2014).

Angola (MIEUX 2010) is member of the United Nations (UN), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the African Union (AU), the Economic Community of Central African States and the Gulf of Guinea Commission (GGC). The country is a signatory to numerous international conventions and treaties as listed in Table 5 below.

Table 5  
*Conventions and treaties signed by Angola*

1	<i>ILO Convention concerning Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise</i> (No. 87) of 9 July 1948
2	<i>ILO Convention on Abolition of Forced Labour</i> (No.105) of 25 June 1957;
3	<i>ILO Convention on Migration for Employment</i> (revised) (No.97) of 1 July 1949
4	<i>ILO Forced Labour Convention</i> (No. 29) of 28 June 1930

5	<i>Organisation of African Unity, Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa (OAU Convention), 10 September 1969</i>
5	<i>UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, General Assembly resolution 44/25 of 20 November 1989.</i>
7	<i>UN Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness, 30 August 1961;</i>
8	<i>UN Convention relating to the Status of Refugees of 28 July 1951 and its 1967 Protocol</i>
9	<i>UN Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons, Economic and Social Council resolution 526 A (XVII) of 26 April 1954</i>
10	<i>UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, General Assembly resolution 2200A (XXI) of 16 December 1966</i>
11	<i>UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 10 December 1948</i>

In September 2013 Angola signed relevant international human right treaties including: the *Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, the *Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment and its Optional Protocol*, the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*, and the *Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*. Angola further agreed to ratify the *Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance*<sup>10</sup> and the *International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families* (Amnesty International 2014).

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<sup>10</sup> The *Convention for the Protection of all Persons from Enforced Disappearance* was signed on September 24, 2014. At this regard see: [https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg\\_no=IV-16&chapter=4&lang=en](https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=IV-16&chapter=4&lang=en), accessed 05 October 2014.

In September 2014<sup>11</sup> the Angolan government acceded three Protocols that complement the 2000 Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, namely the *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially women and children*, the *Protocol against the smuggling of migrants by land, sea and air* and the *Protocol against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms*. In 2014 the *Convention of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities* and its *Optional Protocol* were also acceded by the Angolan Government.

With regard to migration, the Angolan internal legal framework includes the 02/07 *Lei Sobre o Regime Juridico dos Estrangeiros na Republica de Angola* (Law Regulating the Legal Status of Foreigners in the Republic of Angola) which regulates the legal regime of foreign nationals in Angola. The legal situation of foreign citizens comprises the rules governing entry, departure, stay, and residence.

The Angolan detention policy is also guided by the 02/07 *Lei Sobre o Regime Juridico dos Estrangeiros na Republica de Angola*; the law aims to offer a robust framework for combating and controlling unauthorised migration. The immigration law replaces the previous *Foreigners Law* from 1994. The United Nations Working Group on Arbitrary Detention (WGAD) observes that the current Angolan immigration system proposes harsh and excessive responses to unauthorised migration since it emphasises the compulsory detention (in case of judicial expulsion<sup>12</sup>) of unauthorised migrants who are irregularly present

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<sup>11</sup> According to Article 17(1) of the *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children*, Article 22(1) of the *Protocol against the smuggling of migrants by land, sea and air* and Article 18(1) of the *Protocol against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms*, Protocols “[s]hall enter into force on the ninetieth day after the date of deposit of the fortieth instrument of ratification, acceptance, approval or accession”. Available at <https://treaties.un.org/pages/CNs.aspx>, accessed 29 September 2014.

<sup>12</sup> At this regard see Article 28 Para 1(a) of the 02/07 *Lei Sobre o Regime Juridico dos Estrangeiros na Republica de Angola*. Full text available at: <http://ao.chineseembassy.org/chn/aglj/xgfg/P020091206005145225591.pdf> accessed 15 July 2014.

on national territory at the Angolan Immigration Detention Centre<sup>13</sup> (Global Detention Project 2014).

Recently the Angolan Government took steps to improve detention facilities and condition for migrants awaiting repatriation to their country of origin by establishing the so called "Transit Centres" which provide health care services for people in detention (MIDSA 2013). Detention centres are meant to provide for short term stays, although there have been reports of people held in custody beyond the period prescribed by Law<sup>14</sup> (WGAD 2008). According to the *Immigration Act* refugees should not be expelled to countries where they might be persecuted for political, ethnic or religious grounds or where their life might be in danger<sup>15</sup>.

In recognition of the glaring weaknesses in the existing immigration legal framework, the Angolan government is in the process of developing its first migration policy. The discussion on migration policy development is ongoing and national authorities have established both inter-ministerial and technical commission task teams. Through the development of a migration policy document the Angolan government hopes to clearly define procedures to be adhered to by all migrants seeking legal stay in Angola. Coupled with this, the policy is expected to provide a better platform that will enable migrants to integrate smoothly into Angolan society and allow them to participate in Angola's reconstruction and socio-economic and political development drive (Government of Angola 2010).

Angola has a specific legislation dealing with refugees, the Asylum Law 08/90 which was drafted when the socio-economic and political conditions of the country were radically different and the influx of refugees and migrants was more contained. This, coupled with the lack of regulations dealing with substantial

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<sup>13</sup> Article 33 Para 1 of the 02/07 *Lei Sobre o Regime Juridico dos Estrangeiros na Republica de Angola*.

<sup>14</sup> According to Article 32 Para 1(b) of the 02/07 *Lei Sobre o Regime Juridico dos Estrangeiros na Republica de Angola* expulsion of foreign citizens should be enforced within 15 days.

<sup>15</sup> Article 29 Para 4 of the 02/07 *Lei Sobre o Regime Juridico dos Estrangeiros na Republica de Angola*.

procedural aspects, such as the time for adjudication<sup>16</sup> and the right to an effective remedy in the asylum procedure, has led the Angolan government to start a process of revision of the current National Asylum Law. Comprehensive comments on the Asylum Bill were submitted by UNHCR in 2013 (UNHCR 2014a). Although at present there are no clear indications about the provisions contained in the New Asylum Law, various reports have mentioned the institution of Reception Centres for asylum seekers and the fact that legal remedies will have a suspensive effect in first instance and appeal procedures (MIEUX 2010:22).

Regionally, Angola is party to the Southern African Development Community (SADC), which aims at achieving development, peace, security and economic growth in order to alleviate poverty and improve the standard of living in Southern Africa. The 1992 SADC Treaty advocates socio-economic policies that encourage free movement of goods, services, factors of production and people in the Southern African region. The policy reflects, contributes to, and improves on national, regional, and international legal instruments and frameworks that deal with labour and migration.

In a similar vein, although like most SADC countries, Angola has yet to ratify the 'SADC Protocol on Facilitation of Movement of Persons,' in theory Angola supports the aforementioned framework. A draft document of this protocol was completed in 2005 and currently provides guidance on the SADC regional legal framework on migration. However, it is yet to come into full force owing to delays in ratification by most member states (IOM 2014).

Angola is also a signatory to the 'SADC Protocol on Education and Training,' which advocates the relaxation and elimination of immigration formalities in order to facilitate the free movement of human resources and human capital for development within the region. Angola, as member country of SADC, is also a party to the 'SADC Protocol on Employment and Labour.' The protocol

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<sup>16</sup> According to Article 12 Para 3 of the 08/90 *Lei Sobre o Estatuto do Refugiado* applications for asylum should generally be processed within 60 days of filing a completed asylum application. See full text at: [http://www.cidadevirtual.pt/acnur/acn\\_lisboa/nrjap/0\\_iv1.html](http://www.cidadevirtual.pt/acnur/acn_lisboa/nrjap/0_iv1.html) accessed 23 August 2014.

encourages collective bargaining, dialogue and consultation among stakeholders in the labour market. It also recognises the importance of equal treatment and the protection of workers and employees rights, which also apply to migrant workers. The protocol was signed by the SADC Heads of State in August 2014, and in order to be implemented, it needs to be ratified by two thirds of the SADC member states. This is a further step towards achieving a regional migration agenda and a more concrete regional integration of labour migration (Nshimbi & Fioramonti 2013).

Angola is also a signatory to bilateral agreements in the field of movement of people, and in 2013 the provincial government of Lunda Norte (Angola) and West Kasai (DRC) signed a protocol to facilitate the mobility of border residents between these two provinces. Based on this agreement people living near the borders are free to move (*Laissez-Passer*) for a maximum of 72 hours within an area of 10 kilometres. This measure was implemented mainly to facilitate cross-border trade movements between Angola and the DRC. Although it was not possible to establish a positive correlation between the introduction of the *Laissez-Passer* scheme and a significant reduction in the flow of unauthorised migrants and expulsions of foreign nationals, this measure was positively received by the Angolan authorities and local communities.<sup>17</sup>

### Stakeholders in Migration Governance

There is a wide variety of stakeholders involved in issues of human mobility in Angola. These include Angolan state authorities, international and faith based organisations, and research and academic institutions. The following discussion does not intend to provide an exhaustive list of the main players, but only aims to provide a broad overview of some of the vital stakeholders involved in human mobility governance and debate in Angola. The most important state institutions handling

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<sup>17</sup> Interview with Salvatore Sortino, IOM Head of Mission in Angola, August 2014

migration in Angola are: the Ministry of Home Affairs (MININT); the Institute Providing Support to Angolan Communities Abroad (IAECAE); the Ministry of Public Administration, Employment and Social Security (MAPESS); the Ministry of Assistance and Social Reinsertion (MINARS); and the Ministry of Health (MINSA) (Ammassari 2005). MININT, through its Department for Migration and Foreigners (SME), handles general migration issues, but does not have a specific focus on skilled migration. SME's tasks involve the collection and analysis of migration data and leading the development of policies and legislation on migration. In addition, some of the priorities of the SME are to improve data collection systems regarding migration and to strengthen border controls to fight the trafficking and smuggling of human beings. Special emphasis is now placed on unauthorised immigration, which is increasingly being seen as a serious threat to national stability.

The IAECAE was established in 1992 in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MIREX). The main tasks of the institute are: a) receiving Angolans who return home either permanently or temporarily; b) providing information and advice on employment and investment opportunities and on other aspects related to return and reintegration (e.g. travel, transfer of personal effects, opening of foreign currency bank accounts); c) assisting Angolans abroad with administrative and legal matters; and d) maintaining fruitful links between the country and its diaspora (IAECEA 2003).

The role of MAPESS is to provide assessment, monitoring and development of the national labour market. The ministry also tracks labour demands and needs, and promotes an appropriate correlation between the two. It has set up an Inter-ministerial Commission for the Training of Human Resources for the National Economy. In addition, it also recently established an Observatory for Employment and Professional Training to provide support to the Inter-ministerial Commission and carry out surveys on the labour force in both the public and private sectors (Ammassari 2005).

The main aim of MINARS is dealing with the resettlement and reintegration of Internally Displaced Persons and refugees. To a lesser extent MINARS deals with some issues involving skilled migration in Angola. Its involvement is limited, however, since



these populations usually involve a relatively small number of highly skilled and qualified people (Ammassari 2005:43-44).

In a similar vein, MINSA has a particular stake in skilled migration because the health sector is particularly affected by the brain drain. Angola also faces huge imbalances in medical personnel deployment as most local medical doctors refuse to serve in rural areas, instead preferring to work in cities such as Luanda and Benguela. Addressing these spatial and sectorial imbalances in the distribution of health workers falls within the jurisdiction of MINSA. However, MINSA's focus has mainly been on the domestic sector skills migration and to a lesser extent on the international brain drain and the role of Angolan health workers who practice abroad. The ministry also handles the permanent or temporary return of doctors and other health professionals from abroad. At present MINSA is preoccupied with diffusing tensions between returnees and medical staff practising in the country. However, there are challenges that MINSA is facing in undertaking this task since it is short on technical expertise and it is often under staffed (Ammassari 2005:44).

The main international organisations dealing primarily with migrants and refugees in Angola are the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). A brief description of the activities and mandates of these organisations is given below.

The IOM carries out several operations and emergencies including the Regional Voluntary Repatriation of Angolan Refugees and Spontaneous Returnees from Neighbouring Countries. This project which is aimed at Angolan returnees, got off the ground in 2012, starting with 15 Reception and Transit Centres (RTCs) spread out across all major provinces of Angola. It ensures that minimum humanitarian standards for international returnees are met and, among other things, covers the registration of identity documents, provision of clean potable water and sanitation services, and the transportation of food rations and reintegration kits. The IOM in Angola also provides technical assistance and capacity building to enhance the national capacity to respond during and after natural disasters, and to assist displaced and at risk populations

With regard to migration assistance, the IOM aims at improving the quality of asylum in the context of mixed migration. The initiative also contributes to the reinforcement of the institutional capacity of the government and civil society to manage mixed migration at the main entry points, as well as inland, in a systematic manner. Furthermore, the IOM also runs the Post-Arrival Reintegration Assistance to Angolan unaccompanied minors (UAMs) returning from the Netherlands. This initiative aims to facilitate returned UAMs' sustainable reintegration through the provision of various services, such as reception, post-arrival information and counselling, family tracing and reunification, shelter and interim care as well as support for school and skills training, as required.

In addition, the IOM carries out some migration policy and research activities to assist the government of Angola with the Development of a National Migration Policy. On request from the Angolan authorities the IOM was given the task of providing guidance and capacity building to the technical commission in charge of drafting the new national migration policy.

Furthermore, the IOM is implementing the Africa, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Observatory on Migration. A key objective for governments in the ACP countries is to define how to effectively integrate human mobility into national and regional development plans with poverty reduction strategies. Accordingly, the ACP Observatory on Migration initiative establishes a network of research centres and governmental departments working on migration issues. Angola is one of the ACP pilot countries within the Southern African region. The ACP Observatory on Migration organises, based on research and capacity building priorities defined at the national and regional level, a series of inter-regional training workshops on migration data management and the use of statistical software. At the country level, a multi-sectorial national consultative committee on migration involving academics and governmental departments working on migration issues will be established to promote better information exchange and evidence-based migration and policy development for Angola.

The UNHCR has a significant presence in the migration sector in Angola. Its current operational highlights in Angola include

strengthening law and policy for the protection of refugees and asylum seekers. It also observes the work of COREDA (*Comite de Reconhecimento do Estatuto de Refugiado*), the national refugee status determination body, and plays the role of independent observer. Furthermore, UNHCR has been contributing to the development, reinforcement and organisational capacity of the government to manage mixed migration across Angola. It has also taken a leading role in providing free legal assistance to refugees, and asylum-seekers through one of its implementing partners, the Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS). Moreover, since the beginning of the civil war in the 1970s, the UNHCR has been providing support to vulnerable urban refugees, such as ensuring access to public health services. Coupled with this, the organisation has provided training to law enforcement officials on Sex and Gender-based Violence (SGBV) prevention and response, promoting SGBV awareness among persons of concern through sensitisation campaigns. Furthermore, UNHCR has facilitated and provided finance and technical support to urban refugee vocational programmes throughout Angolan towns.

Since May 2013, the UNHCR has also rendered technical and financial assistance in the ongoing review of the National Asylum Law in Angola (Law 08/90). This revision will determine the scope of asylum in the country for the foreseeable future. The UNHCR has also been at the forefront pushing for refugee status determination in Angola. It has been working hand-in-hand with COREDA to clear out a huge backlog of work regarding Second Instance Decisions on asylum determination in the country. Another important milestone that the UNHCR has achieved recently is the assistance to the Angolan Ministry of Social Assistance and Reintegration (MINARS) to carry out an assistance programme for vulnerable urban refugees in accessing public health services. Furthermore, the UNHCR in collaboration with its partner organisations, such as JRS, is running legal aid assistance and reintegration centres for refugees and asylum seekers in the provinces of Luanda, Bengo and Lunda Norte. The organisation is also running a campaign to develop and implement a Sex and Gender Based Violence Strategy targeting refugees. In undertaking this it has helped the Angolan Department of Criminal Investigation (DNIC) to undertake awareness campaigns on the Angolan Law on Domestic Violence

(Law 25/11) throughout the country. In undertaking the above activities in Angola UNHCR is assisted by the following partners: Refugee Department of the Ministry of Social Assistance and Reintegration (MINARS); Service for Migration and Foreigners (SME); Refugee Status Determination Committee (COREDA); International Organisation for Migration (IOM); Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS); International Volunteers for Development (VIS); United Nations Volunteers (UNV) and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

Among the local NGOs the Development Workshop (DW) has been operating in Angola for more than 30 years with the objective of assisting human settlements and self-help housing. In general, the DW is considered one of the oldest non-profit organisations in Angola and it has been operational in the area of land rights, peace building, decentralisation and governance. The main strategy of the DW is building up local capacities with the active participation of the community.

The Catholic Church is also vocal in Angola in promoting the rights of migrants and refugees. Besides the Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS), which was mentioned earlier, there are two other important organisations catering for the needs of people on the move. Both CARITAS and the Episcopal and Pastoral Commission for migrants (CEPAMI) run projects that support migrants and internally displaced people.

### **Issues in the Governance of Migration**

Despite the commendable strides made by the Angolan government since the end of the civil war in 2002, the absence of a comprehensive national migration policy remains a very serious issue. National authorities and their local and international partners should consider developing and implementing migration programmes with a broader perspective that will have a wider impact on the problem. In particular, its strategies should focus on the regional specificities, characteristics, patterns and dynamics, opportunities and priorities that characterise the country's migration challenges (IOM 2013). The country also needs to mainstream migration issues into its economic development agenda. The misalignment of migration issues and

development policies in the past has often led to migration issues receiving less government priority, particularly in terms of the national budget. This has greatly hampered national migration programmes, such as the resettlement and reintegration of returnees from neighbouring countries, and the country's efforts to resolve the huge rural-urban migration challenges that Angola is currently facing.

The emphasis placed on border control, securitization of immigration and the fight against unauthorised migration appears to be a short sighted strategy, and migration governance deserves a wider approach able to capitalise on the nexus between migration and development. There is now, however, a growing recognition among the Angolan authorities of the important role that migration can play in the country's economic development, especially the contribution of the Angolan diaspora to the economy through their skills and remittances (Tolentino & Peixoto 2013).

Angola's programmes and initiatives to address migration challenges should take into consideration national priorities and objectives as defined by its Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP) and the United Nations Development Assistance Framework. Some of the initiatives that have been identified as relevant in other African countries include: capacity building in migration governance; unauthorised migration; human trafficking; research and migration data; youth initiatives and migration and development notably, diaspora and remittances; and migration health with cross-border implications. If adopted, the above strategies may help the Angolan government to respond effectively not only to its national economic priorities and but also to the country's strategic international development cooperation objectives (IOM 2009).

### *Repatriation in Angola*

The repatriation process was mainly facilitated by the Angolan authorities, UNHCR and the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) (Kaun 2008). The process of the return and reintegration of former Angolan refugees has been characterised by several positive factors and opportunities. UNHCR (2008)

observes that, compared to many other post conflict countries in both Africa and worldwide, Angola's return and reintegration effort has been relatively smooth owing to the reduced violence that has followed the 2002 Luena Peace Treaty. Moreover, the end of the war was followed by a tremendous expansion of the country's economy, resulting in increased socio-economic opportunities for the returnees, and hence easing their reintegration into Angolan society. Another important factor that has eased the reintegration is the generosity of Angola's international development partners (donors). Western donor states in particular have been very generous in providing financial, logistical, and technical support to UNHCR's Angola refugee programme and reintegration activities. Finally, the relative success of Angola's repatriation and reintegration process can be attributed to a large extent to the willingness, resilience and resourcefulness of the refugees themselves. UNHCR (2013) observes that two thirds of former Angolan refugees exiled in neighbouring countries were more than eager to voluntarily return home and restart their lives. This situation has gone a long way to relieving both the Angolan authorities and the international aid agencies of the work of coaxing and cajoling the refugees to undertake repatriation and reintegration into Angolan society.

Despite these positive factors and opportunities, the repatriation effort in Angola faced many obstacles including the lack of basic social services (e.g. health, education, and water), the threat of landmines in some areas, crop failures due to unfavourable climatic conditions, hostile reception from fellow Angolans who view them as rivals for scarce socio-economic opportunities in the country, and language problems for returnees who were schooled in English and French but not in Portuguese (UNHCR 2008). These challenges not only discourage former refugees from returning from neighbouring countries but also seriously hamper the returnees from smoothly and fully reintegrating into Angolan society. The process of refugee reintegration has also met some serious hurdles such as low levels of food security among returnees, lack of employment opportunities, scarce income-generating opportunities, poor access to public services, and increased rural-urban migration amongst returnees (Kaun 2008). These challenges have created adverse consequences for returnee

women and children especially those with special needs. One of the most prominent constraints hampering the reintegration process in Angola is the difficulty not only in acquiring Angolan national identity documents but also in validating educational qualifications gained while living in exile.

With regard to birth registration and identity documentation, the Angolan authorities should ensure that children born in the country are registered at birth and those born to refugees or migrants are not discriminated against with respect to nationality rights guarantees. This creates a sense of marginalisation amongst returnees since the majority of these former refugees are unable to benefit from statutory socio-economic opportunities. But it must also be pointed out that Angolan returnees have not benefitted much from the UNHCR reintegration initiatives, mainly because the programmes have focused primarily on the logistics of return rather than on the reintegration process itself (UNHCR 2008). The Angolan state should also strive to put in place well developed civil registry systems that can effectively handle the country's nationality record keeping and provide relevant statistical information to help Angola with her socio-economic development planning (UNHCR 2014a).

In summary, public service delivery challenges are negatively affecting the reintegration of former Angolan refugees, and it is clear that there is urgent need for socio-economic development in Angola. UNHCR (2007) observes that an improved socio-economic delivery system would not only attract professionals such as teachers, medical personnel and other civil servants to work in the country's remote areas, but more importantly would deter a 'second migration' of former refugees in search of socio-economic services and development assistance (Kaun 2008).

The Angolan government is very concerned about how these populations can be safely resettled and reintegrated. One of the greatest challenges is how to address the prospect of repatriation into conditions that cannot support new populations, with the danger of growing alienation on the part of returnees. This issue is a potential threat to the future stability of Angola. Among the most daunting long term issues confronting Angola now is the resettlement of IDPs and refugees. The United Nations has been involved in the process of repatriation. A collaborative effort

between the Angolan government, the UN, NGOs, and business interests will be needed in order to help make return sustainable. It is crucial to address potential donor government concerns about indigenous fiscal integrity, restructuring provincial governments, and building local infrastructure. Furthermore, there are profound implications for the return of IDPs and refugees. Therefore, these key issues should be examined in depth in subsequent empirical research. In particular, an effort should be made to evaluate comparable experiences from elsewhere in the world in order to apply past lessons to these overwhelming challenges. The objective should be to assist relevant stakeholders to help the Angolan government and its people to help themselves.

### *Human Trafficking*

Despite the fact that in February 2014 the Angolan Government amended its penal code to explicitly prohibit all forms of human trafficking, prescribing penalties from eight to twelve years imprisonment, only two cases are currently under investigation and the judicial system has never convicted a trafficking offender (United States Department of State 2014).

Although the government is making efforts to prevent trafficking and has developed standard operating procedures for the identification of victims of trafficking, to identify victims of trafficking it is still problematic, particularly in the case of undocumented migrant workers (United States Department of State 2014).

The government of Angola has also played a very minimal role in ensuring that victims of human trafficking can readily access assistance. Instead of taking a leading role it has over relied on civil society, religious organisations and non-governmental organisations to assist people caught up in human trafficking. This reduced statutory role has weakened and negatively impacted on the exercise, since the support that these non-state players provide to victims is often inadequate owing to financial and legal constraints (Amnesty International 2007).



The judicial deterrence of human trafficking is further weakened by rampant corruption endemic in the country's security system. Reports of police and military officers accepting bribes from smugglers transporting sex and labour 'slaves' into prostitution and mining camps in rural provinces are quite common. These corrupt practices defeat the whole Angolan government effort to reduce and eradicate the practice (Global Detention Project 2014).

The fact that Angola has recently acceded to the three Palermo protocols to the *Convention against Transnational Organised Crime* is an encouraging step forward towards enhancing effective protection and increasing efforts to prevent human trafficking.

### ***Ecological and Economic Downturns***

The Angolan migration system is undermined by the fact that the country does not have a clear internal and cross-border strategy to cope with ecological and economic downturns. The negative effect of this can be seen with the recent emergence of natural-disaster induced migrations such as droughts and famines. In 2013, a severe drought in the southern provinces affected over 500,000 individuals and destroyed traditional livelihoods (UNICEF 2013). These acute and reoccurring droughts create severe food shortages and put millions of people at risk, forcing them to move, and compelling large pastoralist communities to find alternative and often unsustainable livelihoods, while also creating additional protection concerns (Ammassari 2005). There is a need for government to focus on prevention, disaster management and early warning systems and to increase its capacity to identify and monitor disasters and risks. So far only one province (Cunene) has a contingency plan in place for the reduction of risks and disasters (UNDP 2014).

### ***Urbanisation and Population Pressures***

The urbanisation and population pressures which Angola is experiencing, at an especially high rate compared with other SADC countries, have future implications for migration governance and regional integration. The rate of urbanisation is 61 percent and the urban population growth rate per year is four

percent (UN DESA 2013). The country has one of the highest population growth rates in the world. At these rates, the population is expected to double again by the year 2025 (UN DESA 2013). Coupled with this, Angola experienced rapid urbanisation which was further exacerbated by the country's long armed conflict. Huge numbers of IDPs and economically driven migrants have moved into cities, especially into the capital Luanda and into Benguela in search of a more secure environment offering better income-generating opportunities. But many Angolans have also fled across international borders to seek refuge or have emigrated to pursue their studies and work abroad. These issues are creating tremendous pressure on the country's already weak migration system which is often economically and systemically unable to cope with the huge inflows and outflows of people.

### *'Brain Drain' of Highly Skilled People*

Despite the booming Angolan economy and the economic slowdown in the West, the country continues to experience 'brain drain' of its highly skilled citizens, especially medical personnel, to the developed countries who still offer considerably higher salaries and better working conditions. This international mobility of highly qualified and skilled personnel from Angola, though not a new migratory phenomenon, is currently on the rise, and has been ever since the end of the civil war in 2002. The phenomenon is frustrating the government's reconstruction and development efforts as the country is now resorting to recruiting often expensive foreign expatriates in critical sectors of the economy such as medical and technical fields (Lopes, Rodrigues & Simas 2013).

The other main issue negatively affecting migration governance in the country is that migration as a multi-sectoral strategy barely features in Angola's national and regional development strategies. This problem is not restricted to Angola only as other development frameworks for Sub-Saharan Africa, including the Millennium Development Goals, Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the Tokyo International Conference on African Development, have also not adequately addressed the issue. This therefore

negatively affects Angola's resolve to holistically address its outstanding national and international migration problems, since its effort is largely fragmented and uncoordinated (UNHCR 2014).

## **Conclusion**

Angola, like many parts of the developing world, experiences high levels of human mobility as people move to, from, and within the country in significant numbers. The country's long period of civil war coupled with a recent post-war era of economic boom and favourable conditions, has propelled significant inflows and outflows of people to and from this Southern African nation, thus creating serious bottlenecks to effective migration governance. The situation is compounded further by the lack of proper legislative frameworks to guide human mobility in the face of surging immigration, rural-urban migration, and emigration. The foregoing discussion argues that in order to address the country's human mobility challenges the Angolan government, in collaboration with all stakeholders, needs to develop an appropriate migration policy framework, revise the existing migration laws, implement international migration treaties, and address economic inequalities prevalent in the country through the equitable redistribution of petroleum revenues.

This discussion concludes by identifying gaps in Angolan migration literature that may require further research in the future. First, the glaring lack of information on migration in Angola and the whole SADC region is one of the main areas that future research should focus on (SADC 2008). Currently, there is no reliable data on migration in Angola apart from the national census, which was carried out a long time ago and is therefore outdated. However, the census figures are sometimes misleading because they often do not distinguish legal from "unauthorised" migration. Several reasons have been put forward as to why it is difficult to measure exact dimensions in the country. Angolan national statistical systems do not collect systematic time-series data on foreign employment in the country. The national statistics system, which still contains some relics from the colonial era, fails to take into account changing foreign employment trends in the

country especially the rise of foreign expatriates in Angola. This weakness also stems from the census design which often contains migration related questions. In addition, the Angolan authorities find it difficult to obtain statistics on “unauthorised” migration since the country’s migrants and employers have no interest in revealing their presence in the country to state authorities (IOM 2014).

Empirical enquiry should therefore focus on plugging the data deficiencies prevalent in the Angolan migration system. As succinctly argued by Oucho (2007), the pursuit of reliable migration data can be subjected to empirical investigation on three accounts. First, it would help Angola holistically examine the extent of emigration, brain drain and the diaspora. Second, with the collection and analysis of necessary migration data, empirical research should focus to how migration redistributes population in Angola and the SADC region. Furthermore, data gathering on migration in Angola should lead researchers to examining the effects of emigration and immigration on Angola’s economy. These research areas which require comprehensive data collection, are worth rigorous empirical examination since they have never before been thoroughly researched in the literature on the subject.

Angola has undergone significant socio-economic and political changes in the past decade. Ever since the MPLA-UNITA Peace Accords were signed in 2002, the country has witnessed, among others things, unprecedented petroleum-driven economic growth and development, repatriation and resettlement of hundreds of thousands of war weary citizens who were refugees in the DRC, Zambia, Namibia and Botswana, democratic general elections which returned MPLA to power, and the drafting and implementation of a new constitution. Without a doubt the above developments have had an impact on migration flows and patterns in the country. There is therefore need for urgent research on the impact of recent economic, social and political changes in Angola, including the high economic growth rate, and on migration and remittances. In fact there has been considerable research done on remittance inflows from the Angolan diaspora. Very little is known, however, about the nature and characteristics of remittance outflows by foreign migrants residing in Angola to their countries of destination (Alvarez

Tinajero 2009). This therefore necessitates a systematic analysis of the emigrants who send money, destination of the remittances and the motives for sending the money. Research could also extend to finding out whether or not the large outflows of remittances could be originating partly from the high profits being obtained from the Angolan petroleum and mineral sectors (Melde & Schicklinski 2011).

Future migration research in Angola should also focus on the detention of unauthorised migrants. At present, there is very little available information about immigration detention issues in Angola, in part because of limitations placed on civil society groups in the country. While Angola has taken some steps to strengthen the human rights framework in the country, issues such as freedom of expression and government obstruction of NGOs' initiatives have not yet been addressed (Amnesty International 2014). In the past the government has also restricted the ability of international bodies to visit some detention sites (WGAD 2008). Moreover, there have been numerous reports of mistreatment of migrants while in official custody. In late 2010, the UN Secretary-General's Special Representative for Sexual Violence in Conflict called for an investigation into allegations that Congolese women in deportation proceedings had been serially raped by Angolan agents.

The expulsion of unaccompanied minors has been particularly marked in the border areas with the DRC, especially in Lunda Norte (UNHCR 2014a). Such issues require urgent research to establish the real facts on the ground, bring global attention to the issues, and find urgent and long lasting solutions for them.

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