



# IT WILL BE TOO LATE TO HELP US

# ONCE WE ARE DEAD

THE HUMAN RIGHTS IMPACT OF CLIMATE CHANGE  
IN DROUGHT-STRICKEN SOUTHERN MADAGASCAR

**AMNESTY**  
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*Cover photo: Woman walking in a dried-out landscape, in Maroalomainity © Pierrot Men for Amnesty International*

**AMNESTY  
INTERNATIONAL**







**“WE HAVE NO CHOICE  
BUT TO STAY HERE  
AND WAIT FOR DEATH  
TO TAKE US AWAY”**

Southern Madagascar is in crisis. The southern region of the country, commonly referred to as *Le Grand Sud* (the Deep South) is currently experiencing its worst drought in 40 years, with more than a million people on the brink of famine and thousands more already facing catastrophic famine-like conditions.

The drought has had a disastrous impact on the enjoyment of human rights for people in the region, with particularly severe outcomes on their health. The most affected regions of this current drought are Anosy, Androy, and Atsimo Andrefana: 85 percent of people in crisis were located there.<sup>1</sup> Generally, these three regions, and the region of Analanjirofo, are also the most vulnerable to the health impacts of climate change as according to the World Bank, they have the weakest adaptive capacity, being characterized by isolation, poor access to health services, insufficient health providers per capita, and low incomes.<sup>2</sup>

The World Food Programme (WFP) has observed that as a direct consequence of the ongoing drought, malnutrition in the region is increasing, while access to water, sanitation and hygiene are becoming ever more precarious. 75 percent of the population of the districts of Amboasary and Atsimo are facing 'severe hunger.' Over one quarter of the children in the Ampanihy and Ambovombe districts are currently suffering from acute malnutrition.

**"I've noticed a lot of changes. Before, the rain would fall from September to December, and we would start cultivating in February. This year, the rain only fell in February. It's been two years that there is nothing growing in our fields."**

MAYOR OF MAROALOMAINTY, INTERVIEW IN MARCH 2021

Situated in the tropics, Madagascar is susceptible to tropical cyclones and heavy rainfall events, as well as droughts. Existing scientific research strongly suggests that climate change has likely contributed to an increase in temperatures in the southern part of the country, while at the same time reducing rainfall; conditions which elevate the likelihood of droughts.







# THE VULNERABLE DEEP SOUTH

While extreme poverty affects all places in Madagascar, there are notable regional disparities. The southern part of Madagascar which includes 3 regions, namely Atsimo Andrefana, Androy and Anosy, with a population of 3,5 million people is a very large and arid area that experiences significantly higher rates of poverty in comparison to the central and northern regions of the large island country. An estimated 91 percent of the population in Le Grand Sud live below the poverty line and the region is historically underfunded and under resourced. The people of the Deep South face multi-faceted disadvantages in accessing and retaining opportunities as their livelihoods are limited primarily to subsistence farming and fishing, which are vulnerable to repeated natural shocks, drought and famine.

The significant proportion of people living below the poverty line in southern Madagascar means that the majority of the population have extremely limited capacity to cope with the immediate negative impacts associated with extreme weather and climate events. They also have a limited ability to adapt to the long-term livelihoods impacts and the knock-on effects that climate change may have on the economy through impacts on agricultural production, fisheries, and tourism.

A man walking on the road in Amboasary region © Pierrot Men for Amnesty International



# THE CLIMATE CRISIS' DEEP-ROOTED INJUSTICES

Although the climate crisis is a global problem, it disproportionately affects certain groups of people who are subjected to multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination and to structural inequalities. The climate crisis also disproportionately disfavours people in developing countries, especially in low-lying island states and least developed countries – such as Madagascar – due not only to their exposure to climate-induced hazards, but also to underlying political and socio-economic factors which amplify the impacts of those events.

**It is a grave injustice that impacts of climate change are felt by people in developing countries the most considering that they have contributed the least to the climate crisis.**







Whereas there is little scientific evidence available on how climate change has impacted Madagascar so far, the country was ranked among the 20 most vulnerable countries to climate change between 2000 and 2019. There are also sufficient scientific projections to highlight that Madagascar will likely be disproportionately affected by climate change in the future – despite it having contributed only minimally to climate change itself. Current climate projections indicate that droughts are expected to become more severe in the southern part of the country because of climate change in the coming decades, raising serious concerns for the protection of human rights.

Children's shadows in Amboasary region © Pierrot Men for Amnesty International  
A man walking in the dried-out field in Andranosira © Pierrot Men for Amnesty International







# HUMAN RIGHTS **IMPACT**

Extreme weather and climate events, such as the severe drought occurring in southern Madagascar, impact a wide spectrum of human rights.

The denial of Malagasy people from enjoying the internationally recognised right to a clean, healthy and sustainable environment leads to myriad human rights impacts occurring in drought stricken southern Madagascar, including on their right to life, right to health, right to food and rights to water and sanitation.

**“People here are in need of everything. Everybody suffers: children, adults, youth. But I think it is people who have a lot of children who suffer most. And women too...”**

People's houses in Amboasary region  
© Pierrot Men for Amnesty International



# RIGHT TO LIFE

Worldwide, the World Health Organisation (WHO) estimates that between 2030 and 2050, climate change will cause approximately 250,000 additional deaths per year, from malnutrition, malaria, diarrhoea and heat stress.<sup>3</sup> Areas with weak infrastructure, such as Madagascar, will be the least able to cope without assistance to prepare and respond.<sup>4</sup>

There are no comprehensive official statistics about drought-related deaths, however, Amnesty International research found anecdotal evidence that the recurrent and protracted drought has already caused deaths in southern Madagascar. Witnesses interviewed by Amnesty International often spoke of people they knew who, according to them, had died because of the drought, though information on the exact causes of death could not be verified. However, these testimonies were consistent in the different areas that researchers visited in March 2021.

MISA, A MOTHER OF SIX, ALSO TOLD AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL THAT TWO OF HER CHILDREN DIED BECAUSE OF HUNGER.

**“They suffered from hunger, so they ate red cactus, and they died. I brought them here, to the doctor’s, but it was too late already. We hardly eat anything because we don’t earn anything. Some people pity us and give us a bit of food, for example one can of rice when they receive donations from the WFP. I don’t want my other children to die too.”<sup>5</sup>**







# RIGHT TO ADEQUATE FOOD

WE ARE HUNGRY ALL THE TIME

According to the Integrated Food Security Phase Classification (IPC), at the end of 2020 in Madagascar, more than one million people were facing high levels of acute food insecurity<sup>6</sup> during the period from October to December, and this number was expected to rise even further.<sup>7</sup>

Much of the local population of *Le Grand Sud* relies on subsistence agriculture and livestock. The water shortage due to the drought has significantly reduced their yields and in some instances their ability to continue with their farming. Lack of water has also led to extreme heat stress on livestock and crops. Lower production has also led to increased food prices. The monitoring of food markets has shown that as of December 2020, staple food prices remained above previous year and average levels: for example, cereal prices were found to be between 30 to 50 percent above average.<sup>8</sup>

Amnesty International met 23-year-old Sambesoa, in Amboasary. She used to earn a living for her husband and three children by selling chicken and water, but no longer works and could hardly afford to eat.

**“It’s been a year now that everything is more expensive at the market, and there’s hardly any choice anymore. Since the drought, all the prices in the market have increased because people could not cultivate and there has been no harvest. Before, a can of rice was 800 ariary (USD0.21), now it is 1000 ariary (USD0.26). So we buy less rice, and we put more water in it.”<sup>9</sup>**





The green harvest of pumpkin, watermelon, muskmelon, cassava/sweet potato leaves was below average because of drought conditions at the end of 2020, and yellow cactus fruit was also reported to be less available. As a result, poor households had to resort to consuming atypical wild foods like wild nuts, cactus leaves, tamarind and wild tubers, which are considered less edible and more dangerous for children as well as for pregnant and lactating women.<sup>10</sup>

The access to food has become extremely poor, both in quantity and in quality. Children, women and men all said that they eat less than before; smaller quantities, less often in the day, and with less diversity compared to before. Most households eat once a day, some try to make a second meal out of cactus leaves during the day, others have to go without eating for more than a day at a time.



Oline Ampisoa, 63 years old, is a mother of three children, and a grandmother to nine. Her husband died a few years ago and despite being unemployed, she tries to provide for her family.

**'We used to eat three times a day. We would eat corn, sorghum, sweet potatoes, and manioc, but right now, you can hardly find anything. In the morning and at lunchtime, we either don't eat anything, or we eat young cactuses. We remove the thorns and then we boil them, and we give that to the children. I even cry when I watch the children eat sometimes, but there's nothing more I can do.'**<sup>11</sup>



Households rely on cactus plants to survive during the drought  
© Pierrot Men for Amnesty International



Oline Ampisoa in her house, in Ambazoa  
© Pierrot Men for Amnesty International





# CATTLE AND LIVELIHOODS

Cattle are of utmost importance for the Tandroy and other peoples in the South, both as a secular means of accruing wealth, for agricultural and transport purposes, and also for cultural and spiritual reasons, as ‘assurance of a comfortable afterlife.’<sup>12</sup> Owning cattle is hence a social safety net in Madagascar, where there are no other real safety nets provided by the government. People also keep cattle as a food source or sell them for income.

Because of the ongoing drought, poor households have had to sell their livestock and other productive assets for income, in order to purchase food.<sup>13</sup> But humans are not the only ones affected by the drought: animals are too, and cattle were often thinner and in poor condition, resulting in their price being lower than usual on the markets. The poorest households who sold their cattle not only got less money than they expected for their sales, they are also likely to be negatively impacted by the loss for years to come due to the productive value of livestock.

MOSA IS ONE OF THE PEOPLE WHO WAS FORCED TO PART WITH HIS VALUABLE CATTLE.

**“There have been droughts before, but we made do because we had some food remaining from our past harvests. This year however, we had nothing left in stock. We have had to sell our zebus, and we only sold them for 100,000 ariary (approximately USD 26). That’s not even enough to buy a 50 kg bag of rice, and even if we managed to buy that rice, it would not last us one month. I used to have 50 zebus. But I’ve nearly lost all my cattle because of the drought. They nearly all died of hunger because there was no more cactus to feed them. I had 50 and now I have four left. As for my goats, I had 120, and 80 of them died of hunger. There was nothing left to eat. It is my whole future which is destroyed. I used to be amongst the rich people, and now, I am like a homeless person, I have nothing left, and my children suffer.”<sup>14</sup>**



# RIGHT TO WATER AND SANITATION

A muddy lake in Maroaolompoty © Pierrot Men for Amnesty International

Madagascar ranks among the countries with the lowest access to drinking water and sanitation. Nearly 2 million people are without access to drinking water services in the districts of *Le Grand Sud*.<sup>15</sup> Because of the recurring droughts, the price of water has increased, making it extremely difficult for the poorest households to access safe water.

**“The drought has really affected people here. It’s rain that helps us survive and cultivate. When there is no rain, water is very expensive here.”<sup>16</sup>**

Our research found that people drank water from muddy puddles, but these puddles had now run dry due to the drought. Water and sanitation-related illnesses are a major driver of disease in Madagascar: in 2012, less than 14 percent of the population had access to safe sanitation, meaning that more than 19 million Malagasies did not have access to adequate sanitation in 2012.<sup>17</sup>







Poor access to safe drinking water and sanitation facilities also contributes to increasing levels of acute malnutrition,<sup>18</sup> and health concerns. Despite always having lived in a poor region, people interviewed said that they used to have better access to water. Since the drought struck, they have had to reduce their consumption of water. Which violates the right to sufficient, safe, acceptable and physically accessible and affordable water for personal and domestic uses.<sup>19</sup>

**“We buy a 20L water can, for 1000 to 2000 ariary (from USD 0.26 to USD 0.54). I only drink one water can a day, but it is not enough. I need three a day. Those who have children send them to fetch some next to the sea, because there is water on the beach, you can dig wells. And then drink it, after you’ve heated it. But we cannot cook with it, there’s nothing to cook.”**

80-YEAR-OLD MAHONTANAE, INTERVIEW TO AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

Women often suffer disproportionately from water scarcity, as in many societies, including in Madagascar, women typically bear the burden of spending much of their time and energy collecting water. Amnesty International interviewed 54-year old Razainarisoa who explained that she walks for three hours each way to get to the town of Ambovombe, the closest place where she has been able to find water since the drought struck: **‘There are puddles of water, so we take it from there’**, she said.





Children are also disproportionately impacted by the lack of access to water, sanitation and hygiene. According to the UN, 50% of today's child malnutrition is associated with unsafe water, inadequate sanitation and poor hygiene.







# RIGHT TO HEALTH

The human rights to food, water and sanitation are essential for the enjoyment of all other human rights, including the right to health. The lack of access to adequate food and water, both in quality and in quantity, poses a devastating risk to the health of people living in the drought-stricken southern regions of Madagascar. People met by Amnesty International during the

organisation's field visit were often in visibly poor health, thin, and the majority complained of suffering from chronic diarrhea, headaches, and generally feeling sick. One man told Amnesty International:

**"I used to be in good health. But at the moment, this is why I wear this big coat: to hide that I'm skinny."<sup>20</sup>**

Children are disproportionately affected by the health impacts of the drought. Parents told Amnesty International that their children suffered from hunger, diarrhea, vomiting, and headaches. They often were not able to explain precisely what condition their children were suffering from.

**"My children are nearly all sick. For example, this one has liquid coming out of his ears, and the other one often suffered from crises – like in a coma. One of my daughters was also like that, but I managed to see a doctor, and she's a bit better now."**

SOAMOMEIE, A MOTHER, IN AMBOVOMBE - AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL  
INTERVIEW, MARCH 2021

People living in southern Madagascar also face additional risks to their health related to climate change impacts, including greater risk of injury, disease and death due to more intense heat waves, increased injury and ill-health triggered by extreme weather events and increased risks of food and water-borne diseases such as cholera and other diarrheal illnesses and vector-borne diseases such as malaria.<sup>21</sup>

Women's health had been disproportionately negatively affected. Several impacts on the sexual and reproductive health rights of women and girls have been documented. Among the main risks aggravated by the drought, are gender-based violence and sexual violence, child labour and child marriage, to compensate for the lack of household income - *Le Grand Sud* is among the regions with the highest child marriage rates in the country.<sup>22</sup> Reports also indicate an increase in reported cases of child abuse and exploitation.<sup>23</sup>

There are also fears that the extreme weather events are likely to have severe impacts on mental health, including for children, such as post-traumatic stress disorder, anxiety and depression, triggered by loss of family members, property or livelihoods.<sup>24</sup>





## RIGHT TO A CLEAN, SAFE, HEALTHY ENVIRONMENT

On October 8, 2021, at the Human Rights Council's 48th session, forty-three nations adopted resolution 48/13, recognizing the right to a safe, clean, healthy, and sustainable environment as a human right.<sup>25</sup> The constitutions of 110 countries include this right,<sup>26</sup> and a number of regional human rights instruments also recognize it.<sup>27</sup> For example, the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, provides in its Article 24: 'All peoples shall have the right to a general satisfactory environment favourable to their development.'

The Malagasy Environmental Charter, in its Article 6, provides:

**"Everyone has the fundamental right to live in a healthy and balanced environment."<sup>28</sup>**

The ongoing drought highlights very clearly that a healthy environment, including a safe climate, is indispensable for a life of dignity and security. If climate change were to worsen the future droughts in Madagascar, as the projected trends suggest, it will further impact the right of all Malagasy people to live in a safe, clean, healthy and sustainable environment.



# ACCESS TO EDUCATION

As previously illustrated, children are amongst those who are most impacted by the drought, because of their specific metabolism, physiology and developmental needs.<sup>29</sup> Their rights to life, food, water and sanitation are particularly threatened by the drought, and compared to adults, they are disproportionately impacted by the consequences of the drought. In addition to suffering from the same human rights impacts as adults, the drought also impacts their age-specific human rights, such as the right to education.

This situation is particularly concerning as *Le Grand Sud* was already affected by particularly low rates of school enrolment. Amnesty International met with a number of parents who explained that they had stopped sending their children to school since the start of the drought, either because they needed them to work or beg for money because of the family's loss of revenues, or because they were worried about their children going to school on an empty stomach. Others migrated since the drought struck in search of better opportunities, and could no longer put their children in school.

Dried-out landscape, in Maroalomainy © Pierrot Men for Amnesty International







Amnesty International also interviewed a smaller number of parents who said that they continued to send their children to school no matter the circumstances, because of how important they perceived education to be.

**“Children who go to school are not well. They always want to sleep. They are tired and the classes don’t last long. And there are children who had to stop their studies, and migrate with their parents somewhere else.”<sup>30</sup>**

A TEACHER AND FARMER IN THE COMMUNE OF ERADA

**“I don’t go to school at the moment, but when I will feel better, I will go back. When I eat tamarind mixed with clay, my stomach hurts, and that’s why I don’t go to school anymore. Because of hunger, when I get to school, I’m not at ease, and when the teachers explain the class, my head is always elsewhere.”<sup>31</sup>**

MOSA, 17 YEAR OLD

Because of the hunger, some parents have had to make difficult choices, sometimes deciding not to send their children to school when they believe they are in too poor health to attend classes.

**“Many of our children are skinny because of hunger and the drought. Those who have enough strength left still go to school. But I don’t send those who are too skinny, I don’t want them to faint there.”<sup>32</sup>**

A FATHER OF 12 CHILDREN IN AMBAZOA REGION



FOR 63-YEAR-OLD OLINE, WHO TAKES CARE OF HER  
THREE CHILDREN AND NINE GRANDCHILDREN HOWEVER,  
HUNGER CANNOT BE A REASON TO MISS SCHOOL:

**“All of my grandchildren go to school, and even if they are hungry. They pick whatever they can eat on the way, like cactus leaves and little fruit that have just grown. The school is far, it’s 8km away. But I cannot accept that they stop their studies, because I know how important it is to study.”<sup>33</sup>**

The impact of months or years of missed education will likely have an impact on these children’s entire lives.

Children’s right to education has also been put in jeopardy because of the loss of employment that the drought has brought upon their parents.

**“I used to earn money by selling chicken – I would sell 5 or 6 a day. But now, I hardly sell anymore. People have no money to buy them. Some days, I sell nothing. Some days, I will sell one, and I’ve had to lower the price. So I cannot pay for my children to go to school anymore. They’ve stopped going for a year.”<sup>34</sup>**

A MOTHER IN AMBOASARY REGION

A child walking in the field, in Andranosira  
© Pierrot Men for Amnesty International







# MIGRATION AND FORCED DISPLACEMENT

Migration is a commonly relied on strategy in a context of recurring drought.<sup>35</sup> For people in southern Madagascar, it was their first time engaging in migration, and many hoped that they would return home once the situation became more livable. Unfortunately, this survival strategy of heading towards cities in search of better outcomes, comes with risks for those who engage in it, particularly for young girls and children who may face specific protection risks.<sup>36</sup> Many of the families who had migrated now sleep on the streets, or in 'caves' near marketplaces.

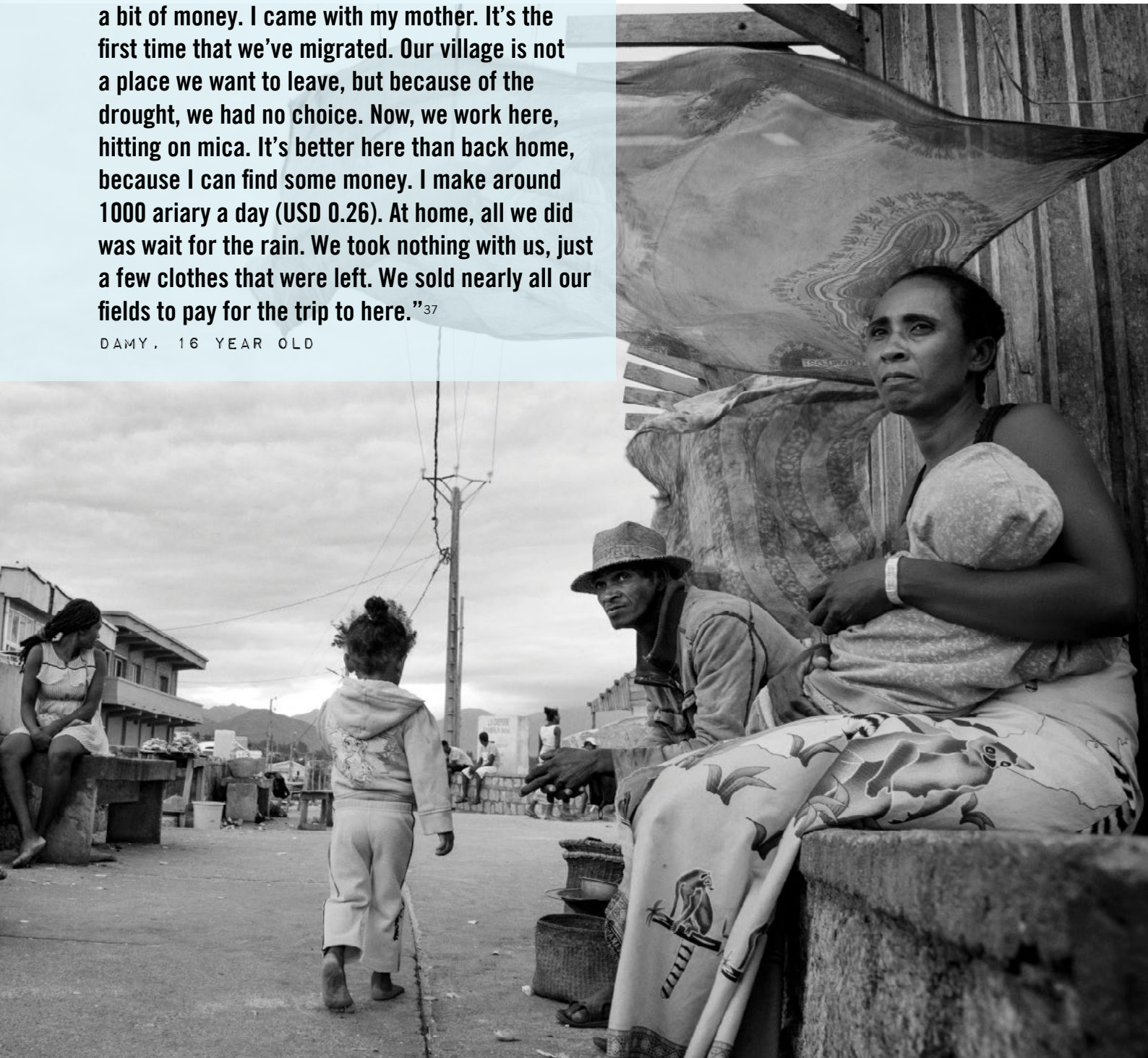
A man walking his ox in the field, in Maroalomainity  
© Pierrot Men for Amnesty International



Damy is 16 years old, and migrated with his parents, to the big city of Fort Dauphin. Like many others, his family has had to sell many of their belongings to afford the travel to escape poverty in their home village. He has been forced into child labour, mining mica, which involves smashing large mica blocs to break them down, and is considered a difficult and dangerous job. However, he earns 1,000 ariary (USD.026) a day – more than what he could earn back at home.

**“I was nearly dying of hunger there. I could not take it anymore. So, I’ve been here for three months, and we came because the rain stopped falling at home. My parents could not pay for my school, and decided to send me here to earn a bit of money. I came with my mother. It’s the first time that we’ve migrated. Our village is not a place we want to leave, but because of the drought, we had no choice. Now, we work here, hitting on mica. It’s better here than back home, because I can find some money. I make around 1000 ariary a day (USD 0.26). At home, all we did was wait for the rain. We took nothing with us, just a few clothes that were left. We sold nearly all our fields to pay for the trip to here.”<sup>37</sup>**

DAMY, 16 YEAR OLD







# RECOMMENDATIONS

The situation in southern Madagascar is a stark reminder that climate change is already causing great suffering and, in some cases, death. As such Amnesty International calls on the international community, particularly wealthier states and those most responsible for the climate crisis, to take immediate action to fulfil their human rights obligations by urgently reducing emissions, and providing the necessary financial and technical assistance to the government of Madagascar and local civil society to support impacted communities.

Malagasy authorities and the international community must ramp up their relief efforts, including providing sustained and regular emergency food assistance and access to clean and safe water for domestic use and consumption in the rural areas of the Deep South.

A man and a young boy with their cattle in Andranosira © Pierrot Men for Amnesty International



## TO ADDRESS THIS GROWING CRISIS, WE ARE CALLING ON THE GOVERNMENT OF MADAGASCAR TO:

- Increase humanitarian relief efforts to southern Madagascar, including providing sustained and regular emergency food assistance and access to clean and safe water for domestic use and consumption, seeking assistance from the international community where necessary;
- Invest in social protection and social services to reduce vulnerability to and mitigate the risks of disasters and climate-induced stresses, ensuring that men and women have equal access to those and the needs of women and marginalised groups are taken into account;
- Address climate change and disasters as drivers of migration and displacement, prevent and reduce the risk of climate change-related displacement, including by facilitating safe and regular migration as an adaptation strategy;
- Develop, adequately fund and implement disaster risk reduction and management strategies, early warning systems and emergency response plans, while ensuring that early warning information is provided in a timely, culturally appropriate, accessible and inclusive manner and the needs of most impacted groups are taken into account;
- Work with local and community media to ensure frequent and clear messaging on weather and risk related issues, recommended actions and available assistance, with particular attention to ensuring access to such information by groups most vulnerable to the impacts of disasters, including persons with hearing, visual and other disabilities, older people, and those with limited access to sources of information – with specific interventions designed to reach, protect and empower remote and marginalised communities to build their resilience to natural hazard-induced disasters; and
- Seek international assistance and co-operation to take sufficient adaptation measures to ensure at least minimum essential levels of economic, social and cultural rights.

## WE URGE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO:

- Increase humanitarian relief efforts to southern Madagascar, including providing sustained and regular emergency food assistance and access to clean and safe water for domestic use and consumption;
- Adopt ambitious new Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) and national long-term emission reduction strategies ensuring these plans are aligned with the imperative to keep the increase of global average temperature as low as possible and no higher than 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels, and reflect each state's responsibility for the climate crisis and their full ability to reduce emissions in the shortest timeframe possible;
- Provide financial, technological and technical, support to Madagascar to ensure sufficient climate change adaptation measures in a manner that would ensure at least minimum essential levels of economic, social and cultural rights for people in the Deep South, and other affected areas; and
- Provide adequate resources, such as funds, technology transfer and technical advice to address and provide remedy for climate change-induced economic and non-economic loss and damage (at individual, community and economy-wide scales) across Madagascar, with urgent action in the more vulnerable Deep south.



# ENDNOTES

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- 3 World Health Organisation, Climate change and Health, See: [who.int](http://who.int)
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- 5 Amnesty International interview with Misa, Ambondro, 07 March 2021
- 6 Corresponds to IPC Phase 3
- 7 Integrated Food Security Phase Classification: Madagascar Grand South And Grand South East. See: [ipcinfo.org](http://ipcinfo.org) p 1
- 8 Famine Early Warning Systems Network See: [fews.net](http://fews.net)
- 9 Amnesty International face to face interview with Sambesoa, Amboasary, 11 March 2021
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- 13 Famine Early Warning Systems Network See: [fews.net](http://fews.net)
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- 15 68 percent, 62 percent and 70 percent respectively for Atsimo Andrefana, Androy, and Anosy, Flash Appeal, Grand Sud, January – May 2021, p22. See [reliefweb.int](http://reliefweb.int)
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- 26 Report of the Special Rapporteur on the issue of human rights obligations relating to the enjoyment of a safe, clean, healthy and sustainable environment, 30 December 2019, UN Doc. A/HRC/43/53, para. 10
- 27 See Article 24, African Charter of Human and People's Rights; Article 18, Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa; Article 11, Additional Protocol to the American Convention on Human Rights in the Area of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (more commonly known as the 'Protocol of San Salvador'); Article 38, Arab Charter on Human Rights, which includes the right to a healthy environment as part of the right to an adequate standard of living that ensures wellbeing and a decent life; Para. 28(f) of the Human Rights Declaration adopted by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations in 2012 incorporates a 'right to a safe, clean and sustainable environment' as an element of the right to an adequate standard of living. See also Article 1, Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-Making and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters (Aarhus Convention) of 1998, drafted under the auspices of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, which refers to 'the right of every person of present and future generations to live in an environment adequate to his or her health and well-being'; and Article 4, Regional Agreement on Access to Information, Public Participation and Justice in Environmental Matters in Latin America and the Caribbean (Escazú Agreement), concluded under the auspices of the UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean and opened for signature in 2018, which requires that 'each Party shall guarantee the right of every person to live in a healthy environment.'
- 28 Law n°2015-003 of 20 January 2015 on the updated Malagasy Environmental Charter
- 29 World Health Organization, Inheriting a Sustainable World? Atlas on Children's Health and the Environment, 2017. See: [who.int](http://who.int)
- 30 Amnesty International face to face interview with Soja Tamesoa, Erada, 6 March 2021
- 31 Amnesty International interview with Mosa Valisoa, 17-year-old, 10 March 2021
- 32 Amnesty International face to face interview with Votsora Rambelo, Ambazoa, 06 March 2021
- 33 Amnesty International face to face interview with Oline Ampisoa, Ambazoa, 06 March 2021
- 34 Amnesty International face to face interview with Sambesoa, Amboasary, 11 March 2021
- 35 IOM Madagascar: Evidencing the Impacts of the Humanitarian Crisis in Southern Madagascar on Migration, and the Multisectoral Linkages that Drought-induced Migration Has on Other Sectors of Concern, 2017, See: [iom.int](http://iom.int)
- 36 United Nations: Madagascar - Grand Sud Humanitarian Key Messages. See: [reliefweb.int](http://reliefweb.int)
- 37 Amnesty International interview with 16-year old Damy, in Fort Dauphin, 11 March 2021





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