

# Development Workshop

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## ANGOLA: COUNTRY GENDER ANALYSIS

Volume I: Contents

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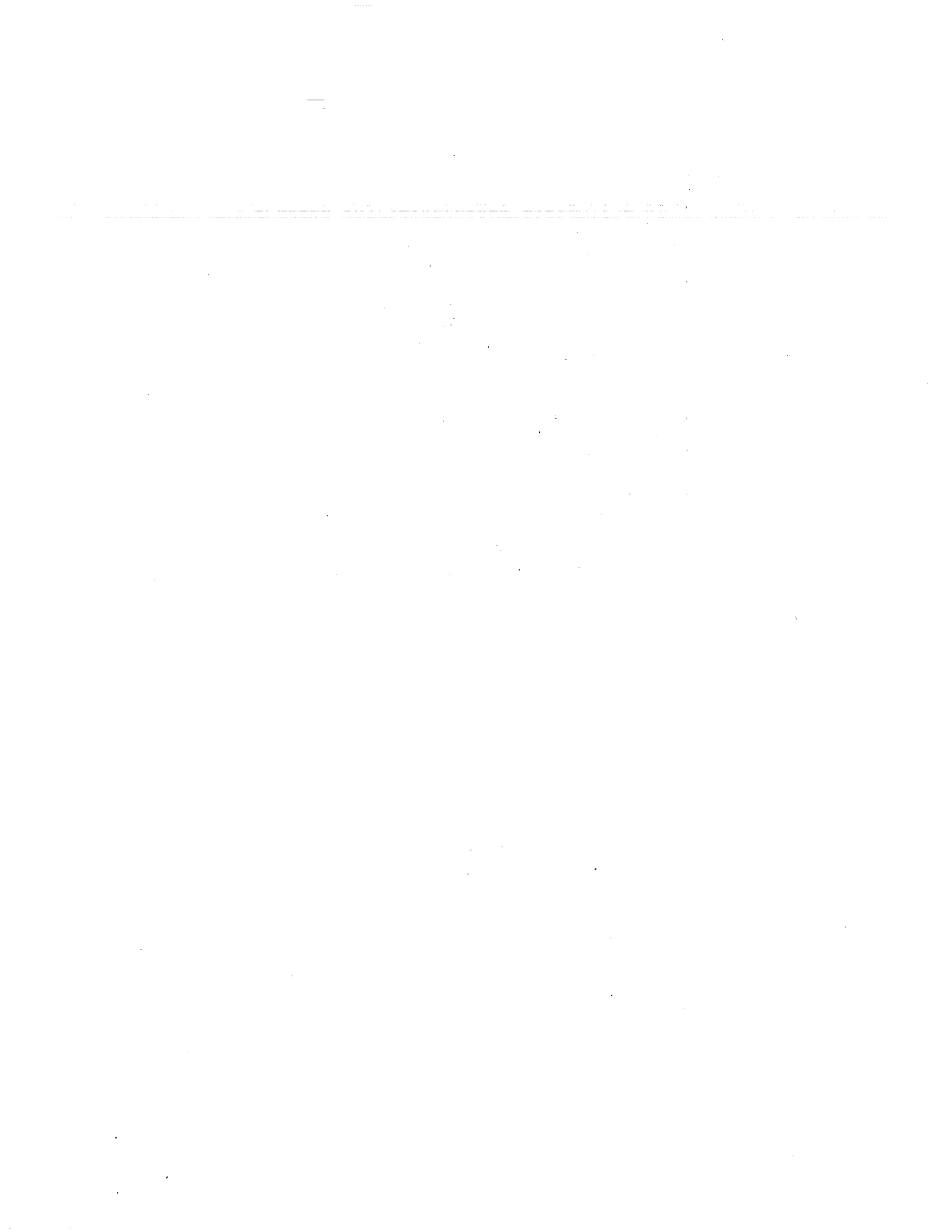
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## ABBREVIATIONS / ABREVIATURAS

AALSIDA	Associação Angolana da Luta Contra o SIDA (Angolan Association for the Fight Against Aids)
ADB / BAD	African Development Bank / Banco Africano para o Desenvolvimento
ANGOP	Agência Angola Press (National News Agency of Angola)
Anon	anonymous (anonimo)
ASSOMEL	Associação das Mulheres Empresárias da Província de Luanda (Association of Women Entrepreneurs in Luanda Province)
bairro	district or ward
BPV	Brigadas Populares de Vigilância (People's Vigilance Brigades)
CAOL	Coordenação de Atendimento Obstétrico em Luanda (Coordination of Obstetric Attention in Luanda)
CCPM / JPMC	Comissão Conjunta Político-Militar Joint Político-Military Commission
CDA	Centro de Desenvolvimento Agrário (Agricultural Development Centre)
CEFOPECAS	Centro de Formação Profissional das Pescas (Professional Training Centre for Fisheries)
CNAC	Comissão Nacional de Apoio a Cooperativização (National Commission to Support Cooperative Formation)
CONGA	Comité de Organizações Não-Governamentais em Angola (Committee of Non-Governmental Organizations in Angola)
CPAC	Comissão Provincial de Apoio a Cooperativização (Provincial Commission to Support Cooperative Formation)
curandeiro	traditional healer (witchdoctor)
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency (Agência dinamarquesa para o Desenvolvimento Internacional)

DCO	Development Cooperation Office (SIDA) (Gabinete de Colaboracao de Desenvolvimento)
DIP	Departamento de Informacao e Propaganda (Department of Information and Propaganda)
DNRFE	Departamento de Novas e Renovaveis Fontes de Energia (Department of New and Renewable Sources of Energy)
DNSP	Direccao Nacional de Saude Publico (National Directorate of Public Health)
EDA	Estacao de Desenvolvimento Agrario (Agricultural Development Station)
ENATEL	Empresa Nacional de Telecomunicacoes (national telecommunications)
EPTTEL	Empresa Publica de Telecomunicacoes (international telecommunications)
FONGA	Forum das ONGs Angolanas (Forum of Angolan Non-Governmental Organizations)
FNLA	Frente Nacional de Libertacao de Angola (National Front for the Liberation of Angola)
GDP / PIB	Gross Domestic Product Produto Interno Bruto
IDA	Instituto de Desenvolvimento Agrario (Institute of Agrarian Development)
IDF	Instituto de Desenvolvimento Florestal (Institute of Forestry Development)
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
ILO / OIT	International Labour Organization Organizacao Internacional de Trabalho
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estatistica (National Institute of Statistics)
INIDE	Instituto Nacional de Investigacao e Desenvolvimento de Educacao (National Institute of Educational Investigation and Development)
INORADE	Instituto Nacional de Organizacao e Administracao do Estado (National Institute for State Organization and Administration)

JA	Jornal de Angola (national newspaper)
JMPLA	Juventude de MPLA (MPLA Youth)
kz	kwanza (USD 1.00 = kw 59.24 as of March 1991)
MPLA-PT	Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola-Partido do Trabalho (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola - Worker's Party)
musseque	shanty town usually located on the periphery of main urban centres
NGO / ONG	Non-Governmental Organization Organizacao Nao-Governamental
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for International Development (Agencia norueguesa para o Desenvolvimento Internacional)
OMA	Organizacao da Mulher Angolana (Organization of Angolan Women)
OPA	Organizacao de Pioneiros Agostinho Neto (Agostinho Neto Organization of Pioneers)
PAG	Programa de Accao do Governo (Government Programme of Action)
planalto	plateau, elevated plain (name used to refer to Angola's central plateau area)
quitandeira	market woman (mulher de mercado)
SADCC	Southern African Development Coordination Conference
SEF	Saneamento Economico e Financeiro (Economic and Financial Restructuring)
SIDA / ASDI SIDO	Swedish International Development Agency Agencia Sueca para o Desenvolvimento Internacional Small Industries Development Organization (Organizacao para o Desenvolvimento de Micro-Industrias)
SSE / EPE	small-scale enterprise (micro-industria) epresa de pequena escala (micro industria)
UEA	Uniao dos Escritores Angolanos (Union of Angolan Writers)

UNAC	Uniao Nacional de Artistas e Compositores (National Union of Artists and Composers)
UNACA	Uniao Nacional dos Camponeses Angolanos (National Union of Angolan Peasants)
UNAP	Uniao Nacional de Artistas Plasticos (National Union of Plastic Artists)
UNDP / PNUD	United Nations Development Programme Programa das Nacoes Unidas para o Desenvolvimento
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFPA / FNUAP	United Nations Fund for Population Activities Fundo das Nacoes Unidas Para a Populacao
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (Fundo das Nacoes Unidas para a Infancia)
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
UNITA	Uniao Nacional para Independencia Total de Angola (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola)
UNTA	Uniao Nacional dos Trabalhadores Angolanos (National Union of Angolan Workers)
WID / MND	Women in Development mulher no desenvolvimento

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

## INTRODUCTION

Contrary to the situation in other SADCC countries, there exist virtually no reports or documentation about gender aspects and their relations to the developments taking place in Angola.

During the early 50's, nationalist movements against Portuguese colonialism began to grow in Angola. In 1956 the MPLA was founded, in 1961 the armed struggle, and on 11 November 1975 independence was achieved. Due to external influence, fighting continued between MPLA and Unita, and only on 31 May 1991 was a peace accord signed between these two movements.

## CULTURE

The end of the war does not change the impact of traditional values, attitudes and laws on women and men. These must be assessed as they affect, positively or negatively, women's capacity to be actively involved in development initiatives.

There has been little research on traditional or customary law in Angola, yet in many parts of the country (especially rural areas) these practices most strongly affect women and men in relation to marriage, inheritance, rights of children, etc.

Dislocation (and colonialism) has affected traditional values:

- rural dwellers coming to the cities face the "shock" of trying to maintain traditional values in the context of a fast-moving and not always sympathetic society
- traditional social sanctions against deserting first or second wives are breaking down, and the destitute abandoned wife is increasingly common, especially in rural areas
- traditional respect and deference for the elderly is changing in urban/rural areas where more & more elderly are abandoned (1990 population estimates show more elderly women than men)

Because of the war, there are more women than men, especially in rural areas. For the productive age group (15-64 years), 1990 population estimates show: Luanda - 108.6 men to every 100 women; rest of country - 80.3 men to every 100 women.

The exodus from rural areas of adult males and females - often the best educated and most productive - leaves many children and old people, including the sick and mentally and physically handicapped, to be cared for by the few remaining adults, or to fend for themselves.

## WAR AND ITS EFFECTS

On 31 May 1991, the Angolan government and Unita signed a peace accord for Angola ending the war and calling for elections during September-November 1992.

The war has caused serious problems for everyone:

- infrastructural damage estimated at USD 20 billion
- 3/4 of rural and township water supplies destroyed
- 15-25% of health posts, hospitals and schools destroyed
- 800,000 war-displaced (80% women and children)
- many women are on their own due to abandonment & dislocation
- 30,000 registered orphans & an unknown number of street kids
- 80,000 war disabled, many of whom must fend on their own

Not all problems are war-related. Other reasons for Angola's problems and low productivity include:

- lack of qualified personnel, equipment and supplies
- lack of major state investment in facilities, training and supplies
- low morale and high absentee rates caused by low salaries and poor work conditions
- lack of accurate statistics to do adequate planning
- government mismanagement, inefficiency, and corruption.

## AGRICULTURE

3/4 of the population earns a living from agriculture.

Production of principal staple foods (maize, cassava, sorghum and millet) is 25-30% of pre-independence output. Production of many other crops (tobacco, sisal, cotton, palm oil and groundnuts), including cash crops, does not reach 10% of earlier levels. Angola is increasingly dependent on food imports; 75% of Angola's top 14 food items are now imported

The decline in food production combined with an increasing population undermines the health of the entire nation. For women, who bear the additional physical strain of frequent pregnancy, the consequence is even more damaging for their ability to participate in economic development.

The common pattern is for men to produce cash crops (coffee, cotton, sugar cane, etc) and women to produce staple crops (manioc, maize, vegetables, etc.). Some changes are appearing in this division of labour, especially in peasant associations as manioc and maize become commercialized.

In 1988/89, there were 2,063 associations and cooperatives with a total membership of 193,883 (45% women and 55% men).

Extension services tend to be geared towards cash crops (maize and cotton) rather than food and traditional crops. Few extension services have been functioning because of the war and because government structures that distribute basic consumer goods in the rural areas are still not working.

Women farmers, especially female-headed households, are marginalized from development programmes (training) and financing and credit institutions, and especially for widows and divorced women, they have little access to land (there is no land law in Angola).

Female-headed households are among the most disadvantaged and tend to comprise the core of rural poverty: high incidence of malnourishment, labour-deficient, narrow range of crops, lower yields, less integration in cash-crop production, often lack basic agricultural tools, etc.

Virtually no studies have been done, in rural or urban areas, of men living alone.

Rural women have a double workload with most agricultural and virtually all domestic tasks. This heavy workload plus poor maternal health have consequences for child nutritional status.

New technologies which reduce a burden or provide an economic advantage for women are often appropriated by men. Between 1986-88, over 500 grinding mill introduced into rural areas, although used by women, are managed by men. Between 1985-88, the number of women who got some 3,000 water pumps introduced into rural areas is insignificant.

## FISHING

The Ministry of Fishing works mainly with coastal and industrial fishing; inland fishing belongs to the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development. Recently, there has been an increased interest within the Ministry with women's concerns.

Before independence, Angola was the second largest fish producer in Southern Africa, industrial fishing was completely foreign-controlled and was mainly for export, over 13,000 people were employed and there were over 800 fishing boats.

Since independence, industrial fishing is still largely foreign controlled, catches have declined, and in 1988, of 13,700 employed in the capture, transformation and distribution of industrial fish, 51% were involved in transformation, including canning industries where women predominate.

There are 5-7,000 small-scale coastal fishermen. In 1989, the small-scale fishing fleet was estimated at 3,900 boats (58% flatboats, 29% canoes and 4% imported) of which 1/3 is found in Luanda. Most of these fishermen use nets and line and the average annual catch/boat is about 4-8 tonnes.

There are 5,000 inland fishermen (1/2 are organized into fishing associations and cooperatives). Total annual catches are 6-8,000 tonnes. Most inland fishing communities have a mixed economy of agriculture and fishing, mainly for family consumption and part is sold locally or to fish mongers from urban parallel markets.

Men fish and women are the main curers and sellers of coastal and inland fish caught by small-scale fishermen. Most of the catch is salted, sun-dried or smoked. Generally fisherman have ongoing relationships with fish mongers, some of whom rich.

## INDUSTRY

In 1977, industrial output was 1/4 of 1973 levels. Partial recovery has occurred mainly in light industry which in 1987 produced almost 2/3 of its 1973 output.

Angola's industrial sector is largely underdeveloped, with preference given to industries producing essential goods (foodstuffs, textiles, shoes, construction, etc.)

Employment in manufacturing has dramatically declined. In 1974, registered manufacturing industries had 200,000 employees; by 1984, there were only 85,000 (representing 1/3 of total industrial employment).

In 1990, of 715,000 people employed in the formal sector (administration and enterprises), 80% were men and 20% women.

20% of the industrial labour force are women, working mainly in "feminine" industries (food manufacturing, textiles and garments, and coffee). One reason for this low figure is high illiteracy and lack of educational opportunities for women.

The principle of non-discrimination between men and women enshrined in the Constitution implies equal access to work and professional formation, but there is no specific law treating discrimination against women in employment.

## INFORMAL SECTOR

In 1990, 3/4 of the total economically active population (3.13 million out of 4.09 million) worked in the informal sector, of whom 88% (2.76 million or 67% of the total economically active population) do agriculture and fishing, 10% are in the parallel market, and 1.3% in informal industry and handicrafts.

55% of those active in the informal sector (1.73 million out of 3.13 million) are women, mainly in agriculture and services (parallel market). Men predominate in fishing, informal industry and handicrafts.

Because state structures are unable to meet basic food needs, parallel markets have become the only way for most consumers to have access to essential goods and services. In 1989, the value of goods circulating in parallel markets was 2.5 times greater than the 1987 GDP. Most people devote 2/3 of their daily productive time, and in Luanda up to 90% of family income, on the parallel market.

In 1990, 302,000 people (60% women and 40% men) worked in parallel markets throughout Angola. Women sell mainly food and men sell mainly non-food items (watches, tools, radios, etc.)

Parallel market services include urban transport (controlled by men), education and health. Because many state schools and health institutions are not working and/or working conditions are poor, many teachers and nurses (many of whom are women) have left the formal sector and teach or do basic health care in their homes for kwanzas.

## EDUCATION

At independence, Angola's illiteracy rate was 85%, with women being the larger proportion of this group. From 1976-91, 1,240,000 Angolans have become literate, many of whom are women.

Illiteracy is higher in rural than in urban areas, and higher for women than for men. The highest illiteracy rates are for elderly of both sexes.

One problem hindering women from participating in literacy programmes is lack of time; they have too much to do.

There is an explosion of schoolage children in Angola, who number 2.7 million between 5-14 years of age (45% of the total population). But Angola's educational system can accommodate only 46% of this number; 1,435,000 children are not in school!

By law, all have free access to education (the first four years are compulsory). The number of boys and girls in primary school is roughly equal, but girls' formal learning ends at the primary level and they drop out sooner than boys. In Luanda, 1/3 of boys and 1/4 of girls complete the first four years of schooling; in the coastal areas, only 1/4 of boys and 1/5 of girls do so. By the fourth class there are twice as many boys as girls enrolled.

Reasons for girls' high dropout rate include teenage pregnancy and the tendency to keep girls at home for their labour.

In 1986, 5,700 were enrolled in university; 1/3 of students are women. Although in 1989/89, 56% of students in the Medical Faculty were women, the weight of tradition makes it hard for women to enter fields such as biology or forestry.

Although women's participation in professional training courses is low (1/3 of students), they are present even in courses representing work done only by men (auto mechanics, electronics, metalworking, etc). This is a positive achievement of the state and also the result of MPLA policies during the liberation struggle where women often did "men's work" (radio telecommunications, construction, etc.).

## HEALTH

The fertility rate in Angola is 6.4 live births/woman. For every 100 women of reproductive age (15-49 years old), there are 93 children under five years old. This is an alarming birth rate and an obstacle to women's participation in the economic and social life of the country.

In 1989, 12% of an estimated 500,000 births for the entire country took place in health structures. Almost 90% of births took place at home. In Luanda, with the best health care infrastructure in Angola, 70% of deliveries occur at home.

For most women, midwives are the only alternative for receiving assistance at birth. 4,000 midwives have received upgraded training in hygiene and sterilization; only 1-3% of home births are assisted by retrained midwives. Many home births are assisted by women lacking basic knowledge of maternal and/or child health care.

Angola has a high mother-and-child mortality rate. In 1990, infant mortality was 15% in the 1st year of life, the national maternal death rate was 6.7%, and Luanda's maternities had a maternal death rate of 10.4%, one of the highest in the world. Over 1/4 of maternal deaths occur among women 15-19 years old.

Maternal and infant deaths are related to women's poor health (malnutrition, infections & parasitic diseases) and the lack of adequate health care facilities in peri-urban and rural areas.

Abortion is a crime punishable under the penal code. Angolan women will need to organize to lobby for decriminalization of abortion, as the Catholic Church is strong in Angola. Angola has no laws dealing with sexual education or sexual crimes.

Women's nutritional status is linked with tradition. Women play a central role in producing, transforming and distributing food, but following traditional practices, the best food goes to husbands and children; women eat last and worst. Women's nutritional status is also affected by other things. Women rise early to get water and firewood; they use energy for which they never compensate during the day. When pregnant (often at an early age), they still do the same activities; all this has an impact on their health.

## TELECOMMUNICATIONS, ADMINISTRATION AND SERVICES

In 1990, 1/4 of the total telecommunications workforce were women, the majority working as telephone operators, low-level technicians, or in administration and services. Of those working at the managerial level, 15% are women and 85% men.

In the formal sector, women comprise 11% of workers, and 43% of technicians. In 1986, 35% of health and public administration employees were women, but women occupy only 3-8% of positions at decision-making levels in government in general, and 19% in departments concerning the economy. These figures reflect women's low level of education and sphere of influence.

In June 1991, international estimates claimed 92,000 unemployed in the formal sector; official estimates are almost five times higher just for Luanda!

## SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Prostitution (female and male), battered women, teenage pregnancy and women (and men) in prisons are among Angola's "silent problems"; they are seldom mentioned in government or outside consultant reports.

Many women are in prison because of socio-economic reasons (robberies committed from the necessity to survive). Abandoned by her husband, a woman may steal to support herself and her children. Conditions in prison are poor for men and women: inadequate food, lack of basic health care, poor hygiene and lack of educational and recreational activities.

## STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT

Angola's structural adjustment programme consists of SEF (Economic and Financial Restructuring), which began in 1987, and PAG (Government Programme of Action), introduced in 1990. The consequences of these programmes are far-reaching and will affect men and women differently.

Structural adjustment measures may increase unemployment. Estimates are:

- 90,000 lost jobs from closure of unprofitable firms
- 65,000 lost jobs as state farms are privatized (many may return to peasant-based production)
- 70,000 lost jobs among 137,700 civil servants; women will be greatly affected as they constitute the majority of typists

Aspects of SEF having negative consequences for women include the bias towards export cash crops (and hence male farmers who control these crops)

Due to budget cuts, schools, hospitals and health services often receive lower subsidies. Privatization of industries may also mean a reduction or elimination of employee benefits such as health, childcare services and maternity leave.

In urban areas, the real income of women and the household often decreases during periods of adjustment. Since the October 1990 currency exchange and March 1991 devaluation, inflation has increased. Between November 1990 and May 1991, parallel market prices rose 96%, although during July 1991, prices in Luanda dropped 5% compared to the previous month due to a somewhat better supply of basic foodstuffs. Families

normally acquire 78% of goods and services on the parallel market, 16% on the official market and 6% on the dollar market.

The first six months of 1991 saw a seven-fold increase in crimes (murders, armed attacks and thefts) in Luanda. Police say causes of these crimes include an increasing cost of living and decreasing supply of food.

There is no automatic link between economic growth and improvement in women's situation; specially targetted actions and reforms in legislation are necessary to induce a change in the social position of women.

## ENVIRONMENT

Angola has no national policy dealing with the environment or conservation. There is also little understanding about forestry or key issues such as woodfuel supply and the role of women within this sector.

## MASS ORGANIZATIONS AND WOMEN'S STRUCTURES

Up until recently, the Angolan Women's Organization (OMA) was the main national structure promoting women. In 1991, OMA membership was over 1.3 million women.

In July 1991, OMA held a Special Congress to decide what changes the organization would adapt in a multiparty society. Henceforth, OMA will be a national non-party association with patriotic and social aims, open to all women regardless of religious or political convictions.

In March 1991, the People's Assembly approved a proposal to create a State Secretariat for Women's Promotion and Development. This structure has the mandate to define, recommend, promote and execute government policy on the promotion of women in political, economic and social life. While not an executing body, the secretariat will be a channel for project funds.

The State Secretariat for Women can play an important and visible role in identifying specific problems facing women, raising general awareness of such problems through educational campaigns and helping promote solutions.

#### POLITICS AND LAW

Angola's Constitution guarantees all citizens the same rights, regardless of race, sex or religion. The Constitution also guarantees equality regardless of place of birth, religion, level of education or socio-economic status.

In 1989/90, women comprised 15% of members in National and Provincial People's Assemblies, the highest organs of power in the country, 5% in the Minister's Council, 22% in MPLA's national headquarters, 6% of judges and 38% of deputy clerks. There are now strong discussions within the political and legal professions about women's participation and access to power.

In March 1991, a multiparty system was officially introduced in Angola and since then, new emergent parties have appeared. Some of these new parties may have women's branches; it will be important to see how these relate to the State Secretariat for Women, which some may see as simply an MPLA initiative.

In 1989, a research project on customary and modern laws affecting women was initiated in six SADCC countries; Angola is not participating. Objectives of the study are to exchange information on women's legal rights, strategies for change, progress and problems, and to produce data which assists governments, international organizations, women's groups and NGOs improve women's status. OMA has information about this study, and may consider ways Angola could participate.

#### NATIONAL PLANNING, LANGUAGE AND ATTITUDE

In addition to the objective situation of women and men in Angola, there is also the subjective situation which must be considered, i.e., attitude and perception.

As yet, Angola has no women-specific development strategies. National Development Plans are global in their perspective, and little has been done to ensure that the specific needs of men and women are considered.

State structures have a strong urban "tops down" bias which has positive and negative consequences for gender issues. While an urban view may better understand such issues as the relationship between legislation and protecting rights, such a perspective often prevents perceiving the predominantly rural experience of the majority of the population and contributes to the continued "invisibility" of women.

Angola lacks an adequate database on the situation in the country in general and on women's and men's situation in particular. Statistics on men's and women's work in the formal sector are often incomplete and unreliable, and there is a total lack of statistics on women's and men's activities in the informal sector.

## AREAS FOR POSSIBLE FUTURE SUPPORT

This section suggests possible future actions which might be taken by different Angolan structures to help promote women's concerns, and which could be supported by SIDA.

### 1. Using a Survey to Help Create WID Awareness

A didactic survey could be carried out by the State Secretariat for Women to obtain information on existing projects, WID focal points, staff, etc. dealing with women's issues in the sectoral ministries. The survey target could include government personnel with responsibility for formulating policy and implementing programmes. The suggested methodology to carry out the survey is based on small group discussions. (Annex V has a sample questionnaire.)

### 2. Assessment of Existing WID Projects

As part of the above survey, an assessment could be made of existing and planned projects and their direct or indirect consequences for women. This assessment could seek information on women's participation in project planning, implementation and evaluation. (Annex V has a sample questionnaire.)

### 3. Disseminating WID Concerns

Key WID ideas and concepts need to be disseminated within government and non-government structures and within the population at large. To do this, a range of popular education activities could be organized by different Angolan structures:

- "round table discussions" on TV and radio, or organized by the Union of Angolan Writers
- a series of articles in the Jornal de Angola
- a film series organized by Angolans working in this media
- seminars on gender organized by the State Secretariat for Women and international and national NGOs
- gender training for state functionaries at INORADE, etc.

### 4. Angolan Counterparts: Government vs. Non-Government

SIDA should work with both government and non-government structures in the areas of training and developing local organizational capacity. There is also a need for technical assistance and material support.

The immediate need of the State Secretariat for Women is training and preparing cadres to work within this structure. Two other initiatives of the secretariat which could be supported are the Studies and Planning Office and the WID Information and Documentation Centre. These structures will be conducting studies and organizing a data base on women; computer links could be set up with similar data bases in the region and internationally.

## 5. Training for Development

a. Informal Sector: SIDA could support the State Secretariat for Women to carry out a study on women's (and men's) work in the informal sector. Such a study could help identify specific training and material inputs which can most benefit this sector. Areas which might be included in the study are: small-scale enterprises in urban and rural areas, market women and handicrafts.

b. Fishing: Most projects in the fishing sector have been directed to the fishermen and little support has been provided to women. The greatest need of women in this sector is for professional training that improves their skills in fish conservation and marketing and provides functional literacy.

The Ministry of Fishing could be encouraged to conduct studies and develop appropriate actions on women's perceived needs in the fishing sector, on what happens to men and women who complete professional training in the fishing sector, and on traditional credit systems and the methods used to manage "informal" fishery businesses.

c. Telecommunications: As SIDA will be assisting telecommunications in training, human resource development and technical assistance, it may be in a position to help retrain women and men who will lose their jobs once automation occurs. ENATEL and EPTTEL could be encouraged to conduct a study to find out what the options are for women from their point of view.

d. Health: The problem of maternal deaths, and of maternity in general, is an area in critical need of assistance. Training programmes for upgrading the capacity of traditional midwives need to be expanded, and ways must be found to improve work conditions for midwives.

e. Women in Prisons: SIDA might explore with OMA or the Ministry of the Interior or the National Literacy Centre the possibility of supporting literacy or income-generating activities (sewing, crochet, handicrafts, etc.).

## 6. Women in the Musseques and Villages

Women in musseques and villages are most interested in activities that enhance their economic participation and bring immediate results. For women in urban and rural areas, there are two main issues which must be addressed in development planning: the need to minimize time spent on domestic tasks, and the need for general education.

Hand-operated water pumps and grinding mills are two inputs which can immediately improve women's lives and reduce domestic work. There are also a range of educational programmes which have a direct impact on women: adult education programmes with a focus on functional literacy, nutrition education groups, mother-and-child health programmes, etc.

## 7. The Emergency

Within the emergency programme, the specific nutritional needs of women must be addressed. This requires developing a sex-disaggregated database show of those in crisis showing eating habits (main foods consumed, typical daily meal pattern, sources of food and food distribution patterns). This information will help in assessing relative nutritional levels of men, women and children and in identifying the most vulnerable (and most in need) sectors of a population.

Development activities, including enhancing local capacity, can and should be introduced in emergency programmes.

## 8. Agroforestry

The link between agriculture and forestry is the central role played by women. Women collect firewood and do most of the work in agriculture. SIDA could assist the Institute of Forestry Development (IDF) or environmental NGOs to carry out action-oriented studies in forestry.

## ANGOLA: BASIC INDICATORS

Area (thousand sq. km.)	1,246.7
Population (millions) (1989)	9.7
Density (per square km.)	7.8
Urban population (%) (1989)	28 *
Annual growth rate of urban population (%) (1980-89)	5.7
Luanda (%) (1980's)	6.2
GDP per capita (USD) (1989)	221.9
Currency: USD 1.00 = 59.24 kwanzas (official)	
USD 1.00 = 780 kwanzas (black market, September 1991)	

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

Population growth rate (%) (1985-90)	2.8
Crude birth rate (per 1,000) (1989)	47
Crude death rate (per 1,000) (1989)	20
Infant mortality (per 1,000 births) (1985-90)	160
Under-5 mortality (per 1,000 births)	
UN 1985	200
UNICEF 1989	292
Ministry of Health 1989	275
Infants born underweight (%) (1989)	15 **
Life expectancy at birth (1989)	45
Male (1984)	42
Female (1984)	44
Fertility rate (1989)	6.4 ***
Maternal death rate (per 100,000 births)	665

HEALTH

Access to health services (%) (1985-88)	30
Population per physician (1989)	15,400
Population per hospital bed (1989)	813
Access to safe water (1988)	
Total population (%)	30
Urban population (%)	75
Rural population (%)	18
Births assisted by trained health personnel (%) (1989)	15.9
Cesarian births (%) (1989)	
Total Angola (%)	3.6
Luanda (%)	3.9
Provinces	1.4
Contraception use (%) (1989)	3.3

EDUCATION

Adult literacy rate (%) (1990)	50
Adult (over 15) literacy (%) (1985)	
Male	50
Female	23
Primary school enrolment (%) (1985)	44
Child enrolment (5-14 years old) (%) (1991)	46
Female enrolment (6-18 years old) (%) (1984-85)	46
Completion of first four years of schooling (%) (1990)	
Luanda - Boys	35
Girls	25
Rural - Boys	25
Girls	20
Students reaching secondary (%) (1983/84)	
Luanda - Boys	3.3
Girls	1.7
Rural - Boys	0.4
Girls	0.2

University enrolment (%) (1988/89)	
Female	30
Professional training (%) (1990)	
Female enrolment	30

EMPLOYMENT

Formal sector employment (%) (1990)	
Administration and enterprise	
Male	80
Female	20
Informal sector employment (%) (1990)	
Male	45
Female	55
Agriculture, female	55
Services (including parallel market), female	60
Fishing, male	88
Industrial and handicraft, male	80
Peasant associations and cooperatives (% membership) (1988)	
Male	54.9
Female	45.1

\* for 1986, the National Institute of Statistics estimated that 31% of Angola's population was urban

\*\* less than 2,500 grams

\*\*\* average number of live births per woman

SOURCES

Anon 1985  
 CNAC 1988/89  
 Colaco 1990  
 EIU 1990a and b  
 JA 28.07.91  
 Morel 1990  
 Saude 1990b and c  
 UNICEF 1991, 1990a, 1989b and c  
 World Bank and UNDP 1988; World Bank 1986a and 1986b

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## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

Contrary to the situation in most other countries in Southern Africa, there hardly exist any reports or other kinds of documentation about gender aspects and their relations to the developments taking place in Angola. No specific research goes on at the university and the Organization of Angolan Women (OMA) has not had the necessary resources and capacity to undertake any comprehensive studies. Neither have government bodies nor donor agencies present in Angola given high priority to gender aspects in their planning and implementation of different programmes. Consequently, background material for a gender analysis of Angola is scarce, and this has led to a need to conduct a comprehensive study.

### \* Objectives

SIDA's focus is on "gender" and not only on "women". Thus, the situation of women in Angola is always compared with the situation of men, taking into account the following general factors and forces:

- the recent war and its direct and indirect effects
- the macro-economic situation and the economic crisis; impacts in both urban and rural areas
- the attempts to launch programmes for economic adjustment and recovery
- political changes and their implications
- the legal situation both in terms of legislation and implementation
- the general impact of development aid. Donors involved and the ability of the government to handle the development assistance.
- socio-economic and cultural forces
- environmental problems

In relation to all the aspects mentioned above, this report attempts to analyze three areas: (1) policies, strategies and approaches to gender issues; (2) attitudes towards women, their needs and their contributions in the development process; and (3) planned and realized concrete actions. Full terms of reference, methodology, work plan and limitations in carrying out this study are contained in Volume II, Annex II.

### 1.1 Historical Background

The first Portuguese who arrived in Angola in 1492 encountered highly organized societies such as the famous kingdoms of the Congo and the Lunda. Although a limited form of slavery already existed among these kingdoms, slavery as a global system was introduced by the Portuguese with the advent of formal colonialism in about 1575.

Resistance against colonialism and slavery began during the latter sixteenth century, and such battles as those of the Ndongo in 1670, of Queen Nzinga, of Ngola Kanini who organized attacks against colonial economic centres, of Kuikui II who set up the first bases in the Bailundu region, of Mutu ya Kevela and Tulante Bula, among others, are well known. However, using tactics of divide and rule, the Portuguese were finally able to control Angola in about 1900, although the people of Angola continued to resist even after this time.

Angola's colonial experience had three phases: about 300 years of slave trade directed mainly to Brazil, a hundred years of transition from slaves to coffee (mainly to Portugal) during which territorial occupation, settlement and quasi-forced labour were consolidated, and the "oil boom" (mainly to the United States) which began in the early 1960's with rapid industrialization. (World Bank 1988:148-153)

During the early 1950's, nationalist movements against Portuguese colonialism began to grow in Angola. In 1956 the MPLA (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) was founded and in 1961 this movement began the armed struggle for independence. After the April 1974 revolution in Portugal and the mid-1974 ceasefire agreements in Angola, although there were decisive political openings which appeared, the war did not immediately end. The colonial authority recognized three parties - the MPLA, Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) and FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) - which were to participate in a transition government leading to independence on 11 November 1975. Tensions, however, continued to exist between these three movements, culminating in attempts by Unita and FNLA, assisted by South African troops, to take over Luanda. It was in this context that Angola - under MPLA leadership which held Luanda - became independent and that military assistance was requested from Cuba and other countries to defend the young country.

Although FNLA later accepted a full amnesty offered by the Angolan government, Unita - heavily supported by first South African and later American aid - continued to fight against the Angolan government. On 31 May 1991, the Angolan government and Unita signed a peace accord, the terms of which call for the country's first elections to take place during the period of 1 September to 30 November 1992. Until elections, a Joint Politico-Military Commission (JPMC) has been formed by MPLA and Unita (with observers from Portugal, the USSR and the USA) to work with the government.

## 2.0 CULTURE

### 2.1 Traditional Values

Values, be they traditional or new, relate to more than how people should behave or what they should do. Values also encompass attitudes, image of self and others, self-esteem and its lack, and the quality and nature of interpersonal relationships.

In Angola, traditional modes of life, which are based in kinship relationships, play an important part in the various lifestyles of the population. These norms and traditional values are transmitted from generation to generation, from the elderly to the youth and especially when the latter is being socialized as a young child.

The end of the war in Angola does not change the impact of traditional values on women and men. Thus it is important to assess the weight of these traditional values and attitudes, particularly as they affect - positively or negatively- women's capacity to be actively involved in development initiatives. This includes traditional attitudes about polygamy, the emphasis on women having many children, treating women only as domestics in the city, the impact of the economy on women, etc.

#### \* The Two Sides of Traditional Culture

The Head of one of the professional training programmes in the Ministry of Education underscored the two sides of the impact of traditional culture on women when he said: "Traditional values perform a double function which is sometimes contradictory; on the one hand they are carriers of national culture and, on the other hand, they can be inhibitors of women's full participation."

The Director of the National Library gave the same theme a different slant when she said: "Here at the library there are seven women working; all are illiterate. I want to have literacy courses for these women, but some are not interested because they already have what they have been taught is important. For example, there is one young woman who is married to a man working in the diplomatic corp. She is illiterate, but she is not really interested to become literate as she already has her life defined. She has already achieved her social position. This is all she wants."

## 2.2 Multiple Marriages

Polygyny, or the marriage of one man to more than one woman, is fairly common in Angola. \* There are many different factors which provide the background to understanding this marriage pattern.

### 2.2.1 Socio-Economic Base

Usually the motive for a man to have more than one wife is socio-economic rather than sexual. In the rural areas, each wife may have a small field where she produces agricultural crops both for family subsistence and for sale, and she also provides the labour for the husband's fields which may produce cash crops. The man often gets the money from the sale of surplus produce or cash crops, and then he buys some things for himself and sometimes for his wives. In this context, the more wives a man has, the greater is his wealth, as the more fields can be cultivated within the same family unit.

In addition, the more wives a man has, the more children he may have. This also improves his social status in the community at large, and in addition provides more family labour for agricultural (and other) production. At the same time, the husband has specific obligations to his wives, e.g., support and maintenance of both the woman and her children. (See Section 2.3.2 for a discussion on how some of these traditional obligations have been breaking down.)

### 2.2.2 Impact of Demographic Factors

Because of the war there are more women than men in Angola, especially in the rural areas. Population estimates for 1990 indicate that for the productive age group (15-64 years), whereas in Luanda there were 108.6 men to every 100 women, in the rest of the country there were only 80.3 men to every 100 women. (Colaco 1990:10)

The productive age group referred to above includes the marriageable (and reproductive) age group. The consequence is that some women will accept being the second, third or fourth wife because at least it provides the socially accepted (and preferred) status of marriage. It may be the case that the incidence of polygyny has increased in Angola because of the war, although this would need an in-depth study to confirm.

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- \* - polygamy refers to marriage to more than one partner
  - polygyny is marriage of one man to more than one woman
  - polyandry is marriage of one women to more than one man

The term "polygamy" has come to mean, in popular use, the marriage of one man to more than one woman, but this is not the correct meaning of the word.

### 2.2.3 Multiple Marriages and Birth Rates

Although it has been observed that women may sometimes have fewer children in a polygynous marriage, it is also the case that wives of the same man will often compete with each other to see who has the most children, and hence the higher status with the husband. There is also the impact of traditional values which reinforce early and frequent pregnancy as being among the qualities of a "good wife".

Even for single women, there is the factor of children; socially, women must have children in order to have status. Thus there are many single mothers, and not just because of abandonment, divorce or widowhood. This situation creates a "mental trauma" for women, which is compounded by the fact that there are so few structures which can help women.

## 2.3 Dislocation and its Impact on Traditional Values

### 2.3.1 In the City

It is important to consider how such factors as dislocation has affected traditional values. The fact that there are so many people from the rural areas who have been dislocated to urban areas has created a culturally explosive situation.

On the one hand, there is a constant "shock" between traditional and modern (i.e., urban) values, the latter also including the introduction of foreign values through such things as imported TV "novelas" (e.g., Brazilian soap operas), the expatriate community and what is coming to be called the "Coca Cola syndrome".

On the other hand, many rural dwellers who come to the cities face the "shock" of trying to maintain their traditional values in the context of a surrounding society which is fast-moving and not always sympathetic to those who have been dislocated.

In a discussion about the above problem, the Director of the National Library made the following observation:

"There are special problems for people who are dislocated from the countryside to the city. For example, polygamy in the countryside is done within a context which has specific rules and regulations. A man who gets a second wife does so only with the knowledge and approval of the first wife. But in the city, the experience of being displaced and the brusque manner of life usually destroys traditional rules. Everything is abandoned and people behave in strange ways, including those coming from the countryside who know the traditional customs."

In the urban areas, there are other factors which come into play. In many cases, urban men - rather than practicing the

traditional form of polygyny where they maintain several wives (and support separate households for each of them within the same or different villages) simultaneously - will enter into serial polygyny, i.e., a rapid succession of one marriage after another.

In some cases, an urban man may have more than one wife at the same time, but because of the serious housing shortage (especially in Luanda), the wives must live in the same house. Considering that, traditionally, each wife in a polygynous situation usually has her own household (and the emotional and physical "space" that this allows between wives), to find themselves under the same roof can create a potentially tense situation for multiple wives.

### 2.3.2 In the Country

Traditionally, the northern Kimbundu are matrilineal (inheritance through the female line, with the mother's brother playing an important role), matrilocal (the husband moves to the wife's village) and polygynous. As a result of colonialism and the socio-economic dislocation caused by the war, this traditional pattern has been breaking down. Now, women are expected to move to the husband's village and there has been a breakdown of traditional social sanctions against deserting first or second wives. As a result, the phenomenon of the destitute abandoned wife is increasingly common, especially, but not only, in the rural areas. (Curtis 1988:14-15)

In a study of almost 300 families from four rural villages in Malanje Province (a Kimbundu area), it was found that 60% of men between the ages of 15 and 45 and 40% of women between 15 and 40 were missing. (Curtis 1988:24, 44)

This exodus of adult males and females - who are usually the best educated and the most productive - has left large numbers of children and old people, including the sick and mentally and physically handicapped, to be cared for by the few adults that remain. Not only is the dependency ratio high, but those that need services most are located where the fewest are available (i.e., in the rural areas). (Curtis 1988:64-5)

This imbalance between males and females has often exacerbated the breakdown of traditional roles and responsibilities within a polygynous society. With more females to males in the marriageable age group, the justification for polygyny is stronger. But the traditional sanctions which ensured that the first wife got housing and support for herself and her children when the husband took a second or third wife have been eroded. Now, because of the excess of women, a man often takes more wives than he can support. (See Section 4.2.2) (Curtis 1988:65)

The Malanje study found that a large proportion of female-headed households in their sample were actually abandoned wives, many of whom said they had been thrown out of homes they had helped build, when the husband took another wife. Others said their husbands had gone to Luanda or the army and no longer sent remittances or gifts to support their families. The study observed that this erosion of matrilineal practices is reducing women's social power by separating her from the support of her family when she leaves her own village to marry. (Curtis 1988:65-6)

#### 2.4 Values and Socialization

The issue of values in Angola is a complex one, especially as there is a lot of cultural diversity in the country. There does not exist only one standard which works for everyone.

In a programme currently being carried out by the National Institute of Educational Investigation and Development (INIDE, within the Ministry of Education) it is assumed that there are some universal norms about basic human behaviour which can be identified.

Called "Introduction of Educational Material on Population and Family Life", this programme intends to identify - through socio-cultural studies at the provincial level - the values and norms that influence behaviour and the mechanisms through which these values and norms are transmitted to children.

Three separate but interrelated areas are included in the programme: population (evolution, environment and the economy), family life (both urban and rural, and relationships between people within the family) and sexual education. The last two themes will be particularly relevant for women's issues and concerns.

The programme assumes from the start that some values are positive and others negative. These values, including values on sexuality and the general mechanisms of child socialization, will be identified through a socio-cultural study carried out in six provinces. The study will include interviews with parents, students, teachers and with key people and relevant local structures in the provinces. Interviews will be done in both urban and rural areas, with different social strata and with people of different levels of training.

Once the positive values and norms have been identified, themes will be developed for teacher training programmes and curricula (both teachers' and students' manuals) will be developed to introduce key themes into the classroom. Programmes will also be developed for radio and TV, and films may also be arranged for children.

The working assumption for this programme is that change must start with the education of the young. Older youth already have more set ideas and are less open to new ways of thinking. A round table discussion on this subject has already been done on TV, to which many members of the viewing public responded that they wanted more information on the subject.

In discussing the above topic, the Head of the Medical Faculty's Public Health Department said: "Some of the methods which can help change people's attitudes is education, and this must start in the schools. But there are two problems. In the rural areas there are usually more boys in school than girls; the girls must also be reached. In general, however, Angola does not have any structures which have responsibility for reaching girls who are not in schools. You must also talk with the women! But this is not easy because many women agree with the very traditional values that weigh them down."

### 3.0 WAR AND ITS EFFECTS

#### 3.1 War in Angola and its General Impact

The war in Angola has brought about serious consequences for the entire population. Resources - both human and financial - which would otherwise have been directed to the education and health sectors have instead been allocated to the military. (Anon 1989:5) Infrastructural damage due to the war is estimated at USD 20 billion. Three-quarters of rural and township water supplies have been destroyed, and a 1989 UN report estimates that between 15-25% of primary health posts, hospitals and education units have been destroyed. (EIU 1990a:9)

The war situation has been particularly serious for women and children who were forced to leave their homes, their fields and their devastated schools. In 1988, it was estimated that there were 650,000 displaced people, 80% of whom were women and children. (World Bank 1988:101) Of this group, 510,000 have needed food assistance. In a 1989 report prepared for UNICEF, official estimates claimed that 1.5 million (15% of the country's population) had been severely affected by the war including 648,000 displaced people, 447,000 urban destitutes and 406,000 rural war affected concentrated mainly in Huambo, Bie, Benguela and Huila Provinces. (Pearce 1989:44-7) These figures have constantly increased. By June 1991, the estimate for only those displaced by war had already risen to some 800,000 persons! (JA 9.06.91) In addition, there are 306,000 Angolan refugees outside the country, of whom 46,000 are in Zambia, 210,000 in Zaire and 50,000 in Namibia. It is anticipated that this group may return to Angola by the end of this year, although their return to their home areas will depend on the clearing of mines on access routes and the creation of adequate conditions for their return. (JA 19.06.91)

#### 3.2 Population and Demography

##### 3.2.1 Population

Recent population figures are not available for Angola as war-related problems have made it impossible to carry out a full national census. The last census occurred in 1970, although in 1983, a limited demographic census was carried out in Luanda Province, and this was extended the following year to Cabinda, Namibe and Zaire provinces. The most populous provinces - Luanda and the central plateau provinces of Huambo, Bie, Malange and Huila - together account for about 56% of the total population. (World Bank 1988:2-3) The most recent national population estimates of the Ministry of Plan are 9.7 million inhabitants. (Goncalves 1991)

Angola's annual population growth rate of about 2.6% per year does not reflect what is actually happening in the country, in particular the war-related massive dislocation and high rural to urban migration due to rural insecurity. For the 1980's, the urban population growth rate was estimated at 7.6% per year, while the rural population growth rate for the same period was estimated at 0.8% per year. This imbalance has been directly related to massive population shifts. (World Bank 1988:2-3)

### 3.2.2 Shifts in Demographic Composition

As a result of the war, entire provinces have been virtually depopulated and a steady stream of displaced people has swollen Angola's cities and towns. Whereas in 1970 only 15% of the country's population lived in towns, by 1985 this figure had increased to 23% (EIU 1990a:9); UNICEF estimates that up to 50% of the country's population is now found in urban areas. (UNICEF nd:4)

In 1975, Luanda was estimated to have between 300-450,000 inhabitants. (Saude 1990, UNICEF nd:4) In 1986, Luanda and its satellite city of Viana were estimated to have a combined population of 1.2 million people, representing 44% of the urban population in the country. Some three-fourths of this number live in the high density musseques (shanty towns) which surround the city. (World Bank 1988:3) In 1990, the Ministry of Health estimated that Luanda has about 1.54 million people, or 15% of the total population of Angola. (Saude 1990) Similar population rises have occurred in the cities of Huambo, Lobito, Benguela and Lubango. (UNICEF nd:4)

During the 1940-70 period, the population of Luanda increased at an average annual rate of 7.0%, nearly doubling every decade. This rapid growth rate was mainly the result of significant Portuguese immigration. In the 1980's, there was a slight decline to 6.2% per year mainly due to war-related factors. (World Bank 1988:3)

### 3.2.3 Dislocation and "Detribalization"

One unanticipated result of the tremendous dislocation which has occurred in Angola is its contribution to "detribalization" of the country. Throughout the country, one encounters people from every region and every ethnic group. Although no studies have been conducted on this phenomenon, it is not uncommon to find men and women who have been involved in several common-law marriages with partners of different ethnic origins from different parts of the country. One Luanda-based lawyer, herself the offspring of parents from different ethnic groups, suggested that these "detribalized families" are becoming more and more common, and may in the future play an important role in contributing towards the consolidation of a national consciousness.

### 3.3 Abandoned Women and Widows

"War has the greatest effect on women. It is women who are violated. It is women who wind up being widows. It is women who wind up without their children, without their sons. In short, the woman is the main victim of war."

The above words were said by the Head of the Public Health Department at the Medical Faculty of the Agostinho Neto University, during a conversation in March 1991 about nutrition.

As a result of the war and massive dislocation, many women are on their own; some have been abandoned, others have been separated from their families, others are widows and some are alone because of military mobilization (conscription) which has taken their husbands, older sons or other male relatives.

Although all people who have been dislocated by the war are in difficult circumstances, single women are a particularly vulnerable group. If these women are the only adults in the household, the many tasks associated with agricultural production - clearing of land, planting, weeding, fetching water, harvesting, etc. - is simply beyond their capacity (as it would be for any single adult). For elderly women, it is impossible. Those women who still have their children or elderly family members with them often find themselves unable to adequately care for these dependents.

There are few programmes which help women in these situations, especially in the provinces. In early 1991 the offices of the Huambo provincial commissioner sent 20 widows - whose husbands had been killed in the war - to Luanda to be assisted by the Luanda provincial commission; in Huambo there were no facilities to care for these women. In Luanda, attempts are being made to provide these widows with food, basic manufactured goods and construction materials. (See Section 5.1.5 on Female-Headed Households)

### 3.4 Orphans and Abandoned Children

War-related trauma among children in Angola is widespread although incompletely documented and even less generally treated. Many children have seen family members and friends killed and their homes destroyed. Many children have been injured and some have been kidnapped by Unita and forced to undergo military training and fight. Children are numerous among the more than 20,000 handicapped in Angola. (UNICEF 1989a and 1989b:23)

The majority of Angola's war orphans are found in the provinces of Huila, Benguela, Luanda, Huambo, Bie and Kwanza Sul. As of 1989, some 30,000 orphans were registered with the government, many being cared for by relatives. Some of these children became separated from their families due to

repetitive dislocations caused by the war. An unknown number of young children fend for themselves in the streets of urban areas and a further unknown number are on their own in rural areas. (Santana 1991a:3 and 1991b:2, UNICEF 1989a)

In discussing the above topic, the National Library Director said: "Ways must be found to help these street kids. The juvenile delinquency rate in Angola is very high. Identifying ways to help these children is not easy. The kinds of inputs which they need must be strong enough to balance out the negative forces in their lives: of being displaced, of having high illiteracy rates in their homes, of having parents who are unemployed."

During the first ten years of independence, 38 children's homes were created for orphans and abandoned children. At the present time, all available children's homes are full. There are some 3,630 children located in these institutions. (Santana 1991b:2, Anon 1985:11)

In 1990, the State Secretariat for Social Affairs (SEAS) began a programme to help locate the families of orphans and abandoned children. Already, 80 children have been relocated with their families. (Santana 1991a:3 and 1991b:2)

### 3.5 Not all Problems are War-Related

The abrupt and massive exodus of Portuguese settlers after independence led to the abandonment of hundreds of plantations, manufacturing industries and public administration services and institutions, and the creation of a personnel vacuum in many areas crucial to agricultural and industrial production.

Since independence, the Angolan state has been unable to increase industrial or agricultural production or to organize an effectively functioning national distribution network. One reason was the constant escalation of the recent war resulting in the destruction of the transportation and communication infrastructure, the massive dislocation of the rural population, the concentration of material, financial and human resources in defense and a reduction of financial investment and technical competence available to all other sectors. (EIU 1990a:11, World Bank 1988:57)

Because of the above situation, in 1983 the government imposed a war economy including a succession of one year emergency economic plans and sectoral production targets. These targets, however, were generally not met and in December 1985, after MPLA's second congress, the government began a programme of economic reform including a shift in agricultural policy away from state farms and towards support for peasant farmers. (EIU 1990a:11)

Other reasons for Angola's low productivity are not directly due to the war. These include the following:

- the lack of qualified personnel and the fact that sometimes, no personnel are available at all (see Section 5.2.1)
- problems attracting or retaining sufficient numbers of trained technicians and managers partially due to salary imbalances
- the government's fixed price policy
- the almost total lack of inspection controls
- the increasing scarcity of consumer goods and support services in both rural and urban areas
- the lack of major investment by the state in facilities, training and supplies for all sectors
- low morale and high absentee rates caused by low salaries and difficult work conditions, e.g., lack of transport to and from work, lack of supplies and equipment, shortage of food, too much work, etc. All of these problems contribute to the lack of professional stimulus to work.
- the lack of professionalism and little respect for those in authority
- government mismanagement and inefficiency, e.g., the hurried and unorganized nature of implementing the October 1990 currency changeover and the resulting confusion and difficulties caused for many Angolans (See Section 7.3)
- robberies in the workplace and government corruption

(OMA 1991b, Saude 1990, dos Santos 1988:163, World Bank 1988:97, 269)

## 4.0 PRODUCTION

### 4.1 Agriculture

#### \* Background

The departure of the Portuguese after independence led to the abandonment of some 80% of commercial farms and huge private plantations. To try to revive production, the government created large state farms on these units under centralized control and introduced cooperatives into the rural areas. This policy failed because of the lack of qualified personnel (especially in areas crucial to agriculture such as marketing, input supply and research) and the lack of transportation. Other factors are the recent war, the failure of agricultural policy (e.g., fixed prices with no link to the agricultural market), limited and poorly planned investment in agricultural development, a neglect of the peasant sector (the major producer of food), a scarcity of consumer goods and extension services in the countryside and general inefficiency. (See Section 3.5) (EIU 1990a:11, dos Santos 1989:157-9, 164, dos Santos 1989:173)

#### 4.1.1 Agricultural Policy and Extension Services

In Angola about three-quarters of the population earns a living from agriculture. (World Bank 1988:xi)

#### \* Orientation for the 1991-95 Period

The Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, through the Agrarian Development Institute (IDA), has identified the following priorities for the agricultural sector for the period 1991-95:

- improve services and products which stimulate production
- reorganize rural commerce
- expand the use of animal traction
- construct and repair the infrastructure serving production
- repair access roads to villages
- develop the social infrastructure and veterinary services to assist the creation of agro-industry

The Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development uses 5 persons per household for planning purposes. (Curtis 1988:45)

\* Extension Services

A central component of government strategy to support the peasant sector has been the creation of Agricultural Development Stations (EDAs). Introduced in 1984/85, the plan has been to establish EDAs in selected priority municipalities.

The major objective of EDAs is to provide support - human, technical and financial - to peasant associations through the provision of training, production inputs (new tools and seeds), access to tractors to increase areas of cultivation, the provision of shops and so forth. Support is provided mainly for the cultivation of maize and cotton. Municipal-level EDAs function through Agricultural Development Centres (CDAs) at the commune level and field workers at the level of peasant associations.

In 1989, IDA formulated its first Pilot Rural Extension Programme for Huila Province. This programme emphasizes a multi-sectoral approach, including the provision of water supply, primary health care (with a focus on pregnant women and children) and programmes for rural youth. The specific agricultural aspects of this Extension Programme focus on maize, bean and potato production, animal traction, animal husbandry and forestry. (IDA 1988) Guidelines and advice on methods for incorporating women into these programmes is not provided. In addition, few extension services have been able to effectively function in the country because of the inaccessibility of many areas due to the war, and also because many government structures - particularly those dealing with distribution of basic consumer goods in the rural areas - are still not working. (See Section 4.1.3)

4.1.2 Subsistence and Cash Crops

By the early 1970's, Angola was self-sufficient in all major food crops and exported surpluses of maize, bananas, rice, beans, sugar and palm oil. Angola ranked fourth among the world's coffee producers, and other cash crops such as sisal, tobacco and cotton also brought in foreign exchange and/or supplied local industries. Livestock resources were also abundant. (World Bank 21988:4, 57, 216)

Since 1975, agricultural production of virtually all crops has declined. One reason has been the war, notably in the central plateau provinces of Huambo and Bie, Angola's traditional "breadbasket". Whereas maize - the mainstay of the diet in the heavily populated central zone - had reached 710,000 tonnes in 1971 (112,000 tonnes of which were exported), in the 1986-88 period total maize production was estimated to be about 300-350,000 tonnes per year. (World Bank 1988:57, 61, EIU 1990a:15)

Production of the principal staple foods (maize, cassava, sorghum and millet) is presently about 25-30% of the maximum

output achieved just before independence. Cereal production for 1990 is estimated to be about 251,000 tonnes, which covers about 39% of the country's total cereal needs of 637-650,000 tonnes. Production of many other crops (tobacco, sisal, cotton, palm oil and groundnuts), including cash crops, does not even reach 10% of earlier levels. (World Bank 1988:58, EIU 1990b:16)

As a result of chronic shortfalls in production of basic food crops, Angola has become increasingly dependent on food imports, including food aid. Some 75% of Angola's top 14 food items are now imported at a tremendous cost to the government in foreign exchange. (UNICEF nd:5)

In the southern region - Huila, Namibe and Cunene Provinces - a devastating four-year drought reduced agricultural production by at least 60% and cereal seed stocks by 90%. Some two million people were affected, 145,000 of them seriously. (UNICEF 1989a) The impact of the drought was exacerbated by ongoing hostilities and general economic disruption. An emergency programme was initiated which received international support; by early 1991, a nutritional survey in those areas which were accessible indicated that the emergency food shortage and famine situation no longer exists. (League 1991:2, 12, Miller 1990:2)

A 1988 study conducted in eight villages in Malanje Province showed that men produce cash crops (sugar cane, cabbage, avocados, irish potatoes and fruit) and women produce staple crops (beans, sweet potato, ground nuts and chilli pepper). (Curtis 1988:67) This pattern is fairly common throughout Angola, although some changes are appearing in the division of labour between men and women in peasant associations (see Section 4.1.3).

#### 4.1.3 Peasant Associations and Cooperatives

In May 1986, the National Commission to Support Cooperative Formation (CNAC) was formed by the MPLA Central Committee to study, stimulate and assist the formation of peasant associations and cooperatives. Soon thereafter were formed Provincial Commissions (CPAC). These were the first autonomous structures to represent the interests of peasants. The First National Assembly of Organized Peasants took place in Luanda in November 1988, and in February 1990 the founding meeting for the National Union of Angolan Peasants (UNACA) was held; this structure has the same mandate as CNAC.

Peasant associations and cooperatives represent an attempt by government to stimulate agricultural production through the provision of consumer goods in exchange for agricultural products. A major problem is that this initiative often lacks sufficient support from government structures. Consumer goods - food, clothing, manufactured goods, seeds, instruments and so forth - arrive sporadically in rural stores, are insufficient

in quantity and sometimes unsuitable to local needs. (See Section 3.5) (Morel 1990:8)

Many associations date from the 1980's. Women are generally in the majority in agricultural associations, where they are usually involved in the cultivation of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, bananas and vegetables. (Morel 1990:8) In 1985, a total of 131,289 women were found in peasant associations and cooperatives, corresponding to 57% of total membership. (Anon 1985:10)

Statistics provided by CNAC show that for the 1988/89 period, there were 2,063 associations and cooperatives in the country with a total membership of 193,883, of whom 87,533 (45.1%) are women and 106,350 (54.9%) are men. There is a huge variation in the level of female participation from one province to the other. In Bengo, Cabinda and Kwanza Norte Provinces, women comprise between 65-75% of organized peasants in each province, whereas in Huila Province, women comprise only about 19% of organized peasants.

It is difficult to say what are the reasons for this large difference in female participation rates in associations and cooperatives in the north and south of the country. It may be partially related to such factors as the respective roles of men and women in different systems of agricultural production - female hoe agriculture in the north and male-controlled plough cultivation (animal traction) in the south - as well as to the impact of matrilineal social organizations in the north. On the other hand, only about one-fifth of organized peasants in Malanje Province (northern Angola) are women, which suggests there are other factors in operation besides differences in agricultural and kinship systems. Further study of this issue from a gender perspective may provide important insights.

As explained in Section 4.1.2, men generally control the production of export crops such as coffee and cotton, while women usually work with subsistence crops such as manioc, maize, sorghum, beans and bananas. (Morel 1990:8) As manioc and maize are becoming increasingly commercialized through peasant associations, they are no longer only staple crops, they are also cash crops. This may eventually introduce changes in the division of labour between women's and men's crops. Already, heavy work such as field clearing and preparing, once the role of men, is now increasingly being carried out by both sexes in some parts of the country such as Malanje. (Curtis 1988:67)

It is difficult as yet to say how far the social and economic transformation of reorganizing agricultural production into cooperatives in Angola is excluding women (or other groups such as war-displaced people who are relocating in new areas or joining already existing villages). (Curtis 1988:16) Case studies from Nigeria and Cameroon have shown that when the market value of traditional women's crops increases noticeably,

men begin to take over their cultivation and the resulting earnings. This raises an important consideration for development initiatives, i.e., ways must be found to ensure that women do not become further marginalized when production increases. (Savillios-Rothschild 1985:33-4) This is a matter requiring urgent study in Angola, especially as women's crops become more and more commercialized through organized peasant groupings.

#### 4.1.4 Constraints Facing Women Farmers

Peasant farmers face many constraints in carrying out their agricultural activities. Although there has not yet been a detailed study of the nature and extent of these constraints for either men or women farmers, observations on constraints facing women farmers, especially those in female-headed households, can be drawn from other SADCC countries:

- agricultural extension services are often geared towards cash crops rather than food and traditional crops
- women farmers are often marginalized from development programmes and from having access to financing and credit. It will be important to assess women's access to the new credit fund developed in November 1990 by IDA and the Ministry of Agriculture for the rural population. This is an agriculture, livestock and fisheries credit fund intended to support private activity in these sectors. Bureaucratic requirements of getting access to this fund are being simplified.
- rural women often have little chance of receiving the benefits of agricultural training programmes which presently exist. This is especially the case for female-headed households who simply cannot take the time away from heavy agricultural and domestic workloads to attend even short-term training programmes.
- access to land is a problem for women farmers, particularly for widows and divorced women. There is still no land law in Angola, although Article 11 of the Constitution guarantees protection of peasant occupancy of land. (See Section 9.1) It is also important to distinguish between ownership and usufruct (the right to land based on actual use).

#### 4.1.5 Female-Headed Households

Although there are no available statistics on the number of female-headed households existing in Angola, it is widely acknowledged that they are numerous, both in rural and peri-urban areas. The reasons are various: the recent war, abandonment and dislocation are just some of the factors.

Female-headed households are among the most disadvantaged households in the country, and tend to comprise the core of rural poverty. Studies elsewhere in the SADCC region (e.g.,

Zambia) note several characteristics of such households which have relevance for Angola:

- the highest incidence of malnourished households are found among those headed by females, because of the close correlation between labour availability, domestic resources, cash income and nutritional status
- female-headed households tend to be labour-deficient compared to male-headed households
- female-headed households tend to grow a narrower range of crops, have lower yields and are less integrated into cash-crop production
- female-headed households are not as well equipped as male-headed households with such basic agricultural implements as hoes, axes, and so forth  
(Hurlich 1986:191-204)

Virtually no studies have been conducted, in either rural or urban areas, of men who live alone, whether in the most productive age group of 15 to 45 years of age, or in the fifty plus age group. A 1988 study of rural villages in one municipality of Malanje Province observed that men and women spend roughly equal time working in the fields, but that men have none of the domestic and familial duties which characterize a typical day for women. The report noted that further study of how men spend their time is necessary. (Curtis 1988:67)

#### 4.1.6 Population and Agricultural Production

Women in rural areas have a heavy workload, with their double responsibility for the major part of those tasks associated with agricultural production, and virtually all tasks associated with domestic (i.e., family) maintenance and reproduction. Thus, an evaluation of agricultural production, and of women's role in this production, is related to an evaluation of population growth.

There are two critical factors which must be considered simultaneously: the growth rate of the population and the growth rate of food production and availability. Population statistics are not always accurate counts of people, and population data (including rates of population growth, fertility, etc.) fluctuate widely as census methods change.

Angola has a crude birth rate of 47/1,000 for the 1980-89 period. This reflects a high fertility rate (6.4 live births per woman in 1989) combined with a large proportion of women of fertile age (45% of the population is under 15 years of age). The crude mortality rate of 20/1,000 for the same period is related to widespread malnutrition, precarious sanitary conditions, inadequate health facilities and a large

proportion of illiterate mothers. The rapid growth of the population (2.6% per year) and the relatively low life expectancy (45 years) indicate a young population; only 3% of the population is 65 years of age or older. As a result, the dependency ratio is extremely high. (World Bank 1988:3)

As explained in Section 4.1.2, there is a national crisis in Angola of food availability. The growth rate of food production has dramatically decreased during the past fifteen years. This, combined with an increasing population, undermines the health of the entire nation. For women, who must bear the additional physical strain of frequent pregnancy, the consequence is even more damaging for their ability to participate in economic development. (Also see Sections 3.2 on Population and Demography, 3.3 on Abandoned Women and Widows and 5.2.4 on Family Planning)

This relationship between the heavy agricultural workload of women and maternal health also has consequences for child nutritional status. Poor maternal health is an important factor leading to an inadequate food supply for children as well as to more generally inadequate attention to children's needs. Unless women farmers have more control over their productive lives, it will not be possible for them to have more control over their reproductive lives.

A 1988 study of eight villages in Malanje Province noted that women, when asked what they would do if they had more time, responded that they would produce more food, look after their children better and attend literacy classes (Curtis 1988:69)

#### 4.1.7 Introduction of New Technology

There is a lack of information on how the introduction of new technologies has affected women producers. Men tend to perform agricultural tasks involving machinery or animal traction; the latter being used mainly in the central plateau. In a few cases where animal traction has been introduced into the north of the country, it has been monopolized by men partially because of the social prestige connected with this activity. Similar patterns have been found when some other kinds of new technology have been introduced such as manual pulverizers. (OMA 1988:5)

Although the introduction of such technology may reduce the amount of time needed for cultivation (often men's work), it does not reduce the amount of time needed for weeding, sowing or harvesting (often women's and children's work).

There are instances, in SADCC countries such as Zambia, in which activities predominantly performed by women, such as weeding, become redefined as male activities once new technology and materials (e.g., herbicides) are introduced. (Hurlich 1986:201)

Between 1986 and 1988, more than 500 grinding mills were introduced into rural areas in Angola. The management of these mills has been virtually monopolized by men, although the use is virtually entirely for women. Similarly, between 1985 and 1988, some 3,000 water pumps were introduced into rural areas, but the number of women who acquired them is insignificant. (OMA 1988:6) A similar observation has been made in a study of rural villages carried out in Malanje Province: new technologies intended to reduce a burden or provide an economic advantage for women have often been appropriated by men. (Curtis 1988:69)

## 4.2 Fishing

The Ministry of Fishing works mainly with coastal and industrial fishing; inland fishing belongs to the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development.

Recently, there has been an increased interest within the Ministry with women's concerns. In January 1991, a meeting was held which brought together women working in different sectors of the Ministry - training, investigation, planning and administration - to discuss their various preoccupations and exchange views. In April 1991, the Ministry held a seminar to discuss professional training for women within the fishing sector. (See Section 4.2.4 for more details.) This seminar was the first of its kind in the fisheries sector focussing on women and education.

### 4.2.1 Industrial Fishing

Angola, with a rich seaboard of 1,650 km, has substantial commercial fishing resources. Before independence, the main characteristics of Angola's industrial fishing sector were as follows:

- Angola was the second largest fish producer in Southern Africa, with an average annual catch between 1956-73 of 325,000 tonnes (EIU 1990a:17)
- industrial fishing was completely foreign-controlled and was mainly for export (Alberts 1989:26)
- over 13,000 people were employed in the fishing industry and there were over 800 fishing boats (EIU 1990a:17)

The Portuguese exodus in 1975 depleted Angola of its fishing fleet and expertise, and during the war some of the modern processing plant facilities, most of which were in Namibe Province, were destroyed. (World Bank 1988:227)

Since independence, canneries are being rehabilitated, new cold stores are being built and new fishing boats are being imported. (EIU 1990a:17)

Industrial fishing, which takes place mainly off the coasts of Namibe and Benguela Provinces, is still largely foreign-controlled: in 1988, 74% of the total capture was done by non-Angolan boats. Of the 260,000 tonnes of fish captured by foreign boats in 1988, 41.5% (108,000 tonnes) was used for internal consumption and the rest was exported. (Alberts 1989:29)

Catches have declined since independence, although it is difficult to know exactly how much fish is being caught as Angola lacks the means to independently verify catches. Thus one gets huge differences between reported catches, such as

that for 1985 of 195,000 tonnes, and estimated catches which was 470,000 tonnes of fish for the same year. (World Bank 1988:227) The major part of Angola's industrial catch is sold fresh or frozen, or is salted, dried or cured. (Alberts 1989:35)

In 1988, the Fishing Ministry estimated that a total of 13,721 people were employed in the capture, transformation and distribution of industrial fish. (Alberts 1989:39-40) Of this total, 51.1% (7,009) were involved in transformation, which includes the canning industries where women are extensively involved.

#### 4.2.2 Small-Scale Fishing

The fishing sector in Angola is officially classified according to the size and type of boats used and their respective technology. There are three categories of fishing: industrial, semi-industrial and small-scale, the latter further divided into mechanized and non-mechanized (using boats between 8-12 metres long) and inland fishing (using canoes and flatboats). (Alberts 1989:41-3)

One study noted that the above categories are not always useful. Semi-industrial and small-scale coastal fishermen may use the same kinds of boats, and "non-mechanized" canoes and flatboats are occasionally used with motors. (Alberts 1989:41, 43)

##### 4.2.2.1 Small-Scale Coastal Fishing

Small-scale coastal fishing occurs along the entire Angolan coast, although it is most heavily concentrated in the central and northern areas. Angolan authorities estimate there are between 5-7,000 coastal fishermen. (Alberts 1989:45)

Small-scale coastal fishermen in Angola use seven different types of boats including larger canoes and flatboats. Four of these boat types are made in Angola and three are imported. Most of these boats are used along the coast of Cabinda, Soyo, Luanda and Namibe, although canoe and flatboat coastal fishermen generally prefer areas which have open beaches. (Alberts 1989:41-3)

In 1989, the small-scale fishing fleet was estimated to include 3,866 boats, of which 58% are flatboats, 29% are canoes and only 4% are imported. Of the canoes, 95% are constructed of wood. One third of this fishing fleet is found in Luanda, where flatboats constitute 80% of registered boats. (Alberts 1989:43, 45)

Most small-scale coastal fishermen use nets and line to catch mainly corvina, cachucho, garoupa and pargo, and occasionally shark and rays. Flatboat and canoe fishermen generally fish

early in the morning and deliver their catches without any means of conservation. Fishermen on the more sturdy boats fish at night, often use coolers with ice or salt, and may be at sea two to three days. (Alberta 1989:45-6)

Within the small-scale coastal fishing sector, there are many private companies - many dating from before independence- which buy catches. After the first MPLA Congress in 1977, there was a move to encourage small-scale fishermen to organize production cooperatives, with membership being voluntary. By 1987, one cooperative and fourteen associations had been organized, and by 1989, membership of such organizations constituted 19% of the total number of small-scale coastal fishermen. (Alberts 1989:49-50)

Outside of catches obtained by organized fishermen, there does not exist any systematic registration of catches of small-scale coastal fishermen. For organized fishermen, registered catches between 1978 and 1988 averaged 1,400 tonnes annually, with a tendency to drop each year. From 1984-88, the registered drop was as high as 50% (although the number of registered catches had increased during this period). One reason for the drop is that fishermen tend to sell their catches directly to the parallel market where they get higher prices. (One report assumes the average annual catch per boat for small-scale fishermen is between 4-8 tonnes.) (Alberts 1989:46)

The majority of the catch of small-scale coastal fishermen is salted or sun-dried. This work is traditionally done by women, who have the right to the catch of their husbands. One problem is the scarcity of salt especially in the northern areas. Because of this, a lot of fish spoils. (Alberts 1989:47)

#### 4.2.2.2 Inland Fishing

Angola has about 2,000 square kilometres of rivers and small lagoons of rich inland fishing areas. Estimates of annual catches range between 6-8,000 tonnes, whereas the potential may be as high as 50-115,000 tonnes per year. (Alberts 1989:25)

Since 1983, more than 2,000 inland fishermen / peasants have been organized into fishing associations and cooperatives. These groups are found along the rivers and lagoons in the provinces of Luanda, Bengo and Kwanza Norte. It is estimated that there are another 3,000 inland fishermen scattered throughout other provinces such as Moxico and Kwanza Sul. (Sousa 1989)

The majority of inland fishing communities have a mixed economy based on agricultural production and fishing geared primarily to family consumption. The most intense fishing period is from June to December, although there are variations from one area to another. Some fishing villages have only

limited agricultural activities, producing only one major crop such as maize or beans. One of the objectives of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development is to help these communities expand and diversify their production both for subsistence and for commercialization. (27 June 1987 meeting between Hurlich and J. Sousa, Coordinator for Inland Fishing, Ministry of Agriculture)

In 1989, a study was conducted of 21 villages, five of which are engaged in extensive fishing activities, in one commune of Bengo Province. These fishermen use small wooden canoes and nets. The common pattern is for men to fish, although in one village three women also went out in the small canoes to fish, in the case of one woman because she had no husband. Women cure fish through sun-drying or smoking. Although fish is mainly used for local consumption, it is also sold elsewhere in the area by local women vendors. There are also women fish mongers who come regularly from Luanda to buy fish from these communities which they then sell on the parallel markets in the capital city. (See Section 4.2.3) (Hurlich 1989:49-54)

There have not, to date, been many in-depth studies, and virtually none from a gender perspective, of inland fishing communities, or of actual tasks carried out by men and women including seasonal variations. The socio-economic reality of fishing communities is more complex than is suggested by the few reports which do exist. In the municipality of Wako Kungo in Kwanza Sul Province, women traditionally fish in the shallow waters using baskets. This fishing is done throughout the year and the catch - fresh, smoked or dried - is used for family consumption. (Hurlich 1987:11) Such activities need further investigation.

#### 4.2.3 Distribution and Commercialization

The state enterprise with responsibility for national distribution of fish and fish products is EDIPESCA. This enterprise - which receives industrial fish as well as catches from private fishermen and cooperatives - has also been responsible for distribution of fresh and frozen fish to the public. (Alberts 1989:29)

EDIPESCA has some warehouses in the rural areas and some refrigerated vehicles for transport. From its main distribution points in Cabinda, Luanda, Benguela and Namibe, EDIPESCA distributes fish to state and private stores and also sells directly to the public. As with other state enterprises, EDIPESCA suffers from lack of transport and shortage of spare parts with which to maintain what vehicles it does have. (Alberts 1989:29, 39)

Women are the main curers and sellers of coastal and inland fish caught by small-scale fishermen. Generally fisherman have ongoing relationships with fish mongers, some of whom are very rich. Fishermen on the Ilha (the small island located off

Luanda) say there are some women fish sellers who employ other women to sell their fish. These women "employees" are usually paid in kind with fish. Many of these women have a close relative - husband, brother, etc. - who is a fisherman.

On the Ilha fishermen talk about one woman fish seller who is richer than most. From Cabo Verde and married to a carpenter, this woman employs other women to cure and sell her fish. She herself never appears on the market, but has a regular net of customers who buy her fish. More in-depth study is needed to determine if this phenomenon of richer fish mongers employing or selling to other fish mongers occurs mainly in Luanda (and perhaps in other similar centres), or if it is more widespread.

Many fish sellers think they are doing a good job curing the fish; in a small study on drying and salting methods used by women on the Ilha, fish mongers said they did not feel their work methods needed much improvement.

In the study of fishing villages in Bengo Province, referred to in Section 4.2.2.2, it was noted that these villages are regularly visited by women fish mongers from Luanda. These vendors buy fish and a variety of vegetables to sell in Luanda. The usual pattern is for a woman fish vender to go to a fishing village for two to three weeks, buy fish, and then return to Luanda to sell for another two or three weeks. Then she goes back to the village and repeats the cycle. In many cases, women return to the same village each time, especially if they have family ties through marriage or an already established long-term relationship with particular fishermen. Many of these women go to and from Luanda by truck. (Hurlich 1989:55)

#### 4.2.4 Training

CEFOPESCAS (Professional Training Centre for Fisheries), located in Cacuaco just north of Luanda, provides basic training for electricians, refrigeration mechanics and others for work in the fishing sector. The training programme consists of two years of basic study followed by one year of practical experience.

Two years ago girls began studying at CEFOPESCAS for the first time. Next year, when these girls do their practicums, there will be an opportunity to see how the labour market will react to women with this kind of training. It is not clear, however, what happens to male students once they leave the centre.

In Namibe Province, the Helder Neto Maritime Student Complex also offers professional training for the fishing sector at both the basic and medium (twelfth class) level. Girls have been studying at this centre for a long time, although no study has yet been done on what happens to them once they enter the job market. Many girls have also dropped out of the programme.

CEFOPESCAS is currently considering providing short-term courses on such subjects as typing, occupational safety for women working in the salt pans and management of fish selling units. Such courses could also occur in the work place. This is a new initiative which could be of benefit to women.

From 3-5 April 1991, a seminar was held at CEFOPESCAS to discuss professional training for women within the fishing sector. Organized by the Ministry of Fishing with assistance from SIDA, the seminar was attended by participants from various provinces. The objective was to begin preparation of courses for a professional training programme for women involved in the sector. In preparation for the seminar, surveys were carried out with women fish sellers and with women (not always the same) who process and cure the fish. One idea coming out of the seminar was the possibility of organizing short-term courses in the parallel markets on such things as hygiene. The seminar also expressed the desire that a study be done with the objective of identifying women's perceived needs in the fishing sector.

#### 4.2.5 Informal Credit

Coastal fishermen off Luanda talk of a practice whereby some fish mongers advance money to them for fish which is as yet uncaught. These "loans" - described by fishermen as "acts of friendship" - are used to buy petrol, fishing gear and even food for the family when necessary. Later, the fisherman "repays" the loan with fish.

Sometimes there is an "interest" paid on the loan, e.g., if the loan is for kz 10, the fisherman will "pay back" the loan with garoupa worth kz 15. This interest is not seen by fishermen as "profit", but rather as the fulfilment of an agreement reached between the fishermen and the fish monger.

As with the situation of rich fish mongers employing other market women to sell for them (see Section 4.2.3), it is not clear if this "informal credit system" occurs only in Luanda, or if it also occurs elsewhere. It is also not known if there are traditional forms of informal credit, or if the system described above has developed more recently. Further investigation could help answer these questions.

## 4.3 Industry

### 4.3.1 Background

In 1974, there were almost 4,000 registered manufacturing industries in Angola producing goods ranging from food to shoes, textiles and metal fabrication and worth USD 650 million. With the exodus of the Portuguese after independence, the majority of these enterprises were abandoned and manufacturing output dropped. (World Bank 1988:74)

Out of a total of about 690 enterprises currently listed in Angola's company registry, 280 (40%) are engaged in manufacturing, over half of which are state-owned. In 1977, industrial output was only one-fourth of the level achieved four years earlier. Subsequent partial recovery has occurred mainly in light industry which in 1987 produced almost two-thirds of its 1973 output. (World Bank 1988:74-5)

Employment in manufacturing has also dramatically declined. In 1974, registered manufacturing industries had 200,000 employees; by 1984, there were only 85,000 employees (representing a third of total employment in industry). (World Bank 1988:75)

Angola's industrial sector is still largely underdeveloped, with preference given mainly to industries which manufacture essential goods, e.g., foodstuffs, textiles, shoes, construction, etc. (Anon 1985:11)

### 4.3.2 Employment Patterns

The 1983/84 census showed that in Luanda, 78% of men and 22% of women were economically active in the formal sector. The largest percentages of women were employed in administration and services, and as workers: 6% and 5% respectively. For men, they were most active as workers, technicians and in administration and services: 33%, 11% and 10% respectively. (Colaco 1990:40) Official 1991 figures indicate that, in Luanda, there are 836,000 people in the economically active age group, of whom 48% are employed and 52% are unemployed in the formal sector. (Goncalves 1991)

In 1983, at a Regional Seminar held in Luanda on the Integration of Women in the Industrial Planning Process for the Portuguese-Speaking Countries of Africa, it was noted that women constitute only about 20% of the industrial labour force in Angola, concentrated mainly in the "feminine" industries of food manufacturing, textiles and garments, and coffee. Women's tasks in these industries are generally limited to packing, finishing of manufactured articles, despatch of products and cleaning. One of the reasons for this low figure is the high illiteracy rate for women and the lack of educational opportunities. (Anon 1985:11, Heinze 1983:4, 11)

In 1985, the actual female labour force in the different branches of industry was:

- heavy industry	9.0%
- light industry	21.0%
- food industry	16.0%
(Anon 1985:12)	

The only truly heavy industries in Angola are the cement factory, the petroleum refinery and a moderately sized steel plant. Also included in this category is the production of tires, bicycles and motorcycles, dry batteries, refrigerators, radios and televisions, metal furniture, etc. Light industry includes textiles and clothes, shoes, matches, plywood, soap, paint and glue, plastic ware, etc. Food processing industries include corn meal and wheat flour, cooking oil and margarine, beer and soft drinks, and a number of minor products. (World Bank 1988:75-7)

Although there has not been a significant change in the level of female employment in the formal sector during the past five years, women's involvement may be slowly increasing. In 1983/84, some 19% of women in Luanda and the coastal areas received salaries. By comparison, according to the Ministry of Labour, in 1988 almost 22% of women in Luanda received official salaries. (Colaco 1990:36) In 1990, it was estimated that of the 715,000 people employed in the formal sector (administration and enterprises), 568,000 (80%) were men and 147,000 (20%) were women. (Morel 1990:7)

#### 4.3.2.1 Strikes

More than 20 strikes have occurred in Angola since September 1990 - although strikes only became legal in March 1991 - causing losses amounting to millions of dollars. Most have been industrial strikes in sectors ranging from textiles to construction to electricity supply. Some of the most serious strikes have been in the oil sector, although strikes have also occurred in the public sector, e.g., registry and notary workers. (ANGOP 1991a:12)

Strikers' demands have included payment of six months of wage arrears, wage increases, accusations of "racism" practised by certain foreign companies, etc. (ANGOP 1991a:12) In late July 1991, in an attempt to redress some of the grievances of workers, the government approved increases in the salary scales of public sector and industrial workers of 43% and 30% respectively. (JA 24.07.91)

#### 4.3.3 Women in the Workplace

Angolan women are often marginalized in the workplace. The Head of the Office for Middle-Level Training within the National Directorate for Public Health (DNSP) says: "Angolan women often feel undervalued in the work place. Women

do not get recognized for the work they do. There are also instances where women come up with ideas, or carry out important work, and men get the credit; some men will "steal" the idea or work as if it is their own."

The Director of the National Library also noted the same problem: "Although there are women directors at the state level, for a woman to become a director she needs to be a senior technician. For a man, however, he does not need the same qualifications."

On the other hand, Angolan women, especially in urban areas, have a comparatively strong position relative to men. The reasons for this are: first, the West African tradition in which women play a strong role; second, with so many men gone because of the war, women have had to assume responsibility for family survival; and third, the legacy of the role of women during the struggle for independence. It is also possible to find Angolan women in supervisory positions, including in traditional male occupations, because of these factors.

## 4.4 Informal Sector

### 4.4.1 Overview

In Angola, there is little information available on the informal sector in general, or on the role of women and men within this sector in particular. Official figures for formal sector employment are based on the idea that "employment" means "providing goods or services for an official wage". Excluded from official categories of productive labour are traditional agricultural activities (subsistence farming), informal economic activities (e.g., parallel markets, private small-scale enterprises, handicrafts, household exchanges of labour and produce, etc.) in urban and rural areas, and domestic work at home.

One of the few studies done on the informal sector in Angola estimated that, in 1990, three-quarters of the total economically active population (3.13 million out of 4.09 million) are involved in informal sector activities. Out of this group, 88% (2.76 million or 67% of the total economically active population) are involved in agricultural activities including fishing. About 10% of those working in the informal sector are involved in the parallel market, and 1.3% work in informal industrial activities and handicrafts. (Morel 1990:6-7)

While women represent only 20% of those employed in the formal sector (147,000 out of 715,000), they constitute 55% of those active in the informal sector (1.73 million out of 3.13 million). Women are especially active in agricultural activities (including urban green belts) and services (including the parallel market), where they represent 55% and 60% respectively of those active in these two sectors. In fishing activities, men predominate, representing 88% of the 28,000 people active in this sector. (The fact that 12% of those active in the fishing sector, outside of marketing, are women, is not an insignificant percentage.) In informal industrial and handicraft activities, which are traditionally male activities, men comprise 80% of those active (33,000 out of 41,000). (Morel 1990:7)

### 4.4.2 Commerce

#### 4.4.2.1 Colonial "Bush Traders"

During the colonial period, there were an estimated 20-30,000 merchants - predominantly Portuguese "bush traders" - who carried out marketing in the rural areas and played an important role in stimulating peasant production by exchanging industrial goods for agricultural products. Most were not specialized merchants but combined trading with farming and cattle raising; in this respect, these traders were involved in "parallel (i.e., not official or state-run) market" activities. (World Bank 1988:20, 61)

After independence, Portuguese traders were among the thousands of settlers who fled the country, cutting the links between peasant producers and the cities and contributing to the drastic decline in marketed agricultural production. (EIU 1990a:14) This, plus the disruption of transport systems caused by the war, and weak management of the commercial sector by the state, has virtually halted any flow of cereals from the country to the cities (or of manufactured goods from the city to the country), leaving the government heavily reliant on imports to feed the urban population. (EIU 1990a:15)

A few years ago, the government introduced a special programme of commerce in the rural areas to try to revive production, but implementation of the programme has been weak. Although private traders were invited to participate in the programme, this did not significantly improve the situation as their numbers are few and the supply of goods is inadequate to the need. (World Bank 1988:20)

#### 4.4.2.2 Official Internal Trade and Commerce

Official internal trade and commerce in Angola is based mainly on state enterprises, including shops specializing in a particular product (e.g., bread or fish), or focusing on a particular consumer group (e.g., senior party leadership or senior public administrators). (World Bank 1988:19-20)

The serious problems in the production of basic food crops (see Section 4.1.2), combined with the breakdown of rural-urban trade and general inefficiency, has made it impossible for state structures to meet basic food needs of the population. The industrial sector is also unable to respond to people's needs. In theory, total production of state-owned industries must go to state distribution companies at pre-determined prices. In practice, a substantial part of production never reaches official distribution networks, but instead goes into barter trade between enterprises, workers' and the enterprise's own use, and theft. Theft from state-owned industries has been estimated as high as 35% for industries producing much sought after consumer articles such as plastic toys and sandals. (World Bank 1988:78)

As a result of severe shortages of goods and services at official prices, parallel markets - with prices determined by supply and demand - have developed as the only possibility for most consumers to have access to essential goods and services. (World Bank 1988:v)

#### 4.4.2.3 Parallel Markets

The parallel market sector in Angola has more in common with the West African than with the Southern African tradition. The West African parallel market system is

very strong and, in countries such as Ghana, highly organized. Women have often quite substantial economic power, and it is not uncommon to find both women and men with their own separate income sources. This is also the case in Angola, although there is as yet insufficient research and available data on such activities and the extent of their similarity to comparable activities elsewhere in West Africa. But it is widely recognized that Angolan women have more power in the informal than in the formal sector. (There are rich market women who talk about sending their daughters to university outside Angola, e.g., in Portugal.)

In 1989, the Ministry of Planning estimated that the value of goods circulating in Angola's parallel markets was 2.5 times greater than the GDP two years earlier. The Ministry also estimated that after 1987, the number of market vendors in the capital city Luanda more than doubled, surpassing 38,000; this also includes vendors who are not officially registered. (Morel 1990:19)

The parallel economy is so important in Angola that the population devotes at least one-third of its productive time to it on an everyday basis. (dos Santos 1989:162) In Luanda, up to 90% of family income is consumed in the parallel market. (World Bank 1988:61)

In 1990, some 302,000 people were working in the parallel markets throughout the country, of whom 181,000 (60%) were women and 121,000 (40%) were men. (Morel 1990:8)

Men and women are involved in different activities on the parallel market. The Head of the Public Health Department at the Medical Faculty made the following observation: "When you go to the markets, it is mainly women who sell food (including fish) and sometimes clothing. Men mainly sell non-food items like watches, jewelry, a variety of equipment and tools, radios, refrigerators and so forth. When it comes to buying, it is mainly women who buy food, on a daily basis, at the markets. Men mainly buy non-food items. In Luanda as in the countryside, it is women who are concerned with food."

Barter is an important feature of the parallel market. Peasants and the urban poor, who are often unable to accumulate large amounts of kwanzas to purchase goods, will exchange tobacco, beer or alcohol and clothes for other items on the parallel market. These items have become a kind of currency on the parallel market. (dos Santos 1989:164-5)

Luanda's parallel markets have the same range of items, including imported goods, as one finds in the "dollar shops" (i.e., foreign currency stores). The source of these items is varied and includes the following:

- products acquired by consumers at official prices from official outlets

- smuggling (i.e., goods brought illegally into the country by foreigners or nationals). In many cases, traders with access to air travel go to Brazil and Portugal to buy goods which they then sell on the parallel market in Angola
- goods stolen from state-owned industries (see above) or directly from port installations
- production specifically directed towards the parallel market

#### 4.4.2.4 Parallel Services

In addition to consumer goods, the parallel market also provides services, e.g., urban transport (controlled entirely by men), education and health services.

Because so many state schools and health institutions are not working and/or working conditions for employees are poor, many teachers and nurses have left formal sector employment to try to find work elsewhere. Although no statistics are available, many teachers and nurses - many of whom are women - are providing teaching, tutoring or basic health care in their homes, for which they get paid in kwanzas.

There are also many women who work as domestics or who provide childcare either in their own homes or in the homes of others. In some cases, these women may be paid in dollars or in kind (e.g., clothing or food) if they work for foreigners.

#### 4.4.3 Small-Scale Enterprises

Small-scale industrial and handicraft activities in the informal sector tend to be traditionally male activities, although there is a noticeable involvement of women. In 1990, out of 41,000 individuals active in these sectors, some 8,000 (20%) were women. (Morel 1990:6-7)

A 1990 report of the informal sector noted that out of 201 small-scale enterprises (SSEs), more than three-quarters were involved in five areas: food and drink (27%), ready-made articles and textiles (15%), plastic / chemical activities (13%), metalworking and mechanics (11%), and carpentry and furniture making (10%). (Morel 1990:12-13)

Of 920 small-scale commercial enterprises officially registered in 1990, 91% were privately owned, and of this group, 54% were involved in retailing (almost two-thirds of which are located in Luanda). For the majority of these SSEs, there are no sex-disaggregated statistics available. (Morel 1990:20-1)

OMA has statistics showing the number of women who, in 1990, had commercial establishments for which they paid for a license. Out of a total of 137 women, 64% were involved in retail and other commercial activities. The rest were

involved in activities ranging from baking and drugstores to hotel keeping, hairstyling and photography. Just over half of these women were based in Luanda and about a sixth in Benguela. (Morel 1990:22) Women are also involved in medium-size private entrepreneurial activities such as maritime commerce (including maintenance and repair of ships). (Coelho 1991:8)

Few women are involved with SSEs dealing with vehicle, motorcycle or bicycle repair, panel beating or teaching driving. For 1990, statistics from the Ministry of Transport and Communications show that for Luanda Province, out of a total of 252 such industries, 97% are owned by men and only 3% are owned by women. (Morel 1990:23)

There are not, to date, many organizations which represent private entrepreneurs, especially women entrepreneurs. One of the few such organizations is the Association of Women Entrepreneurs in Luanda Province (ASSOMEL). Formed in November 1990 as a joint effort involving women entrepreneurs in Luanda and OMA, ASSOMEL hopes to create a context in which women entrepreneurs can exchange viewpoints and experiences of how they solve common problems such as transport of workers, supply of materials, etc. (Coelho 1991:7) ASSOMEL represents, however, only a small group of women entrepreneurs; there were only 122 at the founding meeting.

#### 4.4.3.1 SSEs in Zambia: An Example

One country in the SADCC region giving more attention to the informal sector, particularly SEEs, is Zambia. In December 1981, the Zambian government passed the Small Industries Development Act, which represented the first official promotion of private and small-scale industries. One year later, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry established the Small Industries Development Organization (SIDO) as a national structure to foster and encourage the development of small industries. In 1983, the Development Bank of Zambia set up the Small-Scale Enterprise Promotion organization to also assist small-scale enterprises, and more recently the bank began exploring ways to better support informal entrepreneurs with credit and non-financial services. (Hurlich 1986:149-150)

Although several studies have been conducted in Zambia on the informal sector in urban areas, it was not until 1985 that the first preliminary survey was conducted on rural small-scale enterprises (SSEs) at the request of SIDO. The survey estimated that in rural areas and small urban townships, there are 224,000 SSEs employing 373,000 people. (If the larger urban areas are included, there are 350,000 SSEs engaging 575,000 people nationally.) The survey found that women play a significant role in SSEs, accounting for 63% of ownership and 55% of employment. (Milimo & Fisseha 1985:4, 13-14, 41)

Some of the observations of the above survey are useful to summarize here, as they may provide reference points for studying the characteristics of SSEs in Angola.

- most SSEs are small (two-thirds are one-person operations)
- family members provide one-fourth of the labour force
- most SSEs operate year round (mainly from the home)
- the vast majority of SSEs use manual labour
- SSEs provide employment to six times more females than the formal sector
- the average age of SSE owners is 37 years

The most important SSEs in Zambia are manufacturing, services and vending. Men are most active in the metal industries, repairs, leather work, carpentry and so forth. Women are most active in vending, garment, beverages, ceramics and foods. (Milimo & Fisseha 1985:29-35, 47-9)

#### 4.4.4 Handicrafts

Information on handicrafts is fragmentary, available for only some provinces and generally covers those artisans formally linked with the State Secretariat for Culture and with ARTIANG, a state enterprise which markets handicrafts. For 1989, of some 2,800 artisans located in eleven provinces, 45% are sculptors (mainly using wood), 30% weave baskets and mats, 15% do pottery, 4% do design and painting and the remainder are involved in a range of activities. What few official statistics exist for this sector are not disaggregated by sex. (Morel 1990:14, 17-18)

Four-fifths of those involved in handicrafts are men, although there are differences in the extent of male and female involvement from one part of the country to another. A 1989 survey of 19 villages in one commune of Bengo Province found that the majority of artisans were women. The range of handicrafts produced included baskets, mats, wooden cooking implements, etc. (Hurlich 1989:83)

The material to make these items (e.g., straw, palm-leaves, grass, hemp, wood, etc.) is found locally, and the majority of handicrafts produced are for local use. Some villages also sell these products, either to those in the area or travelling through. (Hurlich 1989:90-1)

## 5.0 SOCIAL SERVICES

### 5.1 Education

#### 5.1.1 Problems

Along with all other sectors in Angola, education has also been confronted with a range of problems, some of which have been directly war-related and some of which are due to problems of state management. (See Section 3.5) These are summarized below with specific reference to the educational sector:

- the lack of sufficient state investment in educational facilities, teacher training and supplies and materials (Education receives less than 10% of the national budget.) (JA 28.07.91)
- the decline in the number of teachers and classrooms
- inadequate school inputs, e.g., a lack of equipment as well as inadequate and insufficient teaching materials
- a high proportion of part-time and foreign teachers (and its accompanying language problems and cultural differences) among the staff
- parental illiteracy
- inadequate incentives for teachers, e.g., low salaries, low status in society (not respected as teachers), etc. (World Bank 1988:97-8)

The specific war-related factors which have seriously affected education are:

- impairment of the transportation network disrupted distribution of school supplies in many areas
- dislocation of the population overburdened facilities in urban or secure rural areas
- the draft of young soldiers led to a decline in the number of teachers (and a consequence increase in the number of women teachers) (World Bank 1988:289)
- an increase of enemy action against the population and the social service infrastructure provoked the closure of many schools and the abandonment of classes (Anon 1985:15)

#### \* Withdrawal of Cuban Teachers

The problem of the shortage of teachers has recently become more serious because of the departure of many Cuban teachers; education has been one of the key sectors for Cuban civilian cooperation with Angola. In November 1990, the Ministry of Education said that Cuban teaching staff leaving Angola will be replaced by Portuguese teachers, UN volunteers and teachers from other countries cooperating with Angola in the educational field. Foreign teaching staff will also be recruited for medium-level education. (ANGOP 1990d:10-11)

The Ministry of Education also noted that because Angola had become accustomed to teachers provided by Cuba, it had little incentive to develop a proper teaching staff policy. On the other hand, it is estimated that by the year 2000, Cuba plans to train 2,000 Angolan teachers in its higher pedagogical institutes; this number includes only scholarship students following courses between 1986 and 2000. (ANGOP 1990d:12)

### 5.1.2 Illiteracy

In Sub-Saharan Africa, there is considerable literature which demonstrates that educated women have more power within the family than illiterate women. Sometimes educated women, when they marry men whose status and income are significantly higher than the wife's, actually lose their power. There are also many societies where, traditionally, older women have more power than men.

At independence, about 85% of the total population of Angola was illiterate, with women constituting the larger proportion of this group. (Anon ndb:23) As of December 1990, the National Literacy Centre estimated that about one-half of the country's population was still illiterate. (Saude 1990c:71)

After independence, the government introduced a national literacy campaign with a priority given to agricultural and cooperative workers and employees. Carried out by the National Literacy Centre, one-year courses are taught by volunteer teachers recruited from among workers and students. Literacy manuals are specifically designed for the students' needs. (World Bank 1988:284, 287, Anon 1985:16, Anon ndb:23)

Although literacy is generally taught in Portuguese, some pilot initiatives exist in the provinces teaching literacy in six of the country's national languages. (Santana 1991d:3) The National Literacy Centre also has post-literacy programmes and special materials developed for helping students maintain their literacy skills.

From 1976 to the present, 1,240,000 Angolans have become literate, many of whom are women. (Santana 1991d:3) From 1983 to 1987, of 500,000 women went through literacy programmes, 54% were peasants, 10% were workers, 3% were military and 33% were from other non-specified professions. (Anon ndb:23)

In more recent years, there has been a decrease in both literacy and post-literacy programmes. One problem was the escalating military situation from 1983 on. Other problems have been sizeable cuts in government educational expenditures, with the National Literacy Centre being one of the programmes most affected, and shortages of materials. (World Bank 1988:287, Anon ndb:23)

One problem hindering women from participating fully in literacy programmes is lack of time. In a study of eight

villages in Malanje Province, adult women said the main reason they were not able to attend regular literacy classes held in the villages is that they have too many other chores to do. (Curtis 1988:66)

Illiteracy is still a serious problem in Angola. For example, the 1983/84 census in Luanda and the coastal provinces showed the following illiteracy rates for those 15 years old and over:

ILLITERACY RATES 15+ YEARS OF AGE			
<u>Area</u>	<u>Total (%)</u>	<u>Men (%)</u>	<u>Women (%)</u>
Luanda	27.3	11.4	44.4
Coastal zones	50.4	33.9	63.7
urban areas	40.5	24.4	54.6
rural areas	61.3	45.5	72.9

Source: 1983/84 regional census (Colaco 1990:12)

The above chart shows that there is a higher illiteracy rate in rural than in urban areas, and that in both urban and rural areas, the illiteracy rate for women is higher than for men.

The 1983/84 census also showed that the highest illiteracy rates are found among the elderly of both sexes. Again, illiteracy is higher in the rural areas, and among women in both urban and rural areas.

ILLITERACY RATES 40+ YEARS OF AGE						
<u>Area</u>	<u>40-49 years old (%)</u>			<u>50+ years old (%)</u>		
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Luanda	43.4	21.8	71.8	60.0	38.5	80.0
Coastal zones	72.9	51.0	91.7	85.7	74.0	96.0

Source: 1983/84 regional census (Colaco 1990:16)

In addition to literacy programmes, adult education is also available for people who are too old for regular primary education. Courses are given at night using the facilities of regular schools. Enrollment in adult education courses, however, has also been declining. Whereas in 1980, a total of 235,000 students were enrolled, in 1986 there were only 187,000

students. Again, the reasons are budget cuts, lack of facilities and shortages of teachers. (World Bank 1988:96, 287, 363)

### 5.1.3 Formal Education

#### 5.1.3.1 Primary Level

There is an explosion of schoolage children in Angola, who presently number about 2.7 million between 5-14 years of age (representing 45% of the country's total population). To date, Angola's educational system can accommodate only 46% of this number; 1,435,000 children between 5-14 years of age are not in school! (JA 28.07.91)

The 1983/84 census in Luanda showed that more than 90% of the city's population had received some level of education. But whereas the rates for boys and girls between 5-14 years old were similar (about 74% for each), for those above 20 years old, there was a significant difference: 90% of men and 52% of women had received some schooling. A similar pattern was also noted in the rural areas, although overall rates of education are lower than in urban areas. (Colaco 1990:19, 21-22)

#### \* Gender Patterns

By law, women and men have free access to education, with the first four years of schooling being compulsory. (See Section 12.4.2) That this policy has been put into practice can be seen by the fact that the number of boys and girls enrolled in primary school are roughly equal. From 1981/82 to 1984/85, the percentage of girls between 6-18 years old in primary schools alternated between 45.9% and 46.3%. (Anon 1985:15)

In reality, however, girls' formal learning stops at the primary level and they drop out of school much sooner than boys. In Luanda, only 25 out of every 100 girls complete the first four years of schooling; in the coastal areas, only 20 out of every 100 do so. The comparable figures for boys are 35 out of every 100 for Luanda and 25 out of every 100 in the coastal areas. (Colaco 1990:22)

#### \* Enrolment

Enrolment in primary schools, which was only 484,000 in 1970, almost tripled between 1976 and 1979, jumping from 671,000 to 1,932,000 during this four year period. Then, enrolment declined by nearly 50% between 1980 and 1986, from 1,932,000 to 1,047,000. (World Bank 1988:97, 289) Reasons for this decline - lack of facilities, teachers and supplies, plus the impact of the war - are summarized in Section 5.1.1. More recently, there have been indications that the drop in primary school enrolment has slowed down. Since 1984, enrolment figures show a small increase (about 3% per year). But the same problems still remain of insufficient places for

students and insufficient supplies and teachers. (World Bank 1988:291)

In 1990/91, there were 115,526 students enrolled in fifth and sixth class and 30,600 enrolled in seventh and eighth class. For the latter two years, enrolment represents only 2.5% of the total number of schoolage children; 62% of these students are found in only three provinces (Luanda, Benguela and Huambo). (JA 28.07.91)

Many Angolans are studying outside the country, especially in Cuba. As of November 1990, there were 7,000 Angolans studying in Cuba, many of whom are primary school students. Up to the same date, more than 3,000 Angolans had already graduated in different disciplines in Cuba, especially public health, agriculture and livestock production, civil construction, navigation and fisheries, psychology, social science and journalism. (ANGOP 1990b)

#### \* Repetitions and Abandonment of Studies

The need to repeat classes and abandonment of studies are serious problems in Angola. In 1989/90, the rates of repetition and abandonment was about 50%, and for the 1990/91 period, one out of every three students in the first four years of schooling was a repeat student. For the same period, the level of repetition and abandonment of studies for the fifth through eighth years of schooling was about one-third and one-fourth respectively. (JA 28.07.91)

The reasons for these repetitions include the lack of teaching materials, the shortage of teachers, insufficient and rundown facilities, the lack of conditions and social help for students, and inadequate preparation of teachers. (JA 28.07.91)

#### \* Teachers

At the end of the 1980's, there were 31,900 teachers for the first five years of school. By 1985, this number had increased to only 35,221 teachers. More than 75% of teachers lack adequate qualifications to teach at the primary level, and the majority do not themselves have more than four to six years of education. The average number of students per teacher was 1:36 nationally, although there is a wide variation from one province to another. In Huambo, the teacher:student ratio is 1:21, whereas in Lunda Norte it is 1:65. (JA 28.07.91 and World Bank 1988:291)

There is also a wide variation in school enrollment from province to province. Whereas at least 80% of schoolage children in Benguela, Namibe, Cabinda, Bengo and Huila are in school, in Luanda and Kwanza Norte the level is only 65%. In provinces such as Huambo, Uije, Bie and Kuanda Kubango, only about one-third of schoolage children are in school. (JA 28.07.91)

### 5.1.3.2 Secondary Level

By the fourth class there are twice as many boys as girls enrolled, and from that point on, women's participation in education decreases in inverse relation to the years of schooling. The 1983/84 census in Luanda showed that whereas 3.3% of boys reached secondary school, only 1.7% of girls attained this level of education. In rural areas, the rates are 0.4% and 0.2% respectively. (Colaco 1990:21)

A similar observation was made in a study carried out in Malanje Province, which showed that only about one-fourth of secondary school students are female. Of those completing the eighth class only about one-eighth are female. Among the reasons given for this high dropout rate are the following:

- the tendency to keep girls at home when their labour is needed, hence they underachieve in primary school
- the financial disincentive, especially in rural areas, to educate girls above the second level; the bridewealth is often less for girls with education (Curtis 1988:66)

In 1970, enrolment in secondary schools was about 2,000, and in 1985 it was 3,700. Between 1978 and 1985, enrolment in secondary education increased by 23% annually. (World Bank 1988:97-8, 365)

### 5.1.4 University Education

Enrolment in the university has grown from some 1,400 in 1975 to about 5,700 in 1986. (World Bank 1988:296) Yet in spite of this growth students are often inadequately prepared for university and there are shortages of teaching materials, laboratory equipment and qualified staff. (World Bank 1988:98)

At the university level, about one-third of the students are women, although in 1988/89, women constituted 56% of the students in the Faculty of Medicine. In many other faculties, men are in the majority: 79% in engineering, 74% in economics, 60% in sciences, etc. (Colaco 1990:24, 26)

One young Angolan woman biologist said that when she decided to study biology, she did not get support from her parents; instead they asked why she wanted to study such a discipline in the first place. She said the only acceptable advanced studies for women have been medicine and law, and that it is still difficult for women who want to study such subjects as biology, forestry or silviculture.

Similarly, in the National Library, women constitute only about one-third of the readers and consultants who use these facilities. (Colaco 1990:78)

### 5.1.5 Professional Training

Angola does not have a specific policy relating to women's participation in professional training, although such training is one way in which women (and men) can quickly become integrated into productive activities.

Angola has Centres for Vocational Training which provide regular courses under the direct control of the Ministry of Education, or courses for a firm's employees, financed by the Ministry that controls these firms. As of 1988, there were 45 Centres operated by the Ministry of Education and 73 within firms. (World Bank 1988:285) In addition, in May 1991 the Ministry of Education passed a decree saying that Middle-Level Training Institutes, which existed before independence, would be recreated for professional and commercial training.

Women's participation in professional training courses is low: they constitute only about one-third of students. (Colaco 1990:28) Women are present, however, in all courses, even those which traditionally represent work done only by men, e.g., auto mechanics, electronics, metalworking, and so forth. (UNDP 1990a) This latter represents a positive achievement by the state, and is also the result of MPLA policies during the liberation struggle, where women often carried out work traditionally done by men, e.g., radio telecommunications, construction, and so forth. (See Section 11.2.5)

In 1989, the International Labour Organization (ILO) carried out studies on the participation of women in ILO-supported professional training programmes in SADCC nations. For Angola, the study covered professional training in education and industry; the objective was to identify ways to further encourage the participation of women. Although the participation rate for women during the 1986-91 period was found to be low compared to that for men, it has been rising over time, from about 10-15% to about 20-30%. (UNDP 1990a)

The main reason for the rise is that it is mainly youth (from 14 years on up) who enroll in the professional training centres, and they represent a "newer generation" which has somewhat different and more open ideas. This increase of female participation in professional training programmes mainly reflects the number of girls, relative to boys, who are entering such programmes. The rise does not relate to the number of girls who complete these programmes.

The study also noted that one reason women's participation in professional training programmes is still low is because of traditional preconceptions about what constitutes appropriate work for men and women. There is also the problem that when young girls get pregnant, they usually abandon their studies because of social and cultural pressure from their families and communities that they return home.

## 5.2 Health

To put a gender perspective on the health sector is hard, as the health sector is a national problem. The entire sector needs improvement. In addition, the need to integrate men into this sector is important, especially in family planning, health education and nutrition. All of these problems already overburden women who often lack the means to improve their situation.

### 5.2.1 Problems

The general causes of bad health and high mortality rates in Angola are well known: the lack of adequate sanitation, the lack of potable water, poor diet, high illiteracy rates, low income and so forth. As well, the kind of medical care that is sought by any individual depends on his/her knowledge and also on what is available in the community.

As with the education sector, the health sector in Angola has been confronted with a range of problems, some of which have been caused by the recent war and others by government inefficiency. Section 3.5 discusses these problems at a general level; here, only those specifically relating to health are mentioned.

War-related problems in the health sector have included:

- the dislocation of large numbers of rural people to provincial capitals, and especially to Luanda, has overstretched those health services which are still able to function
- unequal distribution of health personnel in the country; about one-half of all doctors and one-third of all nurses are found in Luanda Province
- destruction of health posts, including personnel, particularly in the rural areas
- decreased mobility both of health personnel and of their potential patients in areas of recent military conflicts
- reduction of food production and destruction or theft of stored food, which increases malnutrition especially among the most vulnerable groups, e.g., lactating mothers and young children
- semi-permanent dislocation of large segments of the rural population and the resulting reduced access to health services such as vaccination and immunization, pre- and post-natal, mother and child care and health education (OMA 1991b, Saude 1990b, UNICEF 1989b:38-9)

Problems which have more to do with inefficiency and bad planning at the state level include the following:

- lack of adequately trained health personnel
  - sometimes no personnel are available at all to provide necessary care

- prescribed medicines are not administered on time or are not administered at all
- too much work for too few personnel, leading to high stress and burnout
- insufficient medical supplies and equipment
- degradation of health institutions (many lack water, phones, electricity and adequate drainage); in the urban areas, this problem has not been the result of war
- low salaries resulting in high absentee rates and lack of professionalism
- little respect for those in authority
- lack of transport to and from the workplace
- lack of accurate statistics with which to do adequate health planning; this lack is the result of weak data collection systems for the health sector
- robberies of medicines and other supplies from the workplace (OMA 1991b, Saude 1990b and c:10)

\* Withdrawal of Cuban Doctors

More than 4,000 Cuban civilian and military health personnel worked in Angola during a 16 year period. (JA 14.06.91) During the past two years, the departure of many Cuban doctors who had been working in provincial and rural health structures has seriously affected the health sector. Of the 310 Cuban doctors working in Angola in 1988 - almost half the country's doctors, 723 in 1987 - all but 86 had left by November 1990. This means that many rural health posts and centres are without a doctor.

As an alternative, the Ministry of Health hopes to bring in Soviet, Bulgarian and Vietnamese doctors as well as UN volunteers. It is important to note, however, that the delivery of good health care is as much cultural as it is medical, and it is widely known that culturally Cubans and Angolans have a great deal in common including similar languages.

More recently, Cubans have been returning to Angola on new cooperative contracts. By the end of July 1991, about 100 Cuban civilian doctors and para-medics had arrived in Angola, and other Cuban civilian health specialists are working in the Military Hospital. (JA 14.06.91)

## 5.2.2 Birth and Death

### 5.2.2.1 Birth

In 1989, UNICEF estimated that the fertility rate in Angola was 6.4 live births per woman. Population estimates for 1990 suggest that for every 100 women of reproductive age (15-49 years old), there are 93 children under five years of age. This is an alarming birth rate, and an obstacle to women's participation in the economic and social life of the country. (Colaco 1990:11)

There are many reasons for Angola's high birth rate. For women, the only source of social security is usually their children. Angola also has a high infant death rate; hence there are high birth rates to try to compensate. Competition between women within polygynous households is another reason for high birth rates. Angolan society also does not look kindly on women who have abortions (see Section 5.2.2.4).

In 1989, only 61,000 (12%) of an estimated 500,000 births for the entire country took place in health structures. Almost 90% of births took place at home. In Luanda, which has the best health care infrastructure in the country, it is estimated that 70% of deliveries occur outside of health facilities. Luanda has only two maternities; there are no maternities or health centres in Luanda's musseques which have facilities to assist births. (Saude 1990b) As a result, those few facilities which do exist are grossly over-stretched. For example, Luanda's Lucrecia Paim maternity can handle about 50 births per day; often there are over 100 births occurring on a daily basis, with some women giving birth on the floor. (OMA 1991b)

The Ministry of Health has elaborated an Operational Plan for Maternal Health in Luanda for the period 1991-95 which has as its main objective the reduction of maternal and infant death rates in the province. Although the plan represents an important step forward, there are concerns that it may not be adequate. In a 2 June 1991 article which appeared in the Jornal de Angola, OMA points to the fact that the provision of delivery rooms in health centres and hospitals in Luanda continues to receive a very low priority. They cite ten examples in and around Luanda where various health centres and hospitals are without delivery rooms because they were either not included in the original plans, or they were included and were never built, or they exist but cannot function due to lack of water and electricity, or there are no funds for construction and/or renovation of such facilities, etc. (OMA 1991c)

#### 5.2.2.2 Pre-Natal Care

In 1989, about 80% of pregnant women in Luanda went for pre-natal consultations and of this total, some 70% received tetanus vaccinations. (Saude 1990b)

In 1989, the pre-natal death rate for Luanda was 75-80/1,000 and there were more than 500 registered cases of neonatal tetanus. The rate of dead births is constant: about 40/1,000 (4%). (Saude 1990b)

#### 5.2.2.3 Mother-and-Child Mortality Rates

Angola is considered to be the country in the SADCC region with the highest mother-and-child mortality rate. In December 1990, the Ministry of Health reported that Angola has an infant mortality rate of 160/1,000 in the first

year of life. (ANGOP 1990c:14, Saude 1990c:56) A 1986 study showed that for the city of Luanda, the mortality of children in the more peripheral areas is 38% higher than in the more developed urban areas. (Colaco, La mortalite des enfants a Luanda)

Angola also has a catastrophic maternal death rate. In 1989, the maternal death rate registered in health institutions throughout the country was estimated to be 665/100,000 (6.7%). There is a huge difference in maternal death rates from one province to another. Whereas Kuando Kubango and Kwanza Norte showed registered maternal death rates for 1989 of between one-quarter and one-third, Cabinda and Huila showed maternal death rates for the same year of about one percent. From January through September 1990, Luanda's two maternities showed a maternal death rate of 1,037/100,000 (10.4%), which is one of the highest levels in the world. (Saude 1990b and c:57)

Over one-fourth of maternal deaths occur among young women. From January through September 1990, of 200 maternal deaths in Luanda's Lucrecia Paim maternity, 54 (27%) were between 15 and 19 years old. (Saude 1990b)

Maternal and infant deaths in Angola are related to the general poor health status of women caused by malnutrition, infections and parasitic diseases, and the lack of adequate health care facilities especially in the peri-urban and rural areas. Of some 50,000 births registered in health institutions throughout the country in 1989, 15% of babies weighed less than 2,500 grams. In Bie, Huambo and Lunda Sul, about one-fifth of registered newborns were underweight, while in Kwanza Norte and Uige about one-third were underweight. (Saude 1990c:54) It is widely acknowledged that underweight babies indicate mothers who are themselves malnourished. (Also see Section 5.2.1)

To give an idea of the extent of deaths among children and adults, one can also analyze the number of burials occurring in Luanda's cemeteries. Within the first four days of the mid-May 1991 opening of the new Camama cemetery in Kilamba Kiaxi municipality, 220 burials occurred. Of this number, 170 (77%) were children and 50 (23%) were adults. (JA 22.06.91)

To date, there have been few studies in Angola on infant mortality, although research is presently being done on infant mortality in Luanda. The sample for this study includes about 5,000 women who have used the facilities of Luanda's two maternities. Analysis of the data will also consider socio-economic and cultural factors as well as care and health of children. Results of the study will be available in March 1992.

#### 5.2.2.4 Abortion

Abortion is still considered a crime in Angola. (See Section 11.4.3) One report in the Jornal de

Angola noted that the practice of clandestine abortions in Angola has become an alarming problem. Generally, this kind of abortion is sought by teenage girls who have become pregnant without the knowledge of their parents. (Correia 1991:4)

Clandestine abortions normally occur in locations lacking even a minimum of hygienic conditions, and they are often done by people who lack any competence. As a result, such abortions often result in difficult-to-cure health problems, e.g., infections, trauma of the genital organs, perforation of the uterus and intestines, and sometimes sterility. (Correia 1991:4)

From January to July 1991, eleven cases of death caused by complication from clandestine abortions were registered at Luanda's Augusto Ngangula maternity. For the same period, 139 authorized abortions and 403 spontaneous abortions were registered in the same hospital, for a total of 553 abortions. The majority of authorized abortions occurred in cases where continuing the pregnancy was considered a health threat to the woman. A few abortions were authorized because of the failure of birth control methods, or because of close spacing with other pregnancies. (Correia 1991:4)

In September 1991, the Jornal de Angola, carried out the first public survey on abortion. Out of 207 valid responses, 89% opposed abortion and 11% supported abortion. (9% of men felt abortion should be available compared to 14% of women.) Reasons given for opposing abortion are that it is a crime and/or a sin. Less than 3% of respondents consider abortion a right. One-third of respondents considered that sexual education in the schools would prevent unwanted pregnancies, and one-fifth felt that such education combined with open access to buying birth control devices plus an improvement in family planning would solve the problem. (JA 11.09.91)

Some 63% of respondents to the above survey were men and 37% women. Ages ranged from 15-65 years and professional background included technicians and intellectuals (12%), public functionaries (24%), labourers (14%), peasants (3%), military (3%), others (including domestics, students and informal sector workers) (35%); 9% did not mention their profession. The Jornal de Angola noted that since the majority of respondents have religious backgrounds, this would account for the strong anti-abortion sentiment. (JA 11.09.91)

### 5.2.3 Traditional Midwives

For the majority of women in Angola, midwives are the only alternative for receiving assistance at birth. The reasons most births take place at home are:

- lack of transport (private and ambulances)
- negligence

- preference, e.g., some women prefer home births assisted by midwives because "...they have patience and show more concern and affection than midwives in (health) institutions." (OMA 1991c)

In 1981, OMA and the Ministry of Health began a programme to upgrade the capacity of traditional midwives through short training programmes and the provision of kits. To date, some 4,000 traditional midwives have received training in basic hygiene and sterilization techniques. (Saude 1990b, OMA 1991c)

The Ministry of Health estimates that only 1% to 3% of home births are assisted by retrained midwives; many home births are still assisted by midwives, female family members or neighbours who may not have adequate knowledge of either maternal or child health care. (Saude 1990b, OMA 1991c)

A 1990 Ministry of Health report noted that the follow-up received by midwives who have gone through the training programmes has been weak. In addition, traditional midwives receive no professional stimulus and work in difficult conditions. These are some of the reasons why they are not always granted prestige and confidence by society. (Saude 1990b, OMA 1991c)

#### 5.2.4 Family Planning

##### 5.2.4.1 Government Programmes

Family planning programmes began in Angola in 1986. (Saude 1990b) As of November 1990, there were more than 30 family planning clinics in Angola and plans to open four more such clinics and six new labour wards in Luanda Province by the end of the year. (ANGOP 1990a:15)

In the capital city Luanda, family planning consultations are presently provided by two maternities and four health centres. There were plans to increase the number of health centres providing such consultations to 19 by the end of last year. In 1989 there were 9,122 new cases in Luanda which received consultations, corresponding to 3% of the city's fertile population. (Saude 1990b)

For the entire country, the Ministry of Health estimated that in 1989, some 72,400 women between the ages of 15-49 years used contraceptives; this corresponds to about 3.3% of the total number of women in this fertile age group. Luanda had the highest contraceptive use (12%), while five provinces (Kwanza Norte, Lunda Norte, Moxico, Uige and Zaire) had less than half of one percent. (Saude 1990c:53)

##### 5.2.4.2 Traditional Birth Control Methods

Angolan women also use traditional methods of birth control. In the south and in the Lunda Sul

and Lunda Norte areas (i.e., the zone of the Chokwe peoples), many women use a variant of the calendar method whereby they place small pebbles in a sieve or strainer (called paneira, this is a traditional round sieve made out of grass and used for sifting flour) to count the days of their menstrual cycle.

In many rural areas throughout the country, many women will abstain from sexual relations for up to two years after the birth of a baby, as there is a traditional belief that sperm will dirty the milk of a lactating mother. This practice is typical of many polygamous societies, and in some cases is the reason that a man takes a second wife. It has also been observed that in cases where a man has more than one wife, each woman tends to have fewer children than do women in monogamous marriages, due to the longer spacing between births for any particular woman as the husband can have children with other wives.

These and other traditional methods of birth control need further study, as there may be certain techniques which should be reinforced and included in national programmes of family planning.

#### 5.2.4.3 Who is the Best Target for Family Planning Programmes?

In the SADCC region, there have been a number of initiatives addressing family planning. One is the September 1986 National Workshop which took place in Harare on Hormonal Contraception. One of the recommendations coming out of this workshop is that public education on family planning should emphasize education of the male. This raises the important question of who (men or women) should be the primary target of population programmes.

It is not possible in this report to explore the above issue with the depth and critical analysis it requires, but it should be noted that the interrelationships between population growth, population control (including which strategies for which target group) and women's role in economic development must be properly studied to identify men's and women's needs, the best methods for appropriate intervention and so forth. (See Section 4.1.6)

#### 5.2.5 Elderly

The elderly - men and women - are among Angola's "invisible people". As the following two charts show, 1990 population estimates showed that there were more elderly women in Angola than elderly men. There is also a higher concentration of elderly found in the rural areas.

ELDERLY IN ANGOLA: 1990 ESTIMATES  
LUANDA AND REST OF COUNTRY  
50+ YEARS OF AGE

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Luanda</u> <u>% of total pop.</u>	<u>Rest of Country</u> <u>% of total pop.</u>
men	1.9	4.6
women	2.0	5.2

Source: UN estimates and 1983/84 regional census (Colaco 1990:6)

ELDERLY IN ANGOLA: 1990 ESTIMATES  
URBAN-RURAL DISTRIBUTION  
50+ YEARS OF AGE

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Urban</u> <u>% of total pop.</u>	<u>Rural</u> <u>% of total pop.</u>
men	3.5	5.8
women	3.8	6.8

Source: UN estimates and 1983/84 regional census (Colaco 1990:8)

Traditionally, elderly are treated with great respect and deference. This may be changing in urban areas where more and more elderly find themselves abandoned and must fend for themselves.

In rural areas, many elderly also find themselves on their own as their older children, who would normally be the ones taking care of them, leave the rural areas. (See Section 2.3.2) In a study of rural villages in Bengo Province, it was found that many older women and men suffer from high and low blood pressure. One reason for this health problem is that since two-thirds of the youth have left the area (due to the lack of schools beyond the fourth grade, the lack of social and cultural facilities and the draft), the elders must do all the work themselves, including heavy field work, fetching water and gathering firewood. The physical strain of this is obvious; and a lot of this work falls to the women. (Hurlich 1989:68, 108-9)

There are some programmes within SEAS which try to assist the elderly. There are a few old age homes, such as the "Beiral" and the Nelito Soares elderly homes in Luanda. Many of the elderly who are here have no family to look after them, or their remaining family members do not have resources to take care of their elderly relatives. (Hansen 1991:70)

Many of these old age homes are unable to provide adequate care to the elderly, particularly in the urban areas. Old age homes face the same problems as many other institutions in the country: shortages of supplies (e.g., beds and blankets), shortages of food, lack of medical assistance, lack of transport and few trained personnel. As a result of poor nutrition, during the January to July 1991 period, ten elderly persons at one home in Luanda died of diseases mainly complicated by anemia. Another home had to stop basket making activities which had been arranged for the elderly, as they had run out of raw materials. (Hansen 1991:70 and Tchitata 1991:4)

In late 1990, the Luanda provincial commission began its first programme to try to assist its elderly former workers. These retired workers have been coming into the offices of the provincial commissioner to register and receive cards which entitle them to get food allotments from the provincial commission store. Although they only receive this assistance once every two months, the plan is to eventually provide a store just for these retired workers as well as help improve their social and living conditions.

#### 5.2.6 Physically Handicapped

On both the national and local level, there is little available information on either the number of physically handicapped persons, or on the kinds of physical handicaps which they have, e.g., missing limbs, mental illness, deaf, blind or mute. There are two groups of physically handicapped in Angola, those who have birth or disease-related handicaps, and those who have war-related handicaps.

Angola is a country whose roads and footpaths have been heavily mined; the result is a high number of both civilian and military physically handicapped persons. The figures for war handicapped in Angola are far from complete, but in 1985 SEAS statistics showed at least 10,000 registered disabled persons, almost one-fourth of whom were located in Kwanza Sul Province. In the last several years, SEAS has been trying to undertake a statistical survey to establish the extent and real needs of the handicapped in Angola. (Hurlich 1987)

The International Red Cross estimates that one-half of Angola's war disabled and amputees are civilians and that most of these women and children. In 1988, the Ministry of Health showed some 24,300 physically handicapped persons registered in Angola, about 60% of whom were located in the five provinces of Bie, Kuando Kubango, Cunene, Huambo and Moxico where the war was the most intense. Over one half of these 24,300 persons were missing one or both legs. These statistics do not include children of less than 15 years of age or adults over 45 years old. The Ministry of Health estimates that the total number of physically handicapped persons in Angola are three to four times higher than the number registered. (Saude 1990c:69-70)

In early June 1991, Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos revealed at a press conference that there are up to 80,000 war disabled persons in Angola! (JA 9.06.91)

The city of Uige, the provincial capital of Uige Province, is typical of many areas in the country. Here, there are few programmes providing assistance, either rehabilitation or food, to the handicapped. In March 1991, there were 369 handicapped persons registered in the local centre for such cases. (Inacio 1991:5)

To assist handicapped persons, SEAS has 17 production centres located throughout the country which provide training and employment for the handicapped. The orientation has been on "reintegration into production." But in 1988, these centres accommodated only about 3% of the registered disabled, most of whom have birth or disease related handicaps. (Beamish 1987:1-3, Saude 1990c:69)

In 1987, a law was passed requiring the formal sector to reserve a minimum of 2% of all employment positions for the recruitment of the disabled. It is not clear how effectively this law is being implemented. The ICRC estimates that of the civilian war amputees whom they fit with artificial limbs, only 10% gain formal sector employment, while another 15% return to agriculture and 75% remain dependent on their families and village communities. Because of dislocation and social disintegration, many disabled, the old and sometimes young children are left to fend on their own. (Beamish 1987:1-3)

#### 5.2.7 Nutrition

An Angolan doctor working in the nutritional sector has said that the problem of women's nutritional status in Angola is linked with tradition. Women are the principal producers of food and the principal transformers of food products into edibles. Women are also the principal distributors of food within the family and on the parallel market.

Yet in spite of women's central role in producing, transforming and distributing food, they are the last to eat. In their capacity as distributors, women give food to others to eat before they eat themselves. Following traditional practices, women give the best food to their husbands, and then to their children. Women eat last, and they eat the worst food of all.

Related to the problem of traditional food distribution patterns is the issue of how work is traditionally valued. In many rural areas, women see the man's work, their husband's work, as having value. But concerning their own work in the field, or collecting water or firewood, it is not really valued. Women do not really see their own work as work. And because it is men who work rather than women, women think their husbands must eat the best food when they return home. This attitude is reinforced by society. If the husband does not eat

well, society talks badly of the wife and of the neglect she is showing her husband. But if the woman does not eat, society says nothing; it is quiet when women are hungry. This is the general social attitude, and it weighs heavily on women.

In Luanda one can often find the same pattern. There are no statistics on this, but the weight of tradition is very strong in the city where men are perceived as working, and women are considered to be dependent on working men, i.e., their husbands or sons. But a woman with a working son has less dependency - even less fear - of her husband, as she has another option in terms of her survival.

Women's nutritional status is also affected by other things. It is women who rise early to get water. To do this, women use energy for which they never compensate during the day. It is women who go to the market to get food. And when women get pregnant, which usually happens at an early age, they still have to do the same activities as before. All of this has an impact on women and their health.

Understanding traditional patterns of food distribution at the family level helps in assessing relative nutritional levels between men, women and children. This information helps identify the most vulnerable (and hence most in need) sectors of a population. Unfortunately, many international aid agencies as well as Angolan government structures fail to take these practices into consideration when evaluating nutritional status.

In early 1991 six non-governmental organizations carried out a nutritional and socio-economic survey of 1,159 families in five municipalities of Huila Province. The objective was to assess if the nutritional crisis still existed in this area which had experienced four successive years of drought. Included in the socio-economic survey was a study of eating habits, focussing mainly on main commodities consumed, the typical daily meal pattern and sources of food. In all the discussions of eating habits, there is no mention of patterns of food distribution at the household level. A similar problem also exists in the December 1990 needs assessment survey carried out by CARE International in Cunene Province, although at least both reports note that widows are among the most vulnerable groups should a nutritional crisis occur.

#### 5.2.8 AIDS

According to the Ministry of Health, by the end of 1990 there were 211 registered cases of AIDS in Angola, with Luanda being the most affected area with 71% of known cases. (Belik 1991:2) One Angolan NGO dealing with AIDS has estimated that in Luanda alone, the number of AIDS cases is probably at least five times higher than that officially registered for the entire country. (The Herald, 1.08.91)

Other provinces most affected are Cabinda and Zaire (7% each of known cases), and Uige, Malanje and Lunda Norte (with about 2% each). These figures refer only to those cases which have entered hospitals; there are no statistics available on the number of HIV carriers. (Belik 1991:2)

Of 191 cases registered between 1985 and the first six months of 1990, 72% were aged between 20 and 39, and 42% were women. The Director of Angola's national anti-AIDS programme has said it is difficult to know the mortality rate because some patients died at home. (ANGOP 1990c:15)

Luanda already has a functioning AIDS testing laboratory and others are being set up in the provinces of Lunda Norte, Cabinda, Malanje, Zaire, Uige, Huambo, Benguela and Huila. (ANGOP 1990c:15) The laboratory of Luanda's National Blood Centre receives two to three cases daily of AIDS-infected blood. The group most affected by AIDS are those between 20-39 years old (60% of known cases), followed by those between 40-59 years old (23% of known cases). (Belik 1991:2)

In May 1990, the Angolan Association for the Fight Against AIDS (AALSIDA) was formed. According to this organization, those segments of the population most at risk at contacting AIDS are prostitutes, truck drivers, soldiers, prisoners and sailors. There is also an increasing number of cases caused by the transfusion of contaminated blood or the use of unsterilized needles. (Belik 1991:2)

Within the Ministry of Health is found the National Programme for the Fight Against AIDS which, among other things, carries out public seminars and educational programmes at the provincial level. One problem is that there is little public knowledge, traditional practice or acceptance of the use of condoms. (Belik 1991:2)

Representatives of the national AIDS programme have said that research in Angola on AIDS is hindered by the fact that the country has no tradition of scientific investigation. For example, there is virtually no available information on the situation of drug users in Angola, including incidence, segments of the population most affected, etc. One important study which is currently being coordinated by the national programme and AALSIDA is on prostitution in Luanda, with the objective of identifying appropriate educational interventions. (Also see Section 6.1 on Prostitution)

One reason there is still little public preoccupation with AIDS in Angola is because AIDS kills fewer people than does malaria, diarrhea, respiratory diseases and cholera. In 1990, there were 46,723 registered cholera cases. About 45% of deaths which occurred in 1990 were caused by infant diarrhea, 26% by malaria and 10% by tuberculosis. Within this context, AIDS in Angola is considered a secondary problem. (Belik 1991:2)

AIDS-related NGOs can play an important complementary role to government programmes. On the one hand, they can help augment state programmes by carrying out independent educational programmes on AIDS. On the other hand, they can act as a lobby to try to pressure state structures to play a stronger role in the struggle against AIDS.

### 5.2.9 Traditional Medicine

#### \* Curandeiros

One of the aspects of health which receives little attention is the question of curandeiros (traditional healers or witchdoctors). There are many traditional healers in Angola, many of whom are people of great knowledge and experience in treating many diseases with traditional medicines made from local roots and plants. Both men and women are curandeiros, and at the local level they provide medical advice and care for a great variety of illnesses.

#### \* Traditional Medicines

One area which needs more attention is the use of traditional medicines. The Scientific Department of the National Museum of Natural History has been conducting laboratory research on traditional medicines from around the country. The objective is to identify which medicines are effective for which diseases, and which medicines do nothing. This initiative comes under the Secretariat of State for Culture.

In Luanda, the Centre for Traditional Medicine treats a range of diseases - epilepsy, mental illness, sterility, bone pain, gastrointestinal problems and so forth - for those who want such care. Treatments are based mainly on the use of herbs, plants and roots. The centre also treats diseases believed to be caused by sorcery. (Anon 1991c:2) OMA includes traditional medical practices in some of its health work.

The use of traditional medicines has been important in rural areas where there are extreme shortages of rural health posts and modern medicines. In some villages in Uige Province, because of the lack of functioning health facilities and medicines caused by the recent war, the population uses traditional herbs to treat all diseases. (Inacio 1991:5)

### 5.2.10 Women's Involvement in Health Planning

Various health programmes have been implemented in Angola with the assistance of non-government organizations. In the planning of these programmes, the traditional role of women in health maintenance is underestimated. There is little involvement of women in planning and execution of health programmes, and the special health needs of women (e.g., pre-

and post-natal care) are not adequately understood and managed.  
(See Section 5.2.2)

It is important to note the work done by OMA in the health sector, especially in the area of health education, upgrading programmes for traditional midwives (see Section 5.2.3) and vaccination campaigns.

## 5.3 Telecommunications

### 5.3.1 Overview

Since independence, Angola has invested USD 150 million (0.25% of GDP) in the telecommunications sector. (Brundenius 1990:4) Also since independence, the telecommunications sector has been characterized by guerilla attacks, poor management, lack of technically skilled personnel, weak financial support and the need to continually maintain a system that is partly obsolete and operating under heavy loads. (World Bank 1988:267) For these reasons, the telecommunications sector has not been able to satisfy the demand for such services. In 1975 there were about 49,000 telecom lines in Angola; today there are 55,000 telephone subscribers in Angola, of whom 65% are located in the capital city of Luanda. (Brundenius 1990:4, 11)

War-related losses for the telecommunication infrastructure is estimated at USD 22 million. ENATEL (Empresa Nacional de Telecomunicacoes U.E.E., the company responsible for domestic and regional telecommunications) says that during 16 years of war, 30% of inter-city facilities have been affected, 50% of transmission capacity is still inoperative and seven provincial capitals lack inter-city links. (Paixao 1991:3)

In the mid-1980's, the government began a programme for the rehabilitation of the existing telecom network and expansion of services at large. In 1985, work began on developing a comprehensive plan for the telecommunications sector. Initially assisted by the African Development Bank (ADB), this plan continues to the present day. (Brundenius 1990:10) Immediate projects for ENATEL include restoring links with all provincial capitals and expanding Luanda's telephone exchanges. (Paixao 1991:3)

### 5.3.2 Labour Force

Telecommunications is capital-intensive and skilled technicians of all types are needed to maintain the various systems at their designed levels of productivity. A 1988 World Bank report notes that ENATEL and EPTTEL (Empresa Nacional de Telecomunicacoes U.E.E., the company responsible for international telecommunications) have problems attracting or retaining sufficient numbers of trained personnel. This is partially due to salary imbalances. Since 1975, there are 30% more telephone subscribers, three times more inter-urban lines, four times the international lines and automatic dialing has produced higher use and profits in the domestic market. All this development, however, is prejudiced by the failure to recruit educated and trained technicians and managers. (World Bank 1988:269)

## 5.3.2.1 ENATEL

In July 1990, ENATEL had a total of 1,460 employees, of whom more than one-fourth were located in Luanda. According to statistics from the Ministry of Transport and Communication, about a twelfth of ENATEL's workforce were classified as illiterate, about one-third had completed four or less years of education, and less than 3% had education beyond the secondary school level. (Gaspar 1990)

In 1990, about one-third of ENATEL's total workforce (435 out of 1,460) were women, the majority of whom (231 women or 53%) were working as telephone operators and were classified as technicians. Only 26 women were classified as either middle or higher level managers, compared to 130 men in the same category. (Gaspar 1990)

Out of a total of 116 workers registered as illiterate, 28% are women and 72% are men. This statistic is deceptive, however, as for both women and men, the illiteracy rate per gender group is about the same: 7.6% for women and 8.1% for men. (Gaspar 1990) Among the 41 employees who had received a post-secondary level education, only one is a woman. (Gaspar 1990)

The age breakdown for ENATEL workers shows that one-half are between the ages of 19-35 years, two-fifths are between 36-50 years old and less than 7% are 51 years old and above. (Gaspar 1990) This latter is an interesting percentage, considering that 1990 population estimates suggest that about 4% of Luanda's population is 50 years old and above. (Colaco 1990:6) ENATEL has about twice as many elderly among its workforce as exists in the population at large, although there are significantly fewer elderly women working at ENATEL than elderly men; about 88% of the company's elderly workers are men and 12% are women. (Gaspar 1990)

The following chart provides a visual summary of some of the above characteristics of ENATEL's labour force.

ENATEL Labour Force  
October 1990

Category	No. of Workers		Total
	Women (%)	Men (%)	
Total work force	435 (30)	1,025 (70)	1,460
Illiterate	33 (28)	83 (72)	116
University	1 (2)	40 (98)	41
Technicians	231 (32)	492 (68)	723
Managers	26 (17)	130 (83)	156

Source: Gaspar 1990

### 5.3.2.2 EPTTEL

EPTTEL has some 350 workers. In 1987, the largest concentration of workers (62) were employed as guards at the international station. (Brundenius 1990:23) For the same year, 50 EPTTEL employees were considered to be qualified; of this group, one-fifth were expatriates. (Brundenius 1990:23)

Statistics from EPTTEL show that in 1990, out of a total of 323 employees, 79% are men and 21% are women. The majority of women, 64 workers or almost 93% of the total number of women, work as low-level technicians or in administration and services. Only one woman works at the managerial level, compared to 27 men (representing 11% of the male work force at EPTTEL).

### 5.3.2.3 Professional Training

Given the low level of formal education among workers in the telecommunications sector, in 1979 a training centre was opened in Luanda. As of November 1990, more than 200 ENATEL employees had received training at the centre. This centre is also used by EPTTEL. Because the centre has been receiving only sporadic support during the past several years, no regular training is being provided at the present time. There is a plan to open a regional training centre for southern Angola in Lobito. (Brundenius 1990:23-4)

Since 1989/90, the National Telecommunications Institute has been providing formal secondary education. This has been motivated by the urgent need for improved technical and managerial capabilities. (World Bank 1988:267) Run by the Ministry of Education, in November 1990 there were 126 students in attendance, of whom eleven (about 9%) were women. (Brundenius 1990:24)

### 5.3.3 Possible Future Changes

#### \* Producers

ENATEL and EPTTEL may eventually merge into one company. There are also plans to automate the entire system. Once this is done, the number of women telephonists, among others, will likely decrease, and many men will also lose their jobs.

#### \* Consumers

The key considerations on the consumer end of telecommunications are:

- who receives telecommunications services? The two options are:

1. the benefits can be targetted only for big cities and their industrial, administrative and already developed residential areas, or
2. the telecommunications net can also go into the musseques and rural areas. This option has important implications for women, as there are more women than men in the musseques and rural areas.

- how will these services be provided?

One objective in the telecommunications sector is that it be economically self-supporting. Women, however, have little money, especially female-headed households. But if phones are located in peri-urban and rural health posts, people can pay only for the time they use the phones. In addition, locating phones in these structures will also enhance health care, as calls can then be made for ambulances and other emergency treatment. In this respect, there is a direct relationship between telecommunications, women and health care.

## 5.4 Administration and Services

### 5.4.1 Gender Patterns

In 1985, 45% of those employed in services and administration were women. Yet women occupy only between 3% and 8% of positions at the decision-making level in government in general, and 19% in departments concerning the economy, e.g., Ministries of Planning, Finance and the nationalized banks. (The figures of 3% and 8% are from OMA and the government respectively. The difference of 5% is due to the government counting OMA's officials as part of the decision-making process.) (Davidson 1988:4, Anon 1985:10)

For the same year it was estimated that women constitute 11% of workers and 32% of technicians in the formal sector. (Anon 1985:10) These and the above low figures reflect women's low level of education and sphere of influence. Women's participation, however, is much stronger in mass organizations such as UNTA (20% women members).

By 1989/90, women's participation as technicians and in positions of responsibility had somewhat improved (43% and 35% respectively), although it is still less than men's role in these sectors. (Colaco 1990a:75) In health and public administration, women's role has also showed an improvement, increasing from 30% in 1983 to 35% in 1986.

### 5.4.2 Labour Force Characteristics

Official statistics show that as of June 1990, there are some 137,700 employees in the state service sector, of whom 14,100 (10%) work at the national level, 120,900 (88%) at the provincial level and 2,700 (2%) in institutes. (These numbers also include doctors, paramedics and teachers.) (Rodrigues 1991:13)

About 44% of the above workforce is in administration and services and about 43% is in the occupational category of technician. Within both these groups, some 81% of the labour force consists of the lowest level of clerk-typist. The same percentage of state functionaries are basic technicians or the equivalent of middle level technicians with little experience. Just over 90% of state functionaries are at the lowest salary levels, and 10% can neither read nor write. (Rodrigues 1991:14)

### 5.4.3 Military Service

In 1990, of 242,000 personnel in the armed forces, 223,000 (92%) were men and 19,000 (8%) were women. (Morel 1990:7) The same year, the first woman civilian pilot began work, and there is also one woman flight engineer. There are some women who are air force pilots, and there is a possibility that they may eventually enter the domestic aviation field.

As a result of the end of the war in Angola, a major demobilization of the military will occur. Estimates indicate that 120,000 military - some say more than 200,000 - are to be demobilized. Only 40,000 (half from the government and half from Unita) will be incorporated into the new national army.

The task of demobilization will be hard. Many of the young men and women in the army want to return to their studies. But there are neither the schools nor the teachers to accommodate them. Others want to return to work, and will find there are few jobs. (See Section 8.2.2)

## 6.0 WOMEN'S SOCIAL PROBLEMS

### \* Angola's "Silent" Problems

Prostitution (female and male), battering, teenage pregnancy and women in prisons are among Angola's "silent problems"; they are not mentioned in any of the approximately 50 studies and official publications contained in the bibliography. (See Annex VII) And yet in many informal conversations, it is clear these are critical problems in Angola.

It should be noted that although official government reports seldom discuss the above problems, occasionally an article does appear in the Jornal de Angola, the national newspaper, on a particularly serious case of battering. OMA also talks about its Legal Centre which provides assistance to battered women. (See Section 6.2) It should also be noted that few outside consultants who come to Angola appear to ask about these problems, if one is to judge from their written reports.

### 6.1 Prostitution

OMA says that among the "new youth" of Luanda, the problem of prostitution is now more serious. But there are not really brothels in Angola, nor is it thought that these will ever really exist. More common is that a woman will have several men with whom she has sexual relations.

On the other hand, an Angolan NGO recently carried out a study on teenage prostitution in Roque Santeiro, Luanda's largest parallel market. Here, a few "restaurants" were found which serve meals to clients in the front room while the sexual services of young girls, sometimes only 12-years-old, are provided in back rooms.

OMA has a few activities dealing with prostitution, such as giving talks in the bairros. But OMA says that the problem of prostitution will never be as serious in Angola as it is in other countries; there is also the fear of AIDS.

In many instances women resort to prostitution for socio-economic reasons. This is often the case in urban areas where women are not sufficiently qualified for formal sector employment, or where there are simply not sufficient jobs available. There are also cases where women who are employed in the formal sector find that they cannot adequately support themselves with only this work. For example, there is one case where a woman teacher works as a prostitute on weekends. One of the reasons given by this woman is that the approximately kz 20,000 she receives each month as a teacher cannot support her family. In this instance, there are no working men in the household, and the woman must support herself, her sister, their five young children and her elderly mother.

Less well known is the situation of prostitution in the countryside, although at least one study of several villages in Malanje Province mentioned that prostitution was one of several problems in the area. (Curtis 1988:14)

It is also important to consider the impact of foreigners in Angola. It is widely, and informally, recognized that young Angolan women will liaise with foreign men to get access to the dollar shops, restaurants and hotels they would not otherwise be able to afford. And there is always a price for these favours.

There is also an important cultural aspect to many of these liaisons between Angolan women and foreign men. It is not uncommon to hear Angolan women say that one thing they like about foreign men is that they do not beat women; battering is a serious problem in many Angolan relationships. (See Section 6.2) Some Angolan women will even say, with pride, "Arranjei um cooperante!" ("I have arranged a cooperante!") According to one Angolan lawyer, there are instances where the police will arrest an Angolan woman who has a foreign boyfriend, and will accuse her of being a prostitute (even if she is not). This lawyer suggested that such arrests are partially motivated by racism.

Another problem seldom (if ever) mentioned in documents and reports on Angola is male prostitution. This is a new phenomenon in Angola, although some observers have said that in Luanda, male prostitution is becoming increasingly more visible in certain parts of the city. Many of these prostitutes are young men between 17 and 21 years old. Many say they had their first experience, often with foreigners, when they were even younger. The motive is often the desire to get access to foreign currency. Some young Angolan homosexuals have said many of their colleagues neither use condoms nor seem preoccupied with AIDS. (See Section 5.2.8 on AIDS)

## 6.2 Battered Women

In a number of provinces and in Luanda, OMA has Base Centres which function as Legal Centres where battered women can get legal assistance.

The best known Legal Centre is in Luanda in the bairro (district or ward) of Patricio Lumumba. Here, four woman lawyers provide legal assistance; each works one afternoon per week. A fifth woman lawyer comes in once each month. There is also a doctor who tends to the women and a kitchen where women can prepare food. Some men also come to the centre seeking help when wives have abandoned their homes and children.

Women who want assistance from the Legal Centre usually come directly to the centre itself, although some women go first to the police who then refer them to the centre. The most common complaint is physical aggression of men towards women. Some

women have been evicted from their homes by their partners. A few have been forced out of their house at gunpoint or with machetes or knives. In these cases, OMA informs the police or the judiciary. In cases where the beating of women is very serious, the police go to the houses to try to intervene.

When women come to the Legal Centre, the first thing that the centre does is to contact the husband and see if it is possible to arrange a reconciliation. A summons is sent to the husband asking that he meet with the lawyer. In most cases, reconciliation is not possible, but of those few men who do appear at the Legal Centre in response to a summons, they tend to accept their legal responsibilities.

If a case goes to the Tribunal, legal assistance is provided. If the custody of children is an issue, the Minor's Tribunal is called in to decide whether the children stay with the father or with the mother. This decision is based on such factors as comportment of each parent. It is not necessary that the mother be formally employed; many women are involved in the informal sector. (See Section 4.4.1)

If the ex-husband is not willing to pay child support, the Minor's Tribunal can send a letter to his workplace arranging that a certain percentage of his salary be automatically deducted and sent to the mother for child support. In some cases men have left their formal work to avoid this happening. In most cases, divorced husbands do not provide financial assistance to their ex-wives for child support. There are a few cases where ex-husbands have opened back accounts in the name of their children, and make monthly deposits which the child can claim when he/she is 18 years old.

Many battered women find it difficult to leave their husbands, often because they have no other options. The husband may say that the woman has to take her children with her. In Luanda, where there is a serious housing shortage, it is hard to find alternative housing, and so the battered woman does not leave her husband. The Legal Centre does not help women get housing. In cases where the ex-husband has a second house, the centre will try to convince him to give this house to the wife and children; this, however, does not often happen.

One example concerns a 26-year-old woman whose husband has been beating her since their marriage eleven years earlier. She has four young children, and the husband wants to keep her constantly pregnant. To prevent this, a cousin living nearby keeps a supply of birth control pills on hand; the young woman finds a reason every day to visit her cousin and take a pill. The husband, a private store owner, also owns the house where they live. He has threatened to forcefully keep the children, who he also beats, should his wife try to leave. Her mother has no house of her own, and although she can stay in her stepfather's house, this is only a temporary solution. If there were other available housing, the young woman would leave

with her children to an "unknown address". But because of the housing shortage, she has few options. She has only recently learned about the OMA Legal Centre in Patricio Lumumba, and has now had her first legal consultation.

One Angolan lawyer notes that battering of women is found in all socio-economic classes. One reason a woman may get battered in urban areas is that, if she is economically independent, she may present a threat to her husband's self-image. To compensate for this, the husband may beat her.

There are three OMA workers at the Patricio Lumumba Legal Centre who come from OMA's Legal Sector for Luanda Province. They take down the details of each case, register the person with the centre and explain the process. These three women, along with others from the provinces, participated in two seminars providing basic training for their work. The first seminar lasted for two weeks and was held in Namibe. The second seminar lasted for one month (August 1990) and was held in Luanda. The seminars covered penal law, constitutional law, family law, civil law, social training, etc.

Formerly, about 45 women per month went to the Patricio Lumumba Legal Centre. Since January 1991, only about 20-25 women have been coming monthly for legal assistance. This does not mean there are fewer cases of women being battered. The lower number is because there are more serious social problems - e.g., food supply, health and so forth - now than before, and trying to solve these problems has become so demanding on women's time that many are staying with difficult situations rather than seeking out help. (See Section 8.3)

The Patricio Lumumba Legal Centre, opened in 1984, is the only such centre in Luanda, opened in 1984. OMA would like to open other Legal Centres in Luanda, but there is a lack of lawyers to help.

### 6.3 Teenage Pregnancy

Teenage pregnancy exists in all socio-economic classes. Although it is difficult to obtain statistics about the extent of teenage pregnancy, some health specialists said that in 1990 the National Institute of Public Health (INSP) conducted a study in this area.

The social context of teenage pregnancy is different in urban and rural areas. In rural areas, it is not uncommon for young women of 15 years old to have children. In many traditional societies, women marry very young, showing that one can have children before marriage may even enhance one's marriage prospects.

Teenage pregnancy is not just the result of sexual liaisons between young people who are not related; in many cases, it occurs within the family unit itself. In one case, the 15-

year-old cousin of a 30-year-old woman, herself a first-time mother, came to Luanda to live with the family and help care for the baby. The 35-year-old father of the child seduced the cousin who then became pregnant. The cousin, who is from one of the southern provinces, left the household; she has not returned to her own family in the south because of her pregnancy. The father of her baby has informed her that he has no intention of marrying her and can offer neither financial support nor assistance in getting housing. She is like many young women who become pregnant: she has dropped out of school, has no professional training or experience, and will soon find herself with a young child she must support on her own.

OMA Provincial spokespersons say there are no specific programmes dealing with teenage pregnancy. Instead, what activities do exist are mixed in with other OMA programmes. At the Augusto Ngangula maternity in Luanda, there is one woman who provides classes for youth. Local OMA members also talk in the bairros about the problem of teenage pregnancy, and there are some nurses who occasionally talk about this problem in the schools.

There is a plan to introduce sexual education programmes in the schools in the near future. Groundwork for this initiative is already underway as a result of a UNFPA-supported Ministry of Education programme. (See Section 2.4)

#### 6.4 Women in Prisons

In Angola, many women are in prison because of socio-economic reasons, e.g., robberies committed from the necessity to survive. Some women working as domestics may wind up in prison for stealing food or clothing from the household where they are working. Abandoned by her husband, a woman with neither work nor employable skills may steal to support herself and her children.

There are also many women in prison for adultery. In most of these cases, the husband has abandoned the wife and she has taken up with another man. When the husband returns, he accuses her of adultery and she goes to prison. In the comparable situation for men, they seldom go to prison.

Although it is not common to find women in prison because of violent crimes, it does occasionally occur. Again, there are often socio-cultural reasons behind the act. A woman may be childless, or may have one dead baby born after another. Some cultures believe that the reason a woman is childless is because a male relative - her father or grandfather or uncle - is giving her the "evil eye". Childlessness is a social stigma in African societies, and a woman in this situation is under severe psychological and social stress. If she believes someone is giving her the "evil eye", she may beat this person, even if it is her own father. In some cases, such beatings

result in the death of the male relative, and the woman goes to prison for murder.

There are incidents of women who are in prison because they have fought with their "co-wife" as a result of the socio-economic stresses often found in polygynous households.

Sometimes women may be arrested and sent to prison for no apparent cause. One lawyer told the story of some market women who were harassed by police, and when they argued that they had done nothing wrong, they were arrested and charged with "resisting arrest".

In Angola there are generally separate prisons for men and women. Often, prisoners from Luanda are sent to penal institutions in the provinces and vice versa. Some prisons accommodate people sentenced to two or four years, and other prisons are "preventive", e.g., for people sentenced for longer periods of time. Conditions are poor for both men and women: inadequate food, lack of basic health care, poor hygiene and a general lack of educational and/or recreational activities. One 1989 OMA report from Bie Province says that among the main problems for women prisoners are the lack of clothing and the fact that for babies who are with their mothers in prison - including some born in prison - there is no help with health and hygiene of the children. Women who are pregnant when they enter prison also receive no special health care.

Few statistics are available on the number of women in prisons. Every four months, OMA provincial structures prepare detailed reports of their activities, including within the legal sector. But statistics on women prisoners are weak and insufficient. Although most of the reports mention visits made by local OMA personnel to women in prisons, there is little information on the number of women located in provincial penal institutions.

Reports from Bie Province are the exception. During 1990, OMA provincial cadres in Bie made 20 visits to women in prisons. In March of the same year, in the main penitentiary there were 79 women prisoners out of a total prison population of 261 inmates; women constituted 30% of those in this particular prison. The previous year, only five prisoners were women in the same institution out of a total prison population of 97 men and women. OMA reports from Kwanza Sul Province for January 1991 indicated there were 26 women in prison in Sumbe, but no information was provided on the total number of prisoners.

The few state programmes which assist women prisoners are limited in scope. Some literacy programmes are carried out in prisons by the National Literacy Centre. A few prisons buy thread and fabrics from Textang, the Angolan fabric company, for women prisoners to knit or sew items for themselves or for sale. Some money from the sales goes to the prison.

The Ministry of the Interior has one football field in Luanda occasionally used by prisoners for recreational (i.e., theatre or cinema) and/or productive activities, and just outside Viana there used to be a functioning vegetable garden connected with one prison.

In 1983, OMA began to give serious thought to how it could help women prisoners. OMA has a team of women involved in the legal profession, plus a gynecologist and psychologist. Sometimes OMA provides legal counselling to women in prisons, or calls attention to such situations as that found in Ndalatando (Kwanza Norte) in November 1990, where two women prisoners had not yet received formal judgement for their crimes. (The Kwanza Norte report mentions another three women in prison, each with a 14 year sentence, although no mention is made of their crimes.)

OMA used to provide some basic literacy training for women prisoners. But this programme has been suspended due to the lack of transport and the fact that the OMA cadre who coordinated this work died. To date, the main ongoing activity of OMA for women in prisons are periodic visits and talks.

## 7.0 STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATIONS

"Give a rich person less food and he will grow thin;  
Give a poor person less food and she will die."

- West African Proverb

"The poor are dead in the very short run."

- John Maynard Keynes

### 7.1 SEF and PAG

Angola's structural adjustment programme consists of two components: SEF (Saneamento Economico e Financeiro, or Economic and Financial Restructuring) and PAG (Programa de Accao do Governo, or Government Programme of Action). First presented in 1987, SEF has two main objectives: stabilization of the financial system through equilibrium of the trade balance and payment of national debt, and reform of the economic system in order to increase productivity. (World Bank 1988:112-17) PAG, introduced in 1990, covers currency and credit, public finance and the balance of payments, with the aim of reducing the budget deficit. SEF is officially considered a stabilization programme providing the starting point for the PAG structural adjustment programme. (ANGOP 1990b:8)

There are some important differences between SEF and PAG. SEF includes only devaluation, not demonitization, of the kwanza, and favours a more rapid liberalization of the economy as well as a greater dismantling of the bureaucracy. In this respect, SEF wants to promote economic and political liberalization. PAG supports both demonitization and devaluation, as well as a greater role for administration in leading economic changes. In this respect, PAG represents a more conservation model of structural transformation than does SEF.

### 7.2 Potential Consequences

In a speech prepared for African Women's Day, 31 July 1990, the then Vice-Minister of Planning said "... in the context of the Economic and Financial Reconstruction Programme...It is certainly important to create the organizational and institutional conditions which allow us, in the first place, to know the real situation of women in our country and the main specific obstacles facing women, and in the second place, to elaborate necessary strategies of action to change this situation, and finally, to create the conditions for the effective application of these strategies." (Sampaio 1990)

In a paper entitled "A Participacao da OMA no Planeamento," ("The Participation of OMA in Planning") prepared by OMA in 1991, it was noted that: "...the transformations actually in

course in the country, which are indispensable and that we support, will certainly have particularly grave implications for the conditions of life and work - already serious - of women. We know that the level of female unemployment will increase and also that problems in the areas of food, education and health will increase."

Structural adjustment programmes are just one component of the changes which Angola is undergoing. The consequences of these programmes are far-reaching and will affect both men and women, as well as the interrelationship between them. But these consequences are rarely the same for women and men. Thus it is important to ask the following questions:

- transformation of what
- transformation to what
- transformation when
- transformation how
- transformation for whom

The answers to the above questions will provide important insights into what is being changed and where this change is going.

### 7.2.1 Agriculture

In the agricultural sector, SEF proposes the increase of export cash crops, food production and support to peasants and private enterprises involved in agriculture. The plan calls for the increased organization of peasants' associations and producers' cooperatives in place of estate farms that up until the second MPLA party Congress had been emphasized in agricultural production. The importance given to the peasant sector could have long-lasting positive or negative effects on women, depending on the policies and strategies devised. (Davidson 1988:6-7)

#### 7.2.1.1 Bias towards Export Crops

With a bias towards export cash crops (and hence male farmers who tend to control these crops), new initiatives will tend to support income generation by men rather than by women. The double bind is that if food crop prices are allowed to go up, the poorest sector of the population - which includes many rural women and particularly female-headed households in both rural and urban areas - will be hard hit. However, if food prices are held down, women farmers will be even less able to afford the higher cost of agricultural inputs, as well as other kinds of commodities; these higher costs are already appearing as a result of the decontrol of prices.

If export cash crops become very attractive, there will be greater pressure on women farmers than already exists for the allocation of their agricultural labour, with the result that

food production may seriously suffer. If there is pressure to turn food crop farmland into cash crop farmland, this will also have a serious consequence both for food production and for women's ability to feed their families.

#### 7.2.1.2 Balance between Food and Cash Crops

In many SADCC countries, there is data available which shows food crop yields increasing slowly, stagnant or even declining. And yet it is precisely the production of food crops such as sorghum, finger millet, cassava, maize, beans, groundnuts and vegetables - in other words, traditional staple crops grown predominantly by women farmers - which must be stimulated if countries are to break their dependency on expensive imports of wheat and rice. Thus, a balance is needed between cash crops - an important source of foreign exchange - and food crops necessary for food self-sufficiency and nutritional improvement.

#### 7.2.1.3 Pricing Reforms

Pricing reforms are necessary, but there is a concern that too little analysis has been done on how they work. There has also been little analysis of the differential impact which pricing reforms may have on male and female farmers, or on the potential impact of increased food prices on the nutritional well-being of the poor, many of whom are rural and urban female-headed households.

### 7.2.2 Unemployment

#### 7.2.2.1 Formal Sector Unemployment

It is difficult to know exactly how many unemployed there are in Angola. In June 1991, the Labour Vice-Minister for the Economic Area referred to international estimates of 92,000 Angolans who were unemployed in the formal sector. But the Vice-Minister was unable to say if this is an accurate number. (Rodrigues 1991:17) As mentioned in Section 4.3.2, official estimates of formal sector unemployment in Luanda alone are almost five times higher!

It is anticipated that Angola's structural adjustment programme will increase the number of unemployed. SEF documents show that since 1985, industrial production has fallen by 35%, while the numbers employed have risen by 20%. The closure of unprofitable firms could result in the loss of 90,000 jobs, and about 65,000 workers on state farms will lose their jobs as a result of government attempts to reduce the losses of state enterprises and privatize part of the agricultural sector. (Many of this latter group will probably return to peasant-based production.) (Pearce 1989:45-6, 50-3) In September 1991, the government announced that some 60 national companies, mainly in the areas of agriculture, coffee, fishing and town planning, would be privatized in the first phase. (JA 27.09.91)

Some 70,000 "surplus workers" among the country's 137,700 civil servants will also lose their jobs. (See Section 6.4.2) Working women will likely be greatly affected by increased unemployment in this sector as they probably constitute the majority of clerk-typists. In November 1990, the Ministry of Labour initiated a study of the public sector to identify exactly how many employees there are, which areas will be cut and how these cuts will be implemented. (Rodrigues 1991:13) There will likely also be unemployed among the nation's demobilized military. (See Section 5.4.3)

Angola has an Unemployment Fund, consisting of 50% of base salary paid during a six month period. (JA 26.09.90) PAG includes in the national state budget a special item to help finance this unemployment fund. (ANGOP 1990b:8)

#### 7.2.2.2 Informal Sector

With structural adjustment and the concentration on privatization and profit, the only place for women in the economy will be within the informal sector. Women will have little opportunity in the formal sector, where they are already marginalized.

In some respects, market venders (both men and women) are already somewhat adapted to the new economic reality being created in Angola, a reality which includes a market economy and private enterprise. Market venders have been working in a competitive market economy for a long time, and many are already private entrepreneurs.

#### 7.2.2.3 Increasing Crime

During the first six months of 1991, 9,557 crimes were committed in Luanda, compared to 1,447 for the same period during the previous year. These crimes include murders, armed attacks and theft from houses and establishments. Police say the causes of these crimes include lack of control of military deserters and gun carriers, the increasing cost of living and the decreasing supply of food. (JA 28.08.91)

#### 7.2.3 Social Services

During periods of structural adjustment, recurrent expenditures are often more seriously affected than capital expenditures. The former are generally covered by national funds and the latter by external aid which is less likely to be cut. As a result of budget cuts, schools, hospitals and basic health services often receive lower subsidies. These cuts can have a particularly negative effect on women, given the urgent need for maternal and child care and educational differentials between men and women. (UNDP 1990b:1)

Privatization of industries - called for under SEF - also frequently means a reduction or elimination of employee-

provided health and childcare services and maternity benefits. These cuts have a particularly negative impact on women. (UNDP 1990b:1, World Bank 1988:112-17)

In urban areas, the real income of women and the household often decreases during periods of adjustment. Adjustment policies can also influence the situation of women through an increase in prices of consumer goods. (UNDP 1990b:1)

### 7.3 Impact to Date

It is already possible to see some of the consequences of PAG for the population at large. One of PAG's first actions was the October 1990 currency changeover (demonetization) of the kwanza. The objective was to draw money in circulation into the banking and state external debt systems. (ANGOP 1990b:8) But the hurried and unorganized nature of demonetization created confusion and difficulties for many Angolans. Payment of workers' salaries for September were delayed until new kwanzas were available, farmers lacked cash to buy seeds before the rains began in October-November and the urban poor had no cash to buy food and other basic goods. (EIU 1990:13)

Immediately after demonetization, there were wild price oscillations in the parallel market due to the shortage of money in circulation. Initially, prices plummeted and few goods were available; the currency exchange was not accompanied by a corresponding supply of goods on the official market and timely price fixing. Now prices are more or less back to their previous levels. (EIU 1990b:13 and ANGOP 1990b:8)

Angola's economy is still characterized by gross distortions, in spite of the 50% devaluation of the kwanza which occurred in March 1991. As of June 1991, the disparity between parallel and official market prices was around 20:1, and while the official exchange rate is now 59.24 kwanzas per USD, the parallel rate is near 900 per USD, or 15:1. (By comparison, in June 1989 the official exchange rate was 29.92 per USD and the parallel rate was near 2,500 kwanzas per USD, or 84:1. Pearce 1989:11)

Angola is also experiencing inflation. A consumer report issued by the National Statistics Institute shows that in April 1991, consumer prices rose by almost 11% following the 15 March devaluation of the kwanza. Compared to prices for November 1990, prices for April 1991 show an 88% inflation, with food, drink and tobacco accounting for 74% of family income in Luanda. By May, the inflation rate of the cost of living in Luanda was 97% over what it was seven months earlier. For the same period, the cost of health and medical services in Luanda increased by 25%, followed by housing, fuel and energy. (JA 21.05.91, 25.06.91) The problem of the rising cost of living is even more serious than appears, as many people now have lower levels of disposable income.

Between November 1990 and May 1991, prices on the parallel market rose by about 96%, roughly equal to the inflation rate for the same period in the formal sector. (JA 25.06.91) More recently, prices on the parallel market have been slightly decreasing. During July 1991, prices in Luanda dropped 3% compared to the previous month. The reason is a somewhat better supply of some basic foodstuffs plus lower prices for a number of different vegetables and fruits. On the parallel market, prices decreased by about 5%, whereas on the official and dollar markets prices increased by about 4% and 2% respectively. (JA 27.08.91)

In general, the dollar market has shown the higher inflation rates than either the official or parallel markets. From January to July 1991, price variations on the dollar market were 198%, whereas on the official and parallel markets they were 86% and 61% respectively. The reason for the higher variation on the dollar market is partly the result of devaluation of the kwanza. (JA 27.08.91)

Household studies in Luanda conducted by the National Statistics Institute show that the official and dollar markets play a much less important role in family consumption patterns than does the parallel market. Families normally acquire 78% of goods and services on the parallel market, 16% on the official market and only 6% on the dollar market. (JA 27.08.91)

### 7.3.1 Women as Producers and Reproducers

Although structural adjustment programmes can have potentially negative consequences for women, it may still be preferable for women to take the risk than to stay perpetually in the position of underdevelopment. Economic recovery programmes which focus on increasing export-oriented crop production are more concerned with increasing the efficiency of women as producers than with qualitatively changing relations of production between women and men.

Improving women's productive role is interrelated with improving women's health, in particular their reproductive role, i.e., decreasing infant mortality and maternal death rates. While on the one hand this focus perpetuates the integration of women in development primarily as producers and reproducers, on the other hand, improving health conditions for women is clearly an important gain.

The UNDP paper referred to above notes there is no automatic link between economic growth and improvement in women's situation; specially targetted actions and reforms in legislation are necessary to induce a change in the social position of women. The paper goes on to say that effective targetting requires that information on women's productivity and consumption patterns are collected. (UNDP 1990b:4)

## 8.0 ENVIRONMENT

"Sustainable development meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs."

- Bruntland Commission

Women often play key roles in economic activities which have lasting environmental implications. However, due to women's disproportionately high representation among low income groups they are often among the victims of poverty and environmental degradation. (UNCED 1990)

In Angola, there is neither a national policy dealing with the environment or conservation, nor on the role of women from an environmental perspective. There are also no in-depth studies or baseline data on environmental problems in the country, but it is clear from a visual examination that they are serious. The main environmental problems facing Angola are:

- desertification
- erosion
- pollution, especially in Luanda which is a small city with lots of traffic and industrial zones that have no filters or other controls over emissions
- open drains producing toxic emissions

The Study and Planning Office of the Institute of Forestry Development (IDF) says the few environmental studies existing in Angola are limited in scope. Some studies on soil conditions cover only part of the country rather than providing a comprehensive overview of the general situation. Little information is available on the forestry, a sector in which women play a key role as gatherers and users of firewood.

### \* Anti-Desertification Programmes

In 1986 the Ministry of Agriculture began a major anti-desertification program in Namibe Province, with the first phase of implementation being the desert municipality of Tombwa. An important aspect of this program is its integrated approach which includes reforestation, dune stabilization and fixation around Tombwa town, the training of blacksmiths to make improved stoves and simple tools, and the introduction of improved stoves (in this case, oil stoves) within the local community. (Also see Section 8.3)

### 8.1 Land

There is no land law in Angola, although in November 1988 a draft land law was prepared by UNACA, the National Union of Angolan Peasants. As of August 1991, this draft was still "on hold" within the Minister's Council.

According to Article 11 of the Constitution, the state owns all surface and sub-surface natural resources and all territorial waters in Angola. Land is also owned by the state, although it can be transferred to individuals or groups according to the law. The Constitution also says that the state respects and protects the occupancy of land by peasants.

## 8.2 Forestry

"There is little understanding about the role and importance of the forestry sector or of key issues such as woodfuel supply, conservation or environmental protection. The sector is marginalized from the public mind. Even before Angola became independent, the colonialists did not use Angola's wood resources well. Mainly they cut trees such as eucalyptus to use as fuel for trains. The colonial regime carried out few studies and there was virtually no work done on indigenous trees and other plants. As well, any consideration of the participation of women within this sector is also marginalized from the public mind. This is related to the general lack of awareness about the role of women in development."

These are only some of the problems identified for the forestry sector by the Head of IDF's Study and Planning Office. Other problems are:

- the lack of trained cadres in forestry who can provide technical assistance and help in the implementation of projects
- the weight of tradition which makes it difficult for women to enter fields such as biology or forestry services
- the lack of finances to carry out forestry initiatives
- no inventory on developmental possibilities within the forestry sector
- the military situation which seriously prohibited access to the provinces
- the lack of forestry extension services

Out of 14 senior-level technicians working in IDF in 1991, there are two women biologists and one woman forestry engineer; there are no women veterinarians or agronomists. Among middle-level technicians, the number of women is also low. In 1990, nine out of 66 middle-level technicians (or 14%) were women; in 1991 there are still only nine women, but there are more middle-level technicians than in 1991 - so in fact the number has declined. There are indications that this trend may be changing, as eight of twelve students receiving scholarships for study outside Angola are women.

Since 1988, OMA has tried to promote the participation of women in programmes for protection of the environment, mainly through a series of reforestation campaigns. (Anon 1989:9) One woman forestry engineer felt there were still very few women (or men) participating in projects to improve the environment, and that in particular, the role of women in such programmes was not well recognized. It is felt that women should be more centrally involved in decision-making around forestry issues, given women's central role in such activities as gathering firewood.

The Study and Planning Office emphasized that environmental programmes which are eventually introduced into Angola must be done slowly, and must be implemented in such a way that they do not destroy traditional values. There is also a concern that the scale of change be such that it can be locally absorbed.

### 8.3 Environmental Organizations

Non-governmental groups concerned with environmental issues are a relatively new phenomenon in Angola, although there already exist several such organizations which also have special concerns around women's involvement with the environment. Some of these organizations are briefly listed below; it would be important if some of these groups could participate in the July 1992 World Conference on Environmental Development, planned to take place in Brazil.

\* Associação Angolana de Meio Ambiente

The Angolan Environmental Association in Luanda which has monthly programmes and activities relating to environmental issues. In January 1991, the theme was the influence of environmental concerns on socio-economic development. The theme for March 1991 revolved around International Tree Day.

\* Associação dos Amigos da Natureza

In January 1991 an initiative began in Tombwa to form an Association of Friends of Nature. The idea was started by local OMA personnel and quickly got support from other local structures, e.g., the Tombwa JMPLA, BPVs and children from the area.

The mandate of this association is education and sensibilization about caring for trees, appropriate fuel sources, etc. To date a Children's Park has been created in the Tombwa green belt. There are plans to provide, at the primary school level up through the third level, one class per week on nature and environmental issues.

\* Accao para o Desenvolvimento Rural e Ambiente

Action for Rural Development and the Environment (ADRA) is a new Angolan NGO providing services and studies on rural development. It has offices in both Luanda and Huambo.

ADRA and several other Angolan NGOs held a conference this year on problems of the environment and development.

\* Youth Initiatives

Since May 1991, several municipal-level non-governmental youth associations have been formed in Luanda which are concerned with protection of the environment, conservation of nature, municipal development (economic, productive, cultural, social and recreative) and organizing residents in clean-up and hygiene campaigns. Such organizations have been formed in Kilamba Kiaxi (Associacao dos Amigos do Kilamba Kiaxi), Cazenga (Associacao dos Amigos do Cazanga) and Sambizanga (Uniao Comunitaria do Ambiente do Sambizanga). These groups include many young women. (JA 4, 7, 18, 21.05.91)

The Associacao de Amigos de Ambiente is an even newer group formed in June 1991 in one neighbourhood of Sambizanga. Members are between 16-25 years old; as of September 1991, 18 of the group's 42 members were girls. Activities include local clean-up, tree planting, community sanitation, etc. Youth from other neighbourhoods and municipalities who want to do similar activities in their own communities have already contacted this group for an exchange of views.

There is also Angolan Youth for Ecology (JEA), a youth group doing tree planting and community clean-up. Again, many young women are active in this group. In July 1991, the JEA organized a seminar in Luanda on "Sustainable Development". (JA 10.07.91)

## 9.0 CULTURAL ACTIVITIES, SPORTS AND MEDIA

### 9.1 Cultural Activities and Sports

There is little information available on women's participation in cultural activities, although there is also an inequality between men and women in this area. In 1989/90, the percentage of women participating in cultural associations were as follows:

- UNAC (National Union of Artists and Composers): 9%
- UEA (Union of Angolan Writers): 8%
- UNAP (National Union of Plastic Artists), formed in 1978, has few active women members, in spite of the fact that in November 1989 UNAP elected its first woman secretary-general

In 1989, the percentage of women involved as lecturers and consultants at the National Library was also low: 29%. (Colaco 1990a:77-8)

In 1989/90, women represented 32% of those participating in formal sports, with the exception of football which is traditionally a man's game. Women have shown a high degree of interest in playing handball; in 1989/90 they constituted 51% of players. This high level for Angolan women may be the result of the excellent results attained by international women's handball teams. (Colaco 1990a:78)

The above statistics refer only to official cultural and sports activities. There are also a large number of informal cultural and sports activities, for which it is difficult to find information on the comparative level of male and female involvement. Sports and cultural groups exist in both urban and rural areas, and there are also church groups, especially for the youth, involved in similar activities. Sports groups have also been formed by workers at different enterprises, and since 1983, children's sports centres have been functioning. (DIP 1985:129)

Traditional and popular dance groups are also very active throughout the country. In 1985, there were 618 adult and 32 children's folklore organizations, with a total of 50,000 and 30,000 participants respectively. (The children's groups are all Pioneer groups linked to MPLA.) (DIP 1985:104)

### 9.2 Media

There are two important aspects about the comparative role of women and men in the media field. The first relates to patterns of employment, i.e., how many men and how many women do what kind of work. The second relates to what kinds of messages about women and men are being transmitted by the media.

In 1985, an average of 20% of all journalists employed by the media were women, many of whom held managerial positions. The criteria used in the selection of personnel within the media is the same for both men and women. (Anon 1985:23)

In the transmission of ideas about women, Angola's radio and television have various programmes - e.g., "For Women" and "Our Chance to Speak" - which help promote and support women's concerns. (Anon 1985:22) Although conducting a content analysis of these programmes is beyond the scope of this study, such an investigation would be useful in helping to understand what kind of messages are being transmitted about women and men, and in identifying ways in which such programmes could be improved. Initiatives such as the study on values and socialization (see Section 2.4) has as one of its objectives the development of new programmes for radio and TV dealing with themes of relationships within the family and sexual education.

## 10.0 MASS ORGANIZATIONS AND WOMEN'S STRUCTURES

### 10.1 Mass Organizations

In Angola, mass organizations have been the main vehicle through which MPLA has attempted to transmit its policies to the population at large, as well as to provide a mechanism through which people can actively participate in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the country. The principal mass organizations in Angola have been the following:

- UNTA (National Union of Angolan Workers, formed in April 1960)
- OMA (Angolan Women's Organization), formed in December 1961
- OPA (Agostinho Neto Organization of Pioneers) provides patriotic education for children
- UNACA (National Union of Angolan Peasants; see Section 4.1.3)
- BPV (People's Vigilance Brigades) exist at the neighbourhood, municipal and provincial levels. Their main tasks are to mobilize and organize the population for vaccination and clean-up campaigns, and vigilance of the local population.

In Angola, women have been more prominent in mass organizations than in formal or state structures. In 1985, a total of 123,475 women were working in UNTA and in the trade unions, accounting for 20% of all members. (Anon 1985:10) In 1991, OMA membership numbers over 1.3 million women. (ANGOP 1991a:8)

### 10.2 Organization of Angolan Women (OMA)

The Angolan Women's Organization (OMA) has been, up until recently, the main national structure for the promotion of women. Its mandate has been to promote a greater integration of women in the social and economic development of Angola. (Anon 1989:9)

OMA has had some influence in ensuring that the formulation of certain laws in Angola treat women and men equally. Some OMA members are lawyers, and others are in the People's Assembly and on different Assembly Commissions.

#### 10.2.1 Programmes

Up through September 1989, OMA implemented programmes mainly in the social sector, e.g., literacy and vaccination campaigns, daycare centres, retraining for midwives, etc. These programmes are found mainly in the rural areas and in the outskirts of Luanda. (Anon 1989:9) OMA has a lot of experience mobilizing women around such activities, but local OMA representatives are volunteers who have not always had time or energy to work effectively in a broader context.

OMA's contribution to the economic sector has been limited by a lack of technically qualified personnel. This problem is not unique to OMA; it is part of a global problem within Angola, i.e., the insufficient number of qualified personnel within the private and governmental sectors. (Anon 1989:10) In addition, neither OMA nor the state has given a priority to identifying ways in which women might become more involved in the economic sector. OMA has tended to build on traditional roles of women (e.g., childcare, pre- and post-natal care, sewing and cooking). The state has not done significantly better, nor is it correct to say that it has been only OMA's responsibility to do everything relating to women.

### 10.2.2 Gender-Analysis and Development

In March 1991, OMA - assisted by the Ministry of Plan and SIDA - carried out its first educational seminar on gender. The objective was to introduce the methodology of incorporating gender analysis into development planning. Held in Luanda, the seminar was attended by about 25 government representatives from the ministries of agriculture, education, energy, social affairs, fishing, health, and planning, as well as by representatives from the United Methodist Church, ASSOMEL and Agricultural Loan Office.

A number of the conclusions agreed to by the seminar participants merit repeating here:

#### \* Statistics and Project Elaboration

- all social and economic statistics must reflect women's participation
- project elaboration must consider women from the start

#### \* Developmental Themes

- population and family life themes must be introduced into the schools to reduce the number of teenage pregnancies and early abandonment of studies
- family planning projects should be directed by both women and men and sensibilization programmes should solicit collaboration and coordination from the churches

#### \* Other

- forming a State Secretariat for Women's Promotion and Development (see Section 10.3) is a positive which can ensure better participation of women in decision-making
- men, especially those in decision-making positions, must participate in future gender seminars  
(Anon 1991a)

### 10.2.3 Weaknesses

There is general consensus of OMA's weaknesses. The main problems have been the lack of human resources and organizational capability to implement projects or carry out regular day-to-day activities and a lack of real access to decision-making levels of the state; in other words, OMA has the same problems as many structures and organizations in Angola. It is instructive to understand from OMA's point of view why these problems exist.

- Although the party has facilitated OMA's participation in missions abroad and access to leadership in Angola, those state structures with whom OMA has collaborated have not helped OMA realize its own projects or acquire funds.
- When OMA has collaborated with state structures on projects, it has generally had no influence in the elaboration of these projects. Its main role has been that of mobilizing women's voluntary labour. (OMA says that only recently have a few people within state structures begun to consult OMA's Studies and Projects Office to help identify projects and carry out studies.)
- Often the only benefit for OMA from its collaboration with sectoral ministries is the opportunity to participate in seminars (for which OMA receives neither financial nor other support).
- There are few cadres at the state level who are sensibilized to gender issues or to the need for disaggregated statistics.

To summarize the above, because the Angolan state has not helped OMA gain access to the financial and human resources, OMA has remained marginalized and weak as a structure which could effectively represent women's concerns.

There are also a number of internal problems which have hindered OMA's role and potential effectiveness in treating women's concerns and participation in development initiatives.

- OMA has had conflicting roles: it has been both the women's organization of MPLA and the national structure defending everything relating to all women in Angola.
- Whereas some OMA members have wanted to organize mainly around women's traditional roles (e.g., cooking, childcare), others (usually in the minority) have wanted to mobilize around women's general emancipation, including in the economic sector.
- OMA has had internal and external pressure to do everything relating to women, while other structures have often done nothing.

- While local OMA cadres usually have good relationships and contacts with the local community, there is often difficulty mobilizing the community for action. Reasons for this failure reflect a difficulty within OMA of identifying effective strategies, and the fact that OMA has few paid staff, little money, and heavy reliance on part-time workers and/or volunteers at the local level.

#### 10.2.4 Strengths

There is general consensus of the weaknesses of OMA. Less noted have been the positive contributions OMA has made to Angolan women (and men) in their struggles for equality.

First, OMA is present in the popular consciousness. OMA has a long history reaching back into the early days of MPLA's struggle for independence. Thus, OMA provides a reference point for women's involvement in activities outside their traditionally accepted role, e.g., radio telecommunications. One of the consequences of this history is women's participation, albeit still minimal, in professional training programmes such as electronics and metalworking. (See Section 6.1.5)

Second, at the local level, many women consider OMA their "contact point". If one wants to find out how many women are working in a particular parallel market, local market women often say "speak with the OMA representative".

Third, OMA represents "sisterhood" at the local level. This, however, has had some subtle undertones. On the one hand, OMA has presented itself as an independent organization. On the other hand, OMA - like other mass-based organizations - has been historically linked to MPLA.

#### 10.2.5 OMA's Future

Up until 15 March 1991, Angola was a one-party state under the MPLA. OMA has always been linked with this party, even though it has maintained a certain autonomy.

In late July 1991, OMA held its first Special Congress to decide what changes the organization would adapt in a multiparty society. The Congress decided that OMA would become a national non-party association with patriotic and social aims, open to all women regardless of religious or political conviction. Rather than being linked only with MPLA, OMA will henceforth bring together women of different political and religious beliefs. (Santana 1991c:3 and ANGOP 1991a:8)

The Congress officially reduced the OMA Executive Secretariat from nine to four members, merged some departments, expanded the National Committee from 61 to 86 members and approved a 1991/92 programme of action. (ANGOP 1991a:8)

It was also decided that OMA would keep its name and logo, the latter being a woman with a rifle on her back symbolizing women's participation in the struggle against colonialism. (ANGOP 1991b:11)

\* Comment

MPLA wants mass organizations to be autonomous, and does not plan to have a women's department within the party. Several OMA functionaries have noted that there are some OMA members, including at senior levels, who are confused about the relationship between a mass organization such as OMA and the party. This group says they do not see how one can be progressive and patriotic without having a link with a progressive political entity such as MPLA. They ask how OMA can continue to be a progressive organization struggling on behalf of women if the organization does not have an ongoing link with a progressive party.

10.2.5.1 Finances and Programmes

Although they formerly received some state aid, OMA has little money and is presently in a financial crisis. The party will also stop all financial support to OMA. OMA must now become self-reliant in its funding base. Towards this goal, OMA may set up money-raising enterprises (e.g., sewing cooperatives, boutiques, restaurants, etc.) at the provincial level, and turn OMA houses (e.g., into partial commercial establishments by forming partnerships with local entrepreneurs (e.g., tailors, ice cream makers, etc.) who could rent space in the OMA houses.

Concerning the second option, it is not clear if OMA has the in-house experience in managing businesses, or whether OMA can provide management (and other) training to small-scale entrepreneurs. OMA would also need to develop a model contract clearly spelling out the rights and responsibilities, including financial, of OMA and its business partners.

Some of the changes already anticipated for OMA's programmes in Luanda Province offer an insight into changes which may happen elsewhere in the country. OMA in Luanda has 101 OMA Sectors located in small houses where women meet every Saturday or Sunday to talk about neighbourhood cleaning or children's diseases. These Sectors will continue. OMA cells in the work place will cease to exist, as will all cells including those of the party. In the future, these cells will work only in residential areas.

\* Collaboration with Donors

In many cases, international donors come to OMA in search of projects. They are presented with several projects and decide to support one. The project is not successful, or OMA has not been able to implement it, or it has

been delayed due to insufficient support. The donor may return, but only to receive general information about OMA activities rather than to support future projects.

While OMA appears to have many project ideas and plans, they have often had problems developing these ideas into the kind of project documents which are acceptable to international donors.

Projects which introduce issues and stimulate discussion help OMA in its own educational and mobilization work. One functionary of the OMA Studies and Projects Office said that one of the more successful projects they have had with an NGO involved the production of a slide presentation about appropriate technology. Shown to groups of both men and women, this slide show generated a lot of discussion.

### 10.3 State Secretariat for Women's Promotion and Development

Given the rapidly changing situation in Angola, there has been an urgency to form a structure which both represents and fights for women's rights and participation in the socio-economic and political life of the country. This urgency has been one of the motivations behind the March 1991 decision by the Ninth People's Assembly to form the State Secretariat for Women's Promotion and Development. Because of its political neutrality, this secretariat can play an important role at both the state and congress level. This structure has the mandate to treat women's concerns and will provide a channel for the receipt of funds for projects.

#### \* Background

Angola's decision to form a national mechanism at the state level dealing with women comes long after many other countries have already done so. As a result of discussions at the 1985 Nairobi conference marking the end of the UN Decade on Women, initiatives were taken in many countries to form national and/or state structures dealing with women. Within the SADCC region, Lesotho formed a national state mechanism for women in 1980, and Botswana and Zimbabwe did the same in 1981.

When Angola was considering forming a State Secretariat for Women, contacts were made with Zimbabwe and other African countries to see how their own women's structures were working, what problems they had encountered and how these problems were solved.

One problem that was identified was that sectoral ministries are often isolated from national women's structures. To try to prevent this from happening in Angola, the State Secretariat for Women will have cadres within the sectoral ministries. These cadres, who will be responsible for treating the specific issues of women within their sector, will be linked with the State Secretariat for Women. In this way, it is anticipated there will be a structural link between the sectoral ministries

and the State Secretariat for Women, as well as a mechanism through which pressure can be exerted on sectoral ministries to treat women's concerns at all levels of development planning and implementation.

### 10.3.1 Mandate

The mandate of the State Secretariat for Women is to define, recommend, promote and execute government policy on the promotion of women in the political, economic and social life of the country. The mandate includes bringing into reality equality between men and women in collaboration with other state structures. (Anon 1991b)

The Secretariat is not an executing body for projects, but a focal point or "watchdog" calling attention to the key issues which must be treated to ensure the integration of women in development. Sectoral ministries and women's organizations will be the structures responsible for implementing projects.

Some of the other activities identified for this Secretariat are briefly described below:

- a Studies and Planning Office will conduct research and studies on the situation of women in Angola. This office will collaborate with the National Statistics Institute to create the best means to do studies. This office will also have the following tasks:
  - help sectoral ministries coordinate social and statistical studies on the situation of women in Angola, and ensure that data is sex-disaggregated
  - develop studies on women's work in formal and informal sectors of the economy
  - help elaborate projects for women's promotion with financial help from national and/or international organizations
  - defend women's rights at work and in the family, including helping realize actions which protect women against violence in the family and society
- a Promotion and Equality Office dealing with the elaboration of a global plan for women's promotion. Within this plan will be included the following concerns:
  - promoting rural women and improving their conditions, especially their access to technology (including technology to which they do not traditionally have access) and credit
  - recommending revisions of school texts to eliminate all discriminatory content and stimulating women's participation in literacy programmes and education, training and professional formation
  - promoting the creation of social security mechanisms which protect women who are infirm or old

- promote women's concerns in seminars, meetings and discussions at different levels as well as fight against discrimination against women's participation in meetings
- elaborate and recommend necessary legislation promoting equality between men and women, and accompany application of this legislation
- an Information and Documentation Centre will be created which, among other things, will organize a data base on women, establish exchanges and cooperation with national and international centres and libraries, and publish documents for education and training of women  
(Anon 1991b)

There will be a council within the State Secretariat for Women where all women's organizations can discuss projects and exchange viewpoints. This council will be open only to national (i.e., Angolan) organizations.

### 10.3.2 Potential Strengths and Weaknesses

#### \* Strengths

The State Secretariat for Women can play an important and visible role in identifying the specific problems facing women, raising general awareness of such problems through educational campaigns and helping promote solutions to these problems. Within the rapidly changing situation in Angola, a situation which includes the introduction of a multiparty system, structural adjustment and a market economy, it is even more important to have a state (i.e., official) structure which can act on behalf of women. Such a structure can potentially have more power and influence than an organization based within one or another party, or than NGOs which are often small, fragile and lacking both human and financial resources.

#### \* Weaknesses

A state structure for women, rather than helping integrate women in development (WID), can instead become a way that WID issues are further marginalized and "packaged off" from mainstream development concerns. Some critics say that instead of creating a new national structure, there should be an increased effort to institutionalize women's rights within existing structures which should be strengthened - legally and in practical terms (i.e., human and financial resources) - so that they can effectively defend women's interests.

Initiatives taken by the women's secretariat could also become embroiled within party and state politics just as has often occurred with initiatives taken by other state structures. In addition, some observers say that the creation of a women's secretariat represents simply a change of structure without a corresponding change of consciousness, and that because the

latter has not been dealt with, the same attitudes and problems on women's issues that exist now will continue to exist in the future.

### 10.3.3 Progress to Date

In March 1991, a Preparatory Committee was created and given the task of defining the mandate of the new Secretariat and identifying the necessary human and material resources to fulfill this mandate.

The first action of the Preparatory Committee was to draft the statutes of the Secretariat. Second, there was an open discussion on the proposed Secretariat and its tasks and an integration of new ideas into the plan. Third, a new document was formulated and presented to the government where it was approved. Then the document was distributed to the sectoral ministries to allow them an opportunity to make input. This process resulted in additional (generally minor) changes, and the final document was approved by the Council of Ministers. A budget was also approved covering furniture, salaries, the number of workers, etc. This budget has been discussed with the Ministry of Finances and later approved by the Council of Ministers. As of June 1991, this is the situation for the State Secretariat for Women.

#### \* Outstanding Problems

There is as yet no physical space for the State Secretariat for Women. The Preparatory Committee alternates its meetings in the homes of its members. The coordinator of this committee said that as demobilization of the military takes place, there may be a military installation which could be used as offices for the Secretariat.

#### \* Immediate Needs

The priority task of the new Secretariat is the training and preparation of cadres who will work with this structure. Potential cadres can be recruited from anywhere inside the country. The Women's Secretariat will require technical assistance to carry out this training.

### 10.4 Other Initiatives to Bring Women Together

There have been several different initiatives to bring women together. Although the most important has been the formation of the State Secretariat for Women, it is significant that Angolan women themselves perceive that their interests and concerns can best be represented through organized action.

One such initiative began last November 1990, when a public meeting took place in Luanda which was attended by some 200 women. Organized by a small number of women, including private entrepreneurs and representatives of religious groups,

the objective of this meeting was to discuss how women's interests could best be represented.

The meeting elected a Work Committee and gave it the mandate of getting people's opinions on the best way to move forward in defending women's rights, e.g., through a women's association? through a special women's department at the state level? or simply through holding meetings when necessary? In December 1990, the Work Committee concluded that it was best to have a state structure representing women.

The Work Committee also decided to do a survey in Luanda and in the provinces (by radio), with the objective of finding out people's opinions on women's issues and on forming a state structure for women. In February 1991, a survey questionnaire was elaborated, but before the survey could be concluded, the formal decision to create a State Secretariat for Women's Promotion and Development was taken. There is a possibility, however, that the Work Committee will meet again to explore how their initiative might relate to the new Secretariat.

## 11.0 POLITICS AND LAW

### 11.1 Women's Political and Diplomatic Participation

In 1989/90, women constituted 15% of representatives in the National and Provincial People's Assemblies, the highest organs of power in the country. (By comparison, in 1985, 7% of the members of the National People's Assembly were women.) At the provincial level, women's involvement in the People's Assemblies shows a wide fluctuation, ranging from 20% in Luanda, Bengo and Moxico Provinces to 9% in Malanje Province. (Colaco 1990a:73, 75 and Anon 1985:10)

In 1989/90, women's participation in the Minister's Council was only 5%, whereas in the national headquarters of the MPLA party, it was around 22%. (Colaco 1990a:75-6)

In the diplomatic field, especially within Angola, there is a greater participation of women. In 1989/90, women constituted 39% of total personnel. (Colaco 1990:75) One former functionary (a woman) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said that during the years right after independence, women's position within the diplomatic profession was even stronger than this, partially because highly educated women were being deliberately sought for such work. Later, less well-educated and qualified women were brought into the diplomatic profession, and as a result the quality of their work, and eventually their participation, decreased.

### 11.2 Political Changes and Their Consequences for Women

During 1990, the Angolan government adopted a policy of wide ranging reforms aimed at increasing democratization and eventually leading to elections. One of the first indications of this political liberalization was the introduction of the Law on Associations allowing for the formation of national non-governmental organizations. (See Section 11.2.2) Later, a multiparty system was officially introduced into Angola, and since that time a number of new emergent parties have appeared.

These, and other, political changes in Angola are occurring alongside major economic changes, and it is not possible to separate them. The decision to adopt structural adjustment measures is as much political as economic. The social consequences of structural adjustment such as rising unemployment, a higher cost of living, a greater socio-economic stratification between those who have and those who do not, will also have political ramifications. (See Section 7.0) It is also important to try to anticipate what some of the consequences may be of the political changes which have been set in motion.

### 11.2.1 Multiparties

On 26 March 1991, a multiparty system was officially introduced in Angola when the People's Assembly enacted the Law on Political Parties. This system is also endorsed in the new Constitution approved at the same time.

The Law on Political Parties stipulates that the minimum conditions for forming a party are that there must be at least 3,000 members, with at least 140 members from each of fourteen of Angola's eighteen provinces. This guarantees that a party is national and not regional. In addition, parties must be secular; parties which are religious in character are not permitted.

There are a lot of expectations about the new emergent parties, at least some of which will have their own women's branches. It will be important to see how these new women's structures, especially those of a political nature, will deal with the State Secretariat of Women, which is not a party structure but which may be perceived as simply an MPLA initiative.

### 11.2.2 Associations

The new political situation in Angola has not only opened the door for the formation of new political parties, but also for the formation of new non-governmental, non-political organizations and associations.

New professional associations have been formed by teachers, nurses, judges, journalists, architects, doctors, etc. Women play an important role in a number of these associations, especially those organized by judges, nurses and doctors.

### 11.3 Women's Legal Participation

In 1989/90, only 6% of judges were women, whereas almost 38% of deputy clerks were women. Within the entire judicial system, men represent slightly more than three-quarters of the total number of personnel. (Colaco 1990a:75) One woman lawyer has said that at the present time, there are strong discussions within the legal (and political) profession about the issue of women's participation and their access to power.

### 11.4 Government Legislation and Policies

#### 11.4.1 Constitution

The Angolan Constitution (both the old one and the new one approved by the People's Assembly on 26 March 1991) guarantees all citizens the same rights, regardless of race, sex or religion. Article 19 of the new Constitution also guarantees equality regardless of place of birth, religion, level of education or socio-economic situation.

All violations of constitutional rights can be brought before the People's Assembly, the Attorney General or the law courts by the citizen who has experienced a breach of privileges. (Anon 1985:5)

#### 11.4.2 Education

Article 33 of the new Constitution advocates the struggle against illiteracy and obscurantism, and the right of all citizens to Education, Instruction and Culture. Angola's National Teaching System, created immediately after independence, was nationalized, secular, obligatory, free and uniform. (Anon 1985:14)

In March 1991, the People's Assembly passed a law allowing for private education. There is also discussion of reintroducing school fees from preparatory school to the higher education level. The first four years of schooling will remain compulsory. (ANGOP 1991c:9, 18)

#### 11.4.3 Health

Immediately after independence, private medical institutions were abolished and replaced by free medical aid and medicine. Law 9/75 of 1975 created the National Health Service and defined a health policy giving priority to providing preventive and curative health care to the most vulnerable groups of the population, specifically mothers and children. It was only in 1989, however, that the first five-year Operational Plan was launched for maternal-child health care. (Saude 1990 and Anon 1985:19)

In Angola, abortion is still considered a crime punishable under the penal code. This law, which includes both those who perform abortions and those who obtain abortions, was adopted from the colonial Portuguese penal code. In 1981, a draft law on abortion was formulated, but no further action has been taken since then. (JA 10.07.91) About two to three years ago, a formal proposal was brought to the Council of Ministers to decriminalize abortion, as well as deal with sexual crimes. But no formal action has yet been taken on this proposal. One lawyer has suggested that Angolan women will need to be extremely organized if they are to successfully lobby for decriminalization of abortion, especially given the increasingly stronger position of the Catholic Church in the country.

As of June 1991, Angola still had no laws dealing with sexual education (e.g., family planning, family life education, etc.) or sexual crimes.

#### 11.4.4 Nationality and Citizenship Laws

The citizenship laws approved in 1984 allow for equal rights in obtaining citizenship. In addition, the new

Nationality Law approved during the April 1981 People's Assembly guarantees virtually the same rights as the Law on Nationality (Law 8/84) of 7 February 1984.

- attributes Angolan nationality to the child of a father or mother of Angolan origin
- children of an Angolan mother, married or not, have the right to Angolan nationality
- reasons for the loss or the attainment of Angolan nationality are of an individual nature and are the same for all citizens
- marriage is not a cause for the loss of Angolan nationality, for either a man or a woman
- the foreigner who, because of his marriage to an Angolan citizen, loses his/her nationality of origin, acquires Angolan nationality

#### 11.4.5 Electoral Law

The Electoral Law, Law 8/80 of 24 September 1980, attributes the same rights to men and women in the political domain. Article 5 ensures that all Angolan citizens above the age of 18, regardless of sex, have the right to vote and to be elected. This right is also guaranteed in Article 20 of the new Constitution.

#### 11.4.6 General Labour Law

The principle of non-discrimination between men and women enshrined in the Angolan Constitution implies that men and women have the same access to work and professional formation. (Morel 1985:6) There does not exist any specific law treating discrimination against women in employment.

The general Labour Law, Law 6/81 of 24 August 1981, states the following:

- each citizen has the right to work, regardless of race, colour, sex, religion, etc. (Article 2). This right is further upheld in Article 30 of the new constitution.
- salaries are fixed by law and depend on the type of work and educational level, independent of sex
- working women are accorded special rights during pregnancy, regardless of whether or not they are married, and have a right to 90 days maternity leave (with pay) which may be added to their annual leave. The right to general assistance and protection during pregnancy is also stated in Article Article 31 of the new constitution.

- women have the right to one day off work per month (with pay), during which time they can take children for health consultations, vaccinations, etc.
- women have the right not to carry out heavy workloads or work that is medically inadvisable; not to be dismissed if not for disciplinary motives; the right to breastfeed the child; etc.
- if conflict in work arises due to discrimination against a woman, she has the right to appeal to the workers' committee of the company where she works and to any other labour organizations
- the lack of strict adherence to the above legal principles, as well as the lack of non-discriminatory practices towards women on the part of management, constitutes a disciplinary infringement
- Article 23 of the new constitution gives all citizens, regardless of sex, the freedom of professional organization and trade union membership (membership of UNTA, the national union, was previously compulsory)
- Article 24 of the new constitution forbids lockouts and guarantees the right to strike, although with some restrictions for those working in essential services (strikes were previously forbidden)

Under a Social Security Law, Law 18/90 of 27 October 1990, national and foreign workers will receive family allowances and disability and old age pensions, among other benefits. Old age pensions are retroactive to the date of Angolan independence, 11 November 1975, for retired workers who, before that date, had worked a minimum of 35 years in an enterprise and had already reached 60 years of age. (Roberto 1991a:3 and b:3)

#### 11.4.7 Family Law

In July 1984, Rights of the Family were submitted to the People's Assembly for discussion after it was already decided that it should be presented for public discussion. (Anon 1985:7) In August 1987, the Family Law was approved.

##### 11.4.7.1 Equality between Men and Women

One of the fundamental principles of the Family Law is the legal recognition of equality between man and woman in all family matters (Article 3). This equality is also guaranteed in the new constitution (Article 21). Within the marriage, the husband and wife have the same rights and obligations (Article 21):

- both must decide in common all matrimonial questions, including the raising and education of children (Article 47)

- both must choose, in common accord, the family residence (Article 44)
- both must contribute to family responsibilities and participate in domestic chores (Article 45)
- each has the right to work professionally or to engage in activities of his/her choosing as long as such work and activities do not compromise his/her obligations to his/her family (Article 47)
- each has the same powers of acquisition, administration and use of all that the couple owns (Articles 50, 51 and 52)

#### 11.4.7.2 Marriage and Divorce

- the marital age for both men and women is 18 years, but depending on the situation, marriage can be authorised for a woman at 15 years and a man at 16 years (Article 24)
- each spouse can take on the surname of the other or both can take on a common name (Article 36)
- each spouse has the right to divorce and its effects are the same for each (Articles 78, 83 and 96)
- the husband has no right to set a divorce in motion, without the consent of his wife, if the wife is pregnant, or before a year after the wife has given birth, unless he proves that he is not the father of the child (Article 103)
- a common-law monogamous union is recognized after three consecutive years of cohabitation and both partners have the same rights as would pertain in a marriage (Article 113)

#### 11.4.7.3 Paternity and Maternity Rights

- in family relations, both father and mother have the same rights and obligations (Article 127)
- the name of the child is chosen of a common accord (Article 133, No. 2)
- authority over children is exercised jointly by the father and mother. In case of discord between the parents, the decision lies with the law court (Articles 139 and 140)
- when the parents do not live together, the mother and father both hold the same responsibilities towards the child, and in the case of death, absence or incapacity of one, authority lies exclusively with the other (Articles 147 and 148)
- paternity and maternity rights of children born out of wedlock are recognized. The Family Law abolishes the difference between legitimate and illegitimate children. (Article 128)

- in the case of adoption and tutelage, the woman and the man have the same rights and obligations (Articles 201 and 233)

### 11.5 Customary Law

There has been little research on traditional or customary law in Angola, yet in many parts of the country - particularly the rural areas - it is these practices which most strongly affect women and men in relation to marriage, inheritance, rights of children, etc.

Judges can consider, if they so choose, customary laws which may have a bearing on particular court cases. But if such laws are in conflict with national laws, the latter take precedence in court adjudications.

The Law Faculty in Luanda has had a Department on Customary Law for the past six or seven years. This Department has not been functioning. On the one hand, customary law is not presently part of the formal law curriculum. On the other hand, there is a lack of trained people to teach customary law, those who are trained receive little incentive to work in the Law Faculty (e.g., the salary is low), and those on staff who could teach customary law are instead assigned to teach subjects which are more in demand such as commercial law, civil law, family law and criminal law. At the present time, no courses are being offered in the Law Faculty as it is closed for restructuring of the law programme. There is a possibility that customary law may be designated as an optional course after the restructuring, which will make it part of the formal curriculum.

One reason there have been few studies on customary law in Angola is that at the time of independence, the creation of a national system of law was seen as an important factor in unifying the nation. The system of customary law - which varies depending on such factors as whether a society is matrilineal (descent through the female line) or patrilineal (descent through the male line), practices polygamy (marriage to more than one partner) or not, and so forth - was seen as a contradiction to creating a national identity. Thus there were no initiatives directed towards study and possible codification of customary law.

In 1989, a long-term research project into laws affecting women was initiated in six SADC countries: Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Coordinated by the Harare Legal Projects Centre, this is the first detailed, comparative study on women and law in the region. Two objectives of the study are to exchange information between different SADC countries on women's legal rights, strategies for change, progress and problems, and to produce data which can assist governments, international organizations, women's groups and NGOs improve the status of women. (Armstrong 1989:1)

One concern of the above study is the impact of customary and modern law on women and the interaction between these two systems. Customary law, which ensures women's access to resources within traditional family structures, has been breaking down, leaving many women on their own. (See Section 2.3) Some governments have been trying to deal with this problem by enacting legislation around such issues as maintenance (of women and children) and inheritance. But in many cases, these laws have had only limited practical impact due to social, cultural, economic and legal factors. (Armstrong 1989:2-3)

OMA has information about this study, and there is an interest to examine ways in which Angola could participate.

#### 11.6 International Conventions

- Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women: approved by the Angolan Parliament (through Resolution No. 15/84) on 19 September 1984
- Convention on the political rights of women: approved by the Angolan Parliament in July 1985
- 1962 Convention on marital consent, minimum marital age and the registration of marriage: approved by the Council of Ministers and ratified by the People's Assembly (Anon 1985:8)
- 1949 Convention on the traffic of human beings and the exploitation and prostitution of others: legal screening began in Angola in 1985 for approval of this convention (Anon 1985:9)
- 1957 Convention on the nationality of the married woman: legal screening began in Angola in 1985 for approval of this convention (Anon 1985:9)

## 12.0 NATIONAL PLANNING, LANGUAGE AND ATTITUDE

Previous sections discuss the objective situation of women and men in different sectors of society, e.g., education, health, formal and informal work, and so forth. There is also the subjective situation which must be considered, i.e., attitude and perception. This Section outlines some of the issues in Angola which, in the opinion of the consultants, have affected and been affected by attitudes and perceptions directly related to gender. It is not the intent of this section to analyse these issues, but simply to note important points which might be investigated in further studies.

Also see Annex IV (Additional Reflections) which contains a summary of issues indirectly related to gender.

### 12.1 National Development Plans

As a result of Angola's legislation ensuring equal rights and obligations for men and women, there are no women-specific development strategies. National Development Plans are global in their efforts to rebuild the economy, and little has been done to ensure that the specific needs of both genders are considered. At the implementation level, ministries have had dialogue with OMA, but they do not have focal points to guarantee that gender or women-oriented issues are incorporated into sectoral development plans or into the elaboration of projects. (Anon 1989:8, Davidson 1988:5-7) Although there is no legal discrimination against women, the strategies of the government have this "gender blindness" which does not necessarily favour either women or men. These are some of the problems which the State Secretariat for Women will presumably treat.

The lack of a concerted effort to engage and stimulate the participation of women is also reflected in the shortage of female professionals in the higher strata of the political and economic life of the country. (See Sections 5.4.1 and 11.1)

The 1989 UNDP-Angola Report to the UNDP Governing Council on Women in Development, in commenting on the above, notes that: "A(n)...obstacle is the lack of interest often found in Government officials. In the case of Angola, women's rights and privileges are protected by the constitution. Because of this, government officials do not recognize the need to further promote the advancement of women. This is in a Government where women occupy an usually high percentage of posts at the level of departmental directors and division / section chiefs." (UNDP 1990d:9)

The Planning Vice-Minister elaborated further on the above problem in his 31 July 1990 speech for African Women's Day: "Excessively centralized and bureaucratic planning and administrative methods have had negative repercussions in all

dominions of the national economy, as well as having negative reflections in the dominion of (Angolan women)." (Sampaio 1990)

### 12.1.1 The Need for Integrated Development

Integrated development is an important approach not only for assisting women, but for assisting all sectors of a community. Often, development initiatives do not adequately take into account the multifaceted context of the local situation. This problem can be illustrated by looking briefly at the artesanal fishing sector.

In a fishing village, the primary work which men do day after day is to fish. This provides a certain predictability to their lives, and development inputs which help them be better fishermen immediately have community-wide benefits.

Women in these villages are not only fish curers and venders in the marketplace, they also work in the fields, they are mothers and they have household responsibilities. If these women are to be assisted, the interrelationship of their activities must be taken into consideration. Training programmes in improved fish curing methods will not be readily accepted if they require women to be absent from home for any length of time. Developments input must be integrated with the larger context of what women do and the various demands on their time.

There is also the need to identify the key issues behind a particular problem. For example, fresh fish sold in the market is more hygienic and less likely to provoke disease (due to decay) when conserved on ice. But consumers buy fish in whatever state it is offered, and do not necessarily seek out fish kept fresh on ice. This is one of the key reasons why it is difficult to get market women to use ice. The day a client pays more for a cleaner, more hygienic fresh fish will be the day when women will use more hygienic methods in conserving the fish they sell. A corollary is that people pay more for iced beer than for warm beer; they do not pay more for iced fresh fish. This suggests that in addition to introducing better methods of fish conservation, there must also simultaneously be broader educational inputs into the larger community.

## 12.2 Urban Bias: View from the Top Down

There is a strong urban bias in Angolan state structures which has both positive and negative consequences for gender issues. The positive consequence is that an urban perspective better understands such issues as the relationship between formal legislation and protecting rights. The fact that equality between men and women is enshrined in the constitution reflects a manner of thinking which is not burdened with the preconceptions of traditional culture. (See Section 2.1)

There is also a negative consequence of an urban perspective, which can often get in the way of perceiving the predominantly rural experience of the majority of the population. This tops-down perspective often means that everything outside Luanda is "forgotten". This is partly the result of the war which made many rural areas inaccessible and partly the result of the "urban consciousness" of many of Angola's functionaries who are "culturally sophisticated" in the ways of the city and have rejected their rural roots. Although the weight of culture has a similar impact on women in urban and rural areas, there are some differences between the two situations. In Luanda, perhaps half the population - i.e., the youngest - is a genuinely "urban generation". The older generation is still more linked to the rural areas in terms of culture and consciousness.

This tops-down perspective affects how women are perceived; "from the top down" contributes to the continued invisibility of women. (See Section 13.2) Traditional values and practices are also "hard to see" looking from the top down.

Perhaps the one structure which has most contact with the local level is the church. Perhaps they are the only ones who really understand the strength and importance - in both positive and negative terms - of traditional values.

There is also the issue of how to integrate projects into the local society. State functionaries often think of their own needs when they conceive of projects, rather than of the needs of the potential project recipients. Because of this bias, state functionaries often do not know what the needs are of the people.

### 12.3 Consciousness and Attitude cannot be Legislated

"Women are still slaves in Angola. What is to be done about this, and about the weight of cultural tradition and its impact on women? The collective social conscience needs to be changed. The solution is not to speak about the emancipation of women, or about OMA flags. The solution requires changing how people think, and this will take lots of time."

The above words were said by the Head of the Public Health Department of the Medical Faculty at the Agostinho Neto University. He was expressing a point of view held by a number of Angolans. The National Library Director put the problem in the following way:

"Angolans have managed to get some liberty through the process of becoming independent. But the same socio-economic situation continues. Transformation must come from inside the country and from inside people. It is not something which can come from outside. The main problem around women's issues in Angola is that there needs to be a change in mentality. In particular

the macho attitude of men needs to change. There is also a problem with how women think."

In addition to the lack of consciousness among many Angolan leaders and functionaries on issues relating to gender, there is also the tendency to mistake national problems as gender problems. General problems of the country - inadequate water supply system, lack of housing, lack of electricity, etc. - are sometimes presented as examples of women's problems. But these general problems affect the entire population and not just women. They are the result of underdevelopment and still exist sixteen years after independence because of the recent war and certain government inefficiencies.

#### 12.4 Language and Consciousness

It is difficult to translate certain "women in development" concepts from English into Portuguese, such as "gender" or "giving women visibility". In English, both conceptually and linguistically, there are now popularized reference points for such ideas. But in Angola, there are still no popularized reference points, either conceptually or within the Portuguese language.

This problem of the lack of conceptual and linguistic reference points started to become clear to us as we were formulating a questionnaire to be distributed to state (and other) structures. (See Section 14.2) Three examples are provided below which illustrate the problem.

We encountered the first problem when trying to translate the term "gender"; there is not an actual equivalent in Portuguese. Some people use the phrase "o genero humano", which means "humankind" or "humanity". "Genero" can also mean "gender", but it is not understood in the same way in Portuguese as in English.

We also encountered a problem when trying to translate the idea of "giving women visibility", a concept which is basic to conducting research which uses sex-disaggregated data and which employs an analysis showing what women and men do as separate but interrelated actors. One formulation we came up with in Portuguese is "dar a mulher o seu devido lugar no desenvolvimento" (to give women her just place in development).

We also had problems trying to formulate, in Portuguese, the question asking "is there a structure dedicated to the problems of women" within a particular sectoral ministry or other organization. At the time we prepared (and tested, to a limited extent) the questionnaire, there did not yet exist a State Secretariat for Women. To ask a state functionary a question such as "existe uma estrutura dedicada aos problemas da mulher" - the closest Portuguese translation of the question we came up with - often elicited the response that there exists

such things as creches for the children of working women, or departments dealing with children and so forth. But the question we are trying to get at is if a focal point exists for women's concerns which acts like the "conscience" of a particular ministry, making sure that the interests of women and men are adequately considered at all levels and phases of all development initiatives. The question is not intended to find out if there exist local OMA cells or creches or mother-child clinics, etc.

In Portuguese (and in Angola), "desenvolvimento" (development) has more the sense of economic development than of social development. Among Angolans working in the state structure, there is an understanding of the concept of economic development and of the concept of social welfare, but there is not a concept of socio-economic development.

It is also important to understand the more subtle nuances of the name, in Portuguese, of the new Secretariat of State for Women's Promotion and Development (Secretaria de Estado para a Promocao e Desenvolvimento da Mulher). The term, "desenvolvimento da mulher", incorporates the sense of economic and social development, but it does not contain the sense of women who are already involved in economic and social development (but who are not "officially" recognized by the state). "Desenvolvimento da mulher" is more equal to "educa-las" and "integra-las" and "emancipa-las" (i.e., educate them, integrate them and emancipate them), whereas "mulher no desenvolvimento" has more the sense of "ja esta envolvida", i.e., women who "are already involved."

It is also difficult finding a single word in Portuguese which captures the meaning of "empowerment". "Autonomia" is too narrow; perhaps the term "poder" is the best.

## 13.0 STATISTICAL ANALYSIS IN ANGOLA

### 13.1 Lack of a Database

In Angola, there does not yet exist an adequate database either on the situation in the country in general, or on women's and men's situation in particular. There is also little available data on women and men in the rural areas. What statistics do exist on men's and women's work in the formal sector are often incomplete and unreliable. There is also a total lack of statistics on women's and men's activities in the informal sector, i.e., what they actually do, how long it takes them to do it, who controls the output of their labour and how they are (informally) organized. (See Annex IV.II)

How information is obtained and organized has an impact on how a situation is perceived and understood. Sex-disaggregated statistics provide a visual method of demonstrating the actual participation of women and men, whether in the educational sector, the productive sector, etc. In this respect, the kind of statistics - e.g., disaggregated or globally presented without any distinction between male and female participation rates - can affect, positively or negatively, one's perceptions of gender-related issues. Disaggregated statistics can also be a tool to help develop and promote a more gender-aware attitude among researchers and development planners.

### 13.2 Official Invisibility of Women Workers

Two interlinked problems with most available statistics in Angola is the lack of sex-disaggregated data and the bias in official interpretations of what constitutes "real" work. Because the state "stops" where the "informal" begins, available data on employment gives a distorted picture of what women and men actually do. Because the informal sector is not included in official data, the actual contribution of women (and men) to the national economy is not officially considered in development planning.

In a 1991 paper on "A Participacao da OMA no Planeamento" ("The Participation of OMA in Planning"), OMA calls attention to the above situation and notes: "It appears to us that the first step in changing the actual situation of women is to change how women's work is counted, so that official economic statistics reflect, in fact, the real work done by women."

OMA goes on to say: "On the other hand, in the context of the actual situation - in which the flux resulting from the redefinition of enterprises and of rationalization of the state structure certainly affects a large number of women - it is also important to elaborate, with the collaboration of women's organizations such as OMA and ASSOMEL, some programmes allowing for the reincorporation of professional and unskilled women."

## 14.0 AREAS FOR POSSIBLE FUTURE SUPPORT

SIDA's three main programmes in Angola are in the fishing, health and telecommunications sectors. SIDA also provides emergency aid. There is a possibility that SIDA could become involved in other sectors in the future, although these are not yet defined.

Since 1989, SIDA has had a special budget called Direct Support to Women's Development Activities which is used to support programmes and actions that empower women. In 1990, this budget had just under USD 100,000, and the projects supported were primarily with OMA. The 1991 budget is about USD 200,000.

This Section suggests possible future actions which might be taken by different Angolan structures to help promote women's concerns, and which could be supported by SIDA. Some of the suggested actions include ideas about methodologies which could help Angolan structures more effectively understand, analyze and respond to gender-related issues. There are also suggestions about ways in which some of the findings and observations of this study could be further disseminated.

### 14.1 Using a Survey to Help Create WID Awareness

#### \* Background

One problem in implementing WID initiatives in Angola is the lack of a general understanding of what this means. (See Section 13.0) Until Angolan structures and international aid agencies start to address this key problem of the lack of consciousness of gender-related issues, any other measures will only treat the symptoms rather than the cause.

Transformation of consciousness can not be legislated, nor can it be done overnight. Means must be identified which advance the process of creating a deeper and broader awareness of gender, and of how to turn this awareness into practical actions.

One such means was the March 1991 seminar, organized by OMA and the Ministry of Plan - with assistance from SIDA - which dealt with the subject of "Women and Men in Development Planning". (See Section 10.2.2 for details)

#### \* Didactic Survey

In a similar spirit of helping broaden the awareness of WID issues in Angola, a didactic survey could be carried out at the government level.

Annex V has a sample questionnaire developed by the consultants for possible use in this survey.

\* Who to Carry out the Survey

Perhaps the State Secretariat for Women's Promotion and Development would be the appropriate structure to carry out this survey, as the results would provide useful information for them as well as for other government and non-government structures.

\* Objectives

The survey has two objectives.

- first, to obtain information on:

- a. existing projects, whether in the implementation or planning stage, including specifications of whether or not women are benefitted and/or involved and how
- b. WID focal points which may exist at the ministerial level
- c. existing staff dealing with planning and project identification
- d. perceived consequences of structural adjustment measures for women and men, etc.

The above information will help provide an insight into the links between existing resources related to WID, and the perceived necessities.

- second, there are two didactic aspects to the survey:

- a. clusters of questions are introduced with short paragraphs explaining concepts and terminology useful for developing a WID perspective. Concepts include:
  - giving women visibility
  - knowing how to ask the right questions (and the importance of sex-disaggregated statistics)
  - gender and statistical categories
  - women's activities and systems of production
  - resources (access to and control of)
  - the importance of knowing how household economies function
  - the need for women and men to be active participants in, and not just beneficiaries of, development
- b. the suggested methodology for carrying out the survey is based on small group discussions. (See below)

\* Survey Target

The survey target could be the Heads and Directors of Sections, Sectors, Departments and Institutes, as these are the

individuals with key responsibilities for formulating policy and implementing programmes.

\* Methodology

The questionnaire has already been "tested" among a small group of state functionaries known by the consulting team. The objective of the "test" was to solicit feedback on the questionnaire itself - e.g., the language used, the concepts explained, the appropriateness of the questions, ideas about how it might best be used and so forth.

Rather than distributing the questionnaire to individuals one-by-one, the questionnaire could be used as a tool to organize small meetings of key personnel in each department or institute. These meetings could review key concepts contained in the survey as well as further disseminate the results of this study. Responses to the questionnaire could be solicited during these group discussions.

#### 14.2 Assessment of Existing WID Projects

In various Angolan ministries, bilateral and multilateral agencies and non-governmental organizations (international and national) there already exist a large number of project proposals which address, directly or indirectly, the issue of integrating women in development. Yet many of these projects have either not been implemented, or are being implemented extremely slowly.

Before identifying new projects, an assessment needs to be made to find out where the blocks are - and how to overcome them - in implementing already formulated projects.

\* Lack of Transparency

One problem is that ministries, national non-governmental structures and the international donor community (including bilateral, multilateral and non-governmental agencies) lack transparency of what they can do, and what they are actually doing. There is no easily accessible information on who is doing what, and hence no way for different structures to coordinate efforts. As a result, existing WID (and other) resources - both human and material - are neither well known nor well used.

\* Lack of Feedback

There is a lack of feedback on projects which have either been attempted, or which have actually been implemented. Often, donor agencies who monitor and evaluate their projects circulate the results of their studies only within their own donor community, and there is little feedback to the recipient community.

\* Lack of Understanding the Angolan Perspective

It is often difficult for donors to understand, from the Angolan perspective, what the actual needs are. Too often donor agencies come into Angola with their own points-of-view and mandates, including their own ideas of what kinds of studies need to be done, and there is little consultation with Angolan structures to find out what they want, how and why.

\* WID Project Survey

To help correct some of these blocks, a survey could be done of existing and planned projects which have direct or indirect consequences for women. This survey should seek information on women's participation at all levels of project planning, implementation and evaluation, and on whether or not a project's monitoring and evaluation method measures the project's effects on women (and men).

The survey referred to in Section 14.1 has questions which solicit project-related information. The questionnaire also asks about the general impact of development aid, and the contradictions between the type of aid offered and the needs of ministerial and other structures. Responses to these questions will provide an insight into perceived priorities.

### 14.3 Disseminating WID Concerns

In addition to identifying key ideas and concepts within a WID framework, it is also important to disseminate these ideas within governmental and non-governmental structures, as well as within the population at large.

#### 14.3.1 Popular Education

A comprehensive programme for disseminating WID concerns within the population at large could consist of the following components:

- thematic aspects of the programme can focus on the same issues as those covered by this study:
  - the war and its direct and indirect effects
  - the macro-economic situation and the economic crisis, including programmes for economic adjustment and recovery. Impacts in both rural and urban areas.
  - political changes and their implications
  - legislation and practice
  - socio-economic and cultural forces
  - environmental problems
  - impact of development aid
- these themes could be disseminated through the following activities:

- a. A series of "round table discussions" can be coordinated for TV with invited guests who have experience and knowledge in the specific theme under consideration.
- b. A series of radio programmes can be coordinated which parallel the "round table discussions".
- c. The Union of Angolan Writers (UEA) could organize a series of discussions on the above themes for their Wednesday evening "Maka" series. Invited speakers can include writers and poets who address these themes in their works.
- d. The Jornal de Angola could run a series of articles on the above themes. In addition, a proposal could be made to the editorial board to start a regular column treating the theme of integrating WID. Individuals could be invited to write for the column, focussing on three aspects:
  - (1) specific issues facing Angolan women in various sectors, e.g., health, education, employment (both formal and informal), etc.
  - (2) women's issues and WID initiatives in other parts of the world
  - (3) key concepts such as gender and gender analysis, what it means to talk of women's and men's activities, etc.
- e. A film series on women can be organized. Films can include Angolan productions and foreign films about women in other countries. Angolans who could provide assistance organizing such a series include Ruy Duarte, Antonio Ole and Mena Abrantes.
- f. The State Secretariat for Women could be encouraged to coordinate a series of seminars on gender similar to the one done by OMA. SIDA should continue to support these kinds of initiatives, which need to be opened up to a wider participation. Such activities are directly related to professional training and general education.
- g. A proposal could be made to the member NGOs of CONGA (International NGO Committee in Angola) and FONGA (Forum of Angolan NGOs) to organize seminars on gender for the NGO community, with the objective of placing WID more centrally on the development agenda.
- h. SIDA might explore the possibility of working with the Ministry of Education to create a group with the mandate of integrating a new perspective on gender into the school curricula. Such a group would need, among others, anthropologists and sociologists. This initiative could be coordinated with INIDE. (See Section 2.4 for details)

- i. Two years ago, OMA produced a slide show about appropriate technology and women. This slide show generated lots of discussion among those women and men who saw it. The production of similar slide shows could be supported; these could be used in meetings, schools, TV and so forth.

SIDA could help support the above activities by covering the costs of producing the various programmes (especially for TV and radio) including an honorarium for participants, and by helping to identify key individuals who could participate in the different activities.

#### 14.3.2 Gender training at INORADE

The National Institute for State Organization and Administration (INORADE) was created in 1986 by Presidential Decree for the training of senior state functionaries working in the public sector. In June 1991, the Council of Ministers transferred custody of this institute from the head of the government to the Ministry of Work, Public Administration and Social Security. (JA 23.06.91)

INORADE could provide an important point for introducing gender concerns to people who will be working in decision-making positions within state structures. As the UNDP provides some support to INORADE's training programmes, SIDA could propose to the UNDP that they introduce gender analysis into the training programme.

#### 14.4 Angolan Counterparts: Government vs. Non-Government

There are opinions that donors such as SIDA should work more with NGOs - both national and international - than with state structures. The reasons given include the following:

- organizations and initiatives found outside state structures tend to be more dynamic
- state functionaries can "hide" their incompetencies and weaknesses behind state structures, i.e., "things do not work because the state is weak". NGOs must demonstrate their work because they are more transparent to public scrutiny. Thus there is more pressure on NGOs to engage in concrete and visual activities.

#### \* Type of Support

It is the view of the consultants that SIDA should work with both government and non-government structures, both of which need international support in order to function. It is also the view of the consultants that the most valuable assistance donors can provide is the following:

- training human resources
- helping develop local organizational capacity

#### 14.4.1 State Secretariat for Women's Promotion and Development

The coordinator of the Preparatory Committee for the women's secretariat says the immediate need is for the training and preparation of cadres who will be working within this new structure. There is also a need for technical assistance and material support that facilitate the functioning of this secretariat.

Two important initiatives of the secretariat will be the Studies and Planning Office and the WID Information and Documentation Centre. (See Section 10.3.1) Concerning the Studies and Planning Office, at several points throughout Section 15.0, suggestions have been made of ways in which such an office might be supported to carry out its work. (See Sections 14.1, 14.5.1.1 and 14.5.1.3)

To date, the only WID Documentaton Centre which exists is one organized by OMA with financial assistance from SIDA and UNICEF. There is a possibility this small centre may pass to the secretariat.

Several of the planned activities of the WID Information and Documentation Centre merit special mention and support. One is the intent to organize a data base on women. It would be useful if such a data base could have computer links with other similar data bases throughout the Southern Africa region as well as with Europe, Latin America and North America. Such a data base could provide an important resource not only to state structures, but to national and international organizations within Angola.

A second activity of the Centre will be to establish exchanges and cooperation with similar structures both in Angola and internationally. In the region, the Information and Documentation Centre should have contact with the Zambia Association for Research and Development (ZARD), a group of academic and professional women doing participatory action-oriented research aimed at furthering the development of women, as well as with the Women's Research and Documentation Project in Tanzania, and the Women and Development Research Institute as well as the Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC), both in Zimbabwe.

The WID Information and Documentation Centre also intends to publish documents. It might also want to consider producing a regular bulletin which could cover such subjects as the following:

- current research in the area of WID
- new resources (e.g., books, film, photo exhibitions and so forth) dealing with women
- new WID initiatives in Angola
- changes in legislation affecting women and men

- WID activities elsewhere in the SADCC region
- national and international WID meetings and conferences
- etc.

\* Cautionary Notes

There are a number of women carrying out independent research on such topics as the incidence of multiple births and infant mortality. In several cases, these women say the main reason they are conducting this research privately is because it has been impossible to get assistance from state structures. The new secretariat, especially the Studies and Planning Office, should explore ways it can support, and in turn benefit from, such studies.

Concerning the Information and Documentation Centre, there are opinions that say such a centre must be independent rather than embedded within state or party structures. The reasons given for this point of view are that an independent centre will be in a better position to set its own priorities rather than having its priorities set by structures which may not always have the integration of WID as its main concern, and that an independent centre will be more responsive to requests for assistance coming from a wide variety of sources.

#### 14.4.2 Emerging Angolan NGOs

SIDA could support some of the new Angolan NGOs which have been emerging during the past year, especially those which have a mandate to assist women (as well as other marginalized groups of society).

Many of these new Angolan NGOs lack human resources and organizational capacity. As a result, the majority are unable to undertake even small-scale development projects. The notable exception has been Angolan church organizations, and it is from the churches that many of the new Angolan NGO's have been evolving.

Most of these new national NGO's have few paid staff, limited financial resources and often rely on voluntary work to carry out their programmes. In most cases, they have little or no experience in project identification, implementation and evaluation. Many of their efforts are still directed towards establishing their own constituency bases.

Some of these new organizations have formed themselves around themes, e.g., the environment (ADRA or Accao para o Desenvolvimento Rural e Ambiente; see Section 8.3 for other examples), war orphans (PHCO or Programa Humanitario para Crianças Orfas), hunger and famine (LICOFOM or Liga Contra a Fome e a Miséria), health issues (AALSIDA or Associacao Angolana de Luta Contra o SIDA), human rights (LNDDH or Liga Nacional da Defesa dos Direitos dos Homens), etc.

A few of the new Angolan NGOs, such as Phlor de Te-Kila, are involved in development rather than relief programmes. Phlor de Te-Kila is involved in both agricultural and fishing communities, and for the past seven years has been supporting small-scale, locally implemented projects focussing on health and sanitation, water supply, education, production, small-scale industries and so forth. This is also one of the few Angolan NGOs which addresses WID issues in its developmental initiatives.

To help address some of the problems and weaknesses in the emerging national NGO's, the international Committee of NGOs in Angola (CONGA) broadened its membership to include national NGO's. In March 1990 a week-long training workshop on project design and development was organized by the international NGO's for national Angolan NGOs. There were about 40 participants, about a quarter of whom came from outside Luanda.

In May 1991, Angolan NGOs formed their own umbrella organization called FONGA. The objective of this group is to provide an opportunity for national NGOs to exchange opinions and identify ways to solve common problems.

## 14.5 Training for Development

### 14.5.1 Informal Sector

Women are very active in the informal sector, yet they have no opportunity to receive professional training. Professional training schools are concerned only with women working in the formal sector. Private schools, which will soon be appearing in Angola, will probably not deal with this issue either.

#### 14.5.1.1 Small-Scale Industries

The potential for the development of local small-scale enterprises, including micro-industries at the family level, is enormous in both urban and rural areas. (See Section 4.4.3) The development of micro-industries can have an important impact on, and involvement of, women, particularly when such industries are concerned with labour-saving technology and income-generation. Examples of income-generating activities include the following:

- textiles, including home-based cottage industries such as garment making
- handicrafts, including basket weaving, pottery and ceramics (see Section 14.5.1.3)
- food processing, preparation and preservation, e.g., baking, fruit juice or tomato paste production, etc.
- soapmaking, candle making and so forth
- small-scale vending and trading (see Section 14.5.1.2)
- manual rice milling, oil pressing and maize grinding mills

- poultry-raising and egg production, processing local resources like salt, honey or beeswax
- hotel keeping and small family-run restaurants
- etc.

There are many possible small-scale industries which can be developed. The important point is that they should augment and support existing economic activities as well as be a stimulant to local commercialization.

Women involved in informal sector entrepreneurial or small-scale industries could benefit from professional training in accounting, the organization and management of small enterprises, etc. Because many women do not read or write, functional literacy could be incorporated into professional training programmes.

\* The Need for Information on SSEs

The Studies and Planning Office of the new women's secretariat plans to develop studies on women's work in the informal sector. (See Section 10.3.1) SIDA could provide support to this office to carry out studies on small-scale enterprises (SSEs) as well as on other informal sector activities. Such a study might include the following components:

- a. collect sex-disaggregated statistics on SSEs in Angola, e.g., who are the owners and who are the workers (how many men, women and children), etc.
- b. identify what skills already exist among women (and men) for the development of SSEs, and which SSEs are most appropriate to support (the 1990 Morel study provides a good base)
- c. make an inventory of what raw materials exist locally for SSEs, as well as which SSEs need imported inputs, what these imported inputs are and how realistic it is to get them
- d. examine and review regulations and prohibitions which affect urban and rural SSEs, and ways they might be modified to more fully support such activities. (In Angola, there is a law specifying that no productive activity can be done without prior authorization and the payment of taxes and duties. Morel 1990:25)
- e. review and evaluate Angolan organizations and structures (government and non-government) which may be able to support the SSE sector
- f. identify the potential linkages between SSEs, agricultural production and the large-scale enterprise sector

\* The Need for Training and General Support

- a. identify the needs of women (and men) involved in SSEs, e.g., capital, childcare, health programmes, maternity support, legal aid, etc. and how these needs might be met
- b. identify the training needs for women involved in the SSE sector, e.g., general business management, bookkeeping, marketing and so forth. Such training may be done through a number of different avenues:
  - National Directorate for Professional Training (Ministry of Education)
  - OMA, which wants to establish partnerships with local women entrepreneurs who could use OMA houses as their work sites (See Section 10.2.5.1)
  - professional training schools such as Senafope, located in Cazenga municipality, has a Training for Industry section which will eventually be autonomous. They could be approached to create special training programmes for women (and men) entrepreneurs in the informal sector.

#### 14.5.1.2 Market Women

Market women in both urban and rural areas can benefit from training programmes in such things as accounting, management and hygienic food preservation techniques. Such programmes could perhaps be coordinated with OMA, as it is generally considered that OMA has good contacts with women venders.

Often, market women do not speak out, they are illiterate, they are reluctant with authorities and they have unpredictable work schedules. Training programmes will need to be sensitive to these problems.

#### 14.5.1.3 Handicrafts

Both women and men make handicrafts. A survey could be carried out on the activities, skills, problems and potentials of local artisans. (As well, it is important to get the age and sex of those making handicrafts.) As with SSEs, the State Secretariat for Women may be the appropriate structure through which such a survey could be made.

To begin to get baseline data on handicrafts, simple questions can be asked such as the following:

- what are the principal handicrafts produced in the village or in the local community?
- what material is used to make these handicrafts?
- from where is this material obtained?

- are the handicrafts used locally, are they sold, or both?  
If they are sold, who buys them?

The results of this survey could help identify training programmes to enhance the work of artisans and improve the marketing possibilities of handicrafts.

#### 14.5.2 Fishing

Most development projects in the fishing sector have been directed towards the fishermen; little support has been provided to women in the fishing sector. Several generalizations can be made about women's involvement in this activity:

- there are a lot of women in this sector
- these women have no support
- they work in the informal sector outside of any kind of state organization
- they have low levels of education
- they have hard lives with lots of responsibilities
- it is hard to reach these women
- they want support which brings immediate benefits
- they work on a less advanced technological level than men within the same sector

#### \* Training

The Head of the Planning Department within the Ministry of Fishing says the greatest need in the sector is for professional training which has the following objectives:

- a. to raise the cultural level of women through the provision of basic literacy training
- b. to help women, especially in the informal sector, improve their skills in fish conservation. This training should incorporate practical methods including hygiene. The April 1991 seminar on professional training for women in the fishing sector also suggested that short-term training programmes should be conducted in the parallel markets. (See Section 4.2.4). Perhaps such courses could be done through CEFOPESCAS.
- c. to create new areas of work in both the formal and informal sectors involved with fish

#### \* Possible Follow-Up Actions

The Ministry of Fishing should be encouraged to explore and further develop, if appropriate, the following ideas:

- a. conduct a study which draws out women's perceived needs in the fishing sector. The need for such a study was identified during the April 1991 seminar on professional training. (See Section 4.2.4)
- b. improve training programmes at CEFOPESCAS and at the training centre in Namibe, and conduct a study on what has happened to the girls who completed their studies at the Namibe centre (See Section 4.2.4)
- c. conduct a study on traditional credit systems and the methods used to manage "informal" businesses, e.g., women who hire other women to do fish curing and selling, etc. This information can help orient training programmes aimed at improving women's skills in these areas.

#### 14.5.3 Telecommunications

Once ENATEL and EPTTEL merge into one company and automate, the number of women telephonists will likely decrease; many men will also lose their jobs. (See Section 5.3.3)

Since SIDA will be assisting the telecommunications sector in training, human resource development and technical assistance, it may be in a position to help those women and men who stand to lose their jobs. If telecommunication services broaden, the need for technicians will increase. Women telephonists may be interested in being retrained as technicians.

ENATEL and EPTTEL could be encouraged to conduct a study to find out what the options are for women from their point of view. It might also be helpful to find out what the women do outside of their formal work.

#### 14.5.4 Health

In health education programmes the target must be men and women. To work effectively, primary health care programmes must link at the family level in terms of language, concepts and means.

This point was made at a September 1986 National Workshop on Hormonal Contraception which occurred in Harare. (See Section 5.2.4.3) Organized by UNFPA and the Obstetrics Department of the University of Zimbabwe, participants came from SADCC and non-SADCC countries. One of the recommendations of the Workshop was that public education on, e.g., family planning, should emphasize education of the male.

The problem of maternal deaths, and of maternity in general, is an area in critical need of assistance. Training programmes for upgrading the capacity of traditional midwives need to be expanded. Upgraded midwives working in health institutions are highly demobilized because of difficult work conditions. Ways

must be found to improve their work environment and give midwives (and other health practitioners) incentives to work. (See Section 5.2.3)

It is not possible in this report to explore these concerns with the depth and critical analysis they deserve. But the issues of health (including population growth, population control and which strategies are most appropriate for which target group), agricultural productivity levels and women's role in agriculture are interrelated.

#### 14.5.5 Women in Prisons

As explained in Section 6.4, the situation of women (and men) in prisons is one of Angola's "invisible problems". There are few activities for women in prisons. SIDA might explore with structures such as OMA, the Ministry of the Interior, the National Literacy Centre, etc. the possibility of supporting projects to assist women in prisons.

One idea is to provide income-generating activities - sewing, crochet, handicrafts, etc. - for women prisoners. Such activities would have two objectives:

- first, women would be provided with a skill they can use to support themselves when they leave prison
- second, part of the money generated from sales of items could be used to help improve the conditions of women in prisons, e.g., buying soap and sanitary napkins

One of the main problems in coordinating prison activities is lack of materials and supplies, especially in the provinces. To help resolve this problem, a "rotating supplies fund" might be created with part of the income from sales. Thus, generated income could meet three purposes: part is for the producer, part is for the purchase of additional supplies and part is for the purchase of essential items for women in prisons.

#### 14.6 Women in the Musseques and Villages

As discussed in Section 12.0, the lack of consciousness in Angola about gender issues, combined with the urban bias of state structures, has further marginalized women from participating in the socio-economic and political life of the country. Not only have rural women been marginalized, but women living in the musseques (shanty towns located on the periphery of main urban centres) have often been excluded from mainstream development initiatives.

It is generally recognized (albeit informally) that rural and urban women are active and usually work harder than men. In both contexts, women are generally overworked as producers (agricultural work, marketing and so forth) and as reproducers (wives and mothers).

Women in the musseques and villages want to learn and are most interested in activities which enhance their economic participation and bring immediate results. There are many small initiatives linked with women which can be supported. It is also important to develop supportive structures for mothers and women who work (in both the formal and informal sector), structures which help liberate women's time from their normal domestic duties.

For women in urban and rural areas, there are two main issues which must be addressed in development planning:

First, there is a need to minimize time spent on domestic tasks, especially fetching water and fuel, and preparing food. Hand-operated water pumps and grinding mills are two inputs which can immediately improve women's lives. Provision of daycare also helps women working in both the formal and informal sectors.

Second, there is a need for general education. There are problems which have a cultural basis and which affect consciousness. (See Section 2.1) Overcoming these problems will take generations and will require educational initiatives addressing both cultural and quasi-ideological dimensions and directed towards men, women and children.

#### 14.6.1 Childcare

One of the primary demands of women has been the setting up of nurseries, canteens and refectories in enterprises and residential areas. During the first ten years of independence, 105 childcare centres were created for children of working mothers of which 58 were in enterprises and 47 in residential areas. This number is grossly inadequate to meet the need. (Anon 1985:11)

Childcare is important for women involved in curing and selling selling fish, as these women must often leave their homes and families for up to one month at a time to buy fish from the fishermen.

#### 14.6.2 Educational Programmes

Many Angolan women lack even a minimum knowledge of modern-day technology, as well as the necessary minimum level of education which could facilitate their understanding of new ways of doing things. Education is important for women not just so they can be economically independent, but also because as a result of this independence, women can acquire the necessary self-confidence to assert their dignity and human rights.

There are a range of educational programmes which SIDA could support that have a direct impact on women. Some examples which might be further explored are indicated below:

- adult education programmes with a focus on functional literacy for women economically active in the informal sector. These programmes might be coordinated through the National Directorate for Professional Training and/or the National Centre for Literacy, or through OMA. (See Sections 5.1.2 and 14.5.1.1)
- mother-and-child health programmes. One possible partner is the Department of Mother-Child Assistance within the Health Ministry.
- family planning educational programmes and activities (see Section 14.5.4). A number of such programmes are being coordinated by the Ministry of Health.
- helping women form nutrition education groups. It might be possible to interest the Nutrition Programme within the Ministry of Health to begin such a programme. Or possibly students from the Medical Faculty at the University would be interested to take on such a project.

#### 14.6.3 Food Security in Urban Areas

- assist women to have access to technical know how, inputs and credit for urban green belt food production
- support vegetable and fruit production in the green zones of urban areas. Small animal production (chickens, goats and pigs) can also be encouraged.
- assist women to participate in tree planting programmes; fruit tree planting could be encouraged leading to food processing activities (marmalade, fruit juices, etc.) using basic simple and appropriate technologies

### 14.7 The Emergency

#### 14.7.1 Nutrition

"Statistics available in Angola demonstrate that nutrition is a basic problem. But the programmes which exist to treat this problem are insufficient. There are few programmes concerned with training human resources to deal with nutritional concerns. Projects which have been identified are generally weak, especially when it comes to dealing with development issues. Most programmes are in the area of emergency aid, and although these programmes are generally good, they are not adequate."

The above comments were made by an Angolan doctor working in the field of nutrition.

Within the emergency programme, the specific nutritional needs of women must be addressed. To do this requires developing a data base showing the comparative situation of men and women

who are at risk. Nutritional studies must differentiate age and sex of those in crisis as well as eating habits. (See Section 5.2.7) Relevant data includes the following:

- main foods consumed and by whom (men, women, children, the elderly, all or just some)
- typical daily meal pattern
- sources of food
- patterns of food distribution at the household level (who - men, women or children - eats first, and what do they eat?)

#### 14.7.2 Development

Within the context of emergency, development activities can and should be introduced; too often the two are separated.

##### \* Developing Local Capacity to Respond

When emergency food aid distribution is the required response to a crisis, this aid can be provided in ways which help develop rather than bypass local capacity, e.g., which provide training components enhancing the ability of national and provincial structures to respond to emergency situations. Too often, donors race into a country with their own logistical team, and once the emergency is over and they are gone, there is little left behind.

##### \* Development-Oriented Emergency Assistance

Some donor agencies, such as CARE International, have begun to address the issue of direct food aid versus food-for-work programmes, the latter of which can be integrated with development and rehabilitation initiatives.

When food aid is required, donor agencies should explore other kinds of assistance which can be provided at the same time which is more development-oriented. Examples include the provision of seeds and hand tools so that people can begin cultivation; or hand-operated drilling rigs, and training in how to use them, can be provided where there is the need (and possibility) of increasing water sources. For the latter, women could be encouraged to form water pump maintenance teams.

##### \* Reconstruction, Rehabilitation and Resettlement

With peace established in Angola, there is a need to assist reconstruction, rehabilitation and resettlement of those populations which have been displaced and most seriously affected by the war. (See Section 3.0) Some of the most critical needs will be in the following areas; the role of women need not be spelled out here as this has been discussed in other sections.

- reconstruction of essential water supply and sanitation infrastructure
- reestablishment of basic health, education and child welfare services
- agricultural inputs to improve household food security
- tools and materials to promote small-scale manufacturing

\* Populations at Risk

Even in situations where there is no apparent food deficit calling for emergency food aid intervention, there are still sectors of the rural and urban population who are vulnerable and potentially at risk. These sectors include:

- the aged with no young family members to support them
- widows with young dependents
- female-headed households
- some groups of war displaced

Although the situation for these vulnerable groups can be described more as a social welfare problem than as an emergency, a crisis can easily develop especially in times of low rainfall or poor harvests.

### 14.7.3 The Agricultural Crisis

Throughout Angola there is an agricultural crisis. The crisis began immediately after independence when the flight of Portuguese know-how and skill led to the abandonment of some 80% of commercial farms and private plantations and the virtual collapse of internal marketing and distribution. (See Sections 3.5 and 4.0) This crisis has been exacerbated by the war and, in some areas, by irregular and low rainfall leading to drought. As a result, in most parts of the country agricultural production has generally retreated from surplus to subsistence production.

Developing a viable economic base requires a link between production and commercialization. Commercialization is probably one of the most important stimulants for increasing peasant agricultural production.

One of the most important considerations in identifying ways to simultaneously stimulate agricultural production and marketing is to understand the major forward and backward linkages between proposed development interventions and the existing dominant economic activity. In areas where agricultural production is central, forward linkages (those transforming agricultural produce into consumer goods) might include such activities as grinding mills, food processing, oil expellers, skin tanning and so forth. On the other hand, backward linkages (activities enhancing agricultural production

itself) might include tool production, metalwork and welding, draught animal rearing, etc.

omen play an important role in activities constituting forward and backward linkages, especially in the informal sector. Section 14.5.1.1 on Small-Scale Industries contains several suggestions of ways in which SIDA can assist this sector.

#### 14.8 Agroforestry

Energy sources, particularly woodfuel supplies, are critical in urban and rural areas of Angola. There are also important links between forestry and agriculture; tree planting and supplies of firewood, nitrogen fixing in the soil and increased agricultural production, and so forth.

The most important link between agricultural and silvicultural activities is the central role played by women. Women are the primary (sole) collectors of firewood, and they also provide the predominant work force in agricultural production. Inputs helping improve women's participation in one area will benefit women's participation in the other area.

For forestry extension services to be developed, there is a need to collect data and information on the role of women in forestry activities (i.e., collecting firewood), and their perceived needs. It is important to know what the women themselves want to do in this area, as well as in the area of agriculture.

Women can potentially play an important role in forestry activities. Women could control and implement reforestation programmes. Perhaps a programme of establishing experimental zones for replanting could be introduced in which women would play central roles. The Institute of Forestry Development (IDF) and OMA have (as yet informal) plans to implement some agro-silviculture initiatives together, although this is still in the very early stages. SIDA might explore this area further for possible assistance. SIDA might also explore ways to assist some of the new Angolan NGOs who are interested to work in environmental and woodfuel sectors, e.g., ADRA (Accao para o Desenvolvimento Rural e Ambiente).

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