WOMEN IN WAR-TORN SOCIETIES: A STUDY OF HOUSEHOLDS IN LUANDA'S PERI-URBAN AREAS

A dissertation submitted by Henda Lucia Ducados to the London School of Economics and Political Science in part completion of the requirements for the MPhil in Gender and Development

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'I, Henda Lucia Ducados, hereby state that this report is my own work and that all sources used are made explicit in the text.'

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ABSTRACT

Mainstream literature on conflict has focused mainly on its impact on macro-economic and social spheres. Relatively little attention has been paid to social and economic transformation at the micro-level, such as that of households and household headship in particular.

Given the need to gain a greater understanding of how households go about guaranteeing their survival, this study looks at how households are structured, and how livelihoods are secured, with particular reference to Luanda's peri-urban areas. Special attention is given in this study to female-headed households, due to the debate around the issue of their social and economic vulnerability and the fact that little is known about female headship in war-torn societies.

One of the principal findings of this study is that conflict may influence household arrangements, and perhaps even create possibilities for the greater emancipation of women. The study seeks to identify the nature of possible changes and determine how these take place, with particular reference to trends in household structure and women's choices vis-à-vis whether to remain partnered or not.

Three low-income communities were selected for the study in Luanda peri-urban areas, in which three hundred households were interviewed with a questionnaire. Semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and life stories were also conducted with a sub-sample of female and male respondents.

The study argues that policy frameworks for war-torn societies should address the complexity of household arrangements and the heterogeneity of household headship in order to develop policies that better address the needs and interests of people at the grassroots.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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GLOSSARY

Assimilado: African population assimilated to the Portuguese culture
Bairro: Neighbourhood
Baixa: Downtown part of the cemented part of the city
Cacimbo: Dry season
Cidade baixa: Lower cemented part of the city
Cintura verde: Green belt
Chefe de familia: Head of the family
Feticios: Sorcery
Kwanzas: Angolan local currency
Lei da terra: Land law
Pau a pique: Housing made of corrugated materials
Musseques: Non-cemented part of the peri-urban areas
Zona moderna: Modern zone

ABBREVIATIONS

CEDAW	Conventions on the Elimination of Discriminations Against Women
DFID:	Department for International Development
DW:	Development Workshop
FAA:	Angolan Armed Forces
FAO:	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FNLA:	National Front for the Liberation of Angola Development Workshop
FRELIMO:	Revolutionary Front for the Liberation and Independence of Mozambique
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
HDI:	Human Development Index
HIV/AIDS:	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
IDCP:	Willingness and Capacity to Pay for Social Services
IDR:	Household Budget Survey
IMF:	International Monetary Fund
INSTRAW:	International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
INE:	Institute of National Statistics
IPCDV:	Household Living Conditions Priority Survey
I-PRSP:	Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy
LIMA:	League of Angolan Women
MINPLAN:	Ministry of Planning
MINFIN:	Ministry of Finance
MINFAMU:	Ministry for the Family and the Promotion of Women
MPLA:	Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organisation
OCHA:	United Nations Office for Humanitarian Aid
OMA:	Organisation for Angolan Women
OMM:	Organisation of Mozambican Women
PAIGC:	African Party for the Independence of Guinea Bissau and Cabo Verde
PLD:	Democratic Liberation Party
PRS:	Poverty Reduction Strategy
Rede Mulher:	Angola Women's Network
ROSCAs:	Rotating, Saving and Credit Organisations
UNDP:	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF:	United Nations Children's Fund
UNITA:	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
USD:	United States Dollar
WB:	World Bank

Chapter One

Gender and conflict in war-torn societies

Introduction

This chapter identifies the study's aims and objectives and their interrelations with the literature both on gender and conflict in war-torn societies, and on female household headship and poverty.

In the context of Luanda low-income communities, there are three main aims of the study. The first is to examine contemporary household configuration, and the formation of female-headed households in particular. The second is to address whether poverty affects households equally, or if members in female-headed households are more prone to social and economic vulnerability than their counterparts in male-headed households. Using standardised poverty lines, an attempt is made to determine the incidence of poverty based on household income and expenditure. This income poverty analysis is complemented by an assessment of the different stocks of capital (natural, physical, financial, human and social) on which households rely to ensure their survival. The third aim of the study is to examine the social viability of female heads of household and identify the types of constraints these women may face due to the absence of a co-resident male partner in their household.

With the above in mind, the first part of this chapter reviews three main bodies of gender and development literature of direct relevance to the study. The first body of literature deals with gender and conflict including women's roles in liberation struggles (with particular reference to Africa), and gender roles and relations in post conflict settings. The second discusses the importance of considering the household in taking our understanding of gender and conflict further, paying particular attention to the ways in which conflict often provokes changes in intra-household gender roles and relations (albeit temporarily), and in household configuration, most notably in terms of rises in female household headship. The third part of the chapter identifies the links between female household headship and poverty as discussed in the gender and development literature and also introduces the livelihoods approach. In the final part

of the chapter, a brief outline of the methodology employed for the study, and the organisation of the thesis is given.

It is generally held that war creates gender-related difficulties for women but that there are largely undervalued in development intervention (O'Connell, 1993). The 1995 Report of the Beijing Conference affirms this point when it notes, among other things, that:

> ...While entire communities suffer the consequences of armed conflict and terrorism, women and girls are particularly affected because of their status in society and their sex. Parties to conflict often rape women with impunity, sometime using systematic rape as a tactic of war and terrorism. The impact of violence against women and violation of human rights of women in such situations is experienced by women of all ages, who suffer displacement, loss of home and property, loss or involuntary disappearance of close relatives, poverty and family separation and disintegration, and who are victims of acts of murder, terrorism, torture, involuntary disappearance, sexual slavery, rape, sexual abuse and forced pregnancy in situations of armed conflict, especially as a result of policies of ethnic cleansing and other new and emerging forms of violence (UN, 1996:84).

Leading from this UN statement, the study of gender relations in the aftermath of conflict has become imperative in the last decade due to the escalation of wars and the fact that male narratives of war tend to dominate the discourse (Byrne, 1995; Date-Bah and Walsh, 2001; Moser and Clark, 2001). Yet interest in the gender dimensions of conflict in Development Studies can be said to have started only in the 1990s (Byrne, 1995; El-Bushra, 1998, 2000), with gender-related issues and conflict studied in isolation from one other until recently. However, Byrne (1996:35) has suggested that this should not deter scholars interested in studying the gender matters and conflict, because literature in other areas of academic disciplines could be of help. These other areas include feminist-pacifist and ecofeminist writing on war, feminist analyses of militarisation, particularly in relation to gender ideologies, as well as writing on women and Third World liberation struggles. Byrne (1996:38) further suggests that one can draw on these as the basis for a framework to analyse conflict from gender and development perspectives.

Although there are various ways of undertaking gendered analysis, the study has opted to examine gender using a multi-dimensional approach, extracting an analysis of the

different types of institutions in which men and women interact, namely the state, the community and the household. In turn, gender in this study is understood as:

> ... A term used in contrast to sex, to draw attention to the social roles and interactions between women and men, rather than their biological differences. Gender relations are social relations, which include the ways in which men and women relate to each other beyond that of personal interaction (Pankhurst, 2000:10).

Gendered Violence, masculinity and femininity in times of conflict

Given that narratives of wars are often a 'male preserve', women are often portrayed as remaining in the background as 'home-keepers' and nurses, while men are in combat (Byrne, 1995; Baden, 1997). The notion that aggression is inherently male in contrast to women's 'nurturing nature', has been contested by many scholars, including Byrne (1996), El-Bushra (1998), and Turshen and Twagiramariya, (1998). Moreover, the somewhat self-evident point that not all men are inclined to commit violent acts and that not all women are inclined to be 'naturally pacifist' is now constantly underlined in feminist literature (Elshtain, 1998; Enloe, 1983; Roach-Pierson, 1987). For instance, numerous examples in the gender and conflict literature point out that women can also be perpetrators of violence and that men can also be victims of violence (see Moser and Clark, 2001; Pankurst, 2000). The example of the involvement of women in the Rwandan genocide reveals that women commit violent acts against both women and men, and that women are not inherently 'kind-hearted' (see African Rights, 1994; Turshen and Twagiramariya, 1998).

Men are often encouraged to proactively reinforce their masculinity. This, as argued by Zarkov (2001:73), is also manipulated by the media, which 'plays a role in positioning masculinity and the male body within nationalist discourses on ethnicity, nationhood and statehood'. It is also stressed that men's masculinity is not only reinforced by society, but is even rationalised as a means of perpetuating violence. These rationalisations help forge gender-stereotyped images of masculine identities based on violence. In the words of Pankhurst (2000:11), 'a culture of masculinity means that for a man to be a 'real' man he also has to be aggressive, egotistical, dominating and, at least be prepared to be, violent'. This is echoed by Byrne (1995:21) when she argues

that 'masculinity and femininity are redefined in ways which serve state military and nationalist objectives'.

With respect to women, by contrast, they are often groomed into becoming the bearers of cultural identity. The manipulation of gender identities is observed through what El-Bushra and Pira-López (1993:17) have described as the 'upholding of women's "virtue" as a vital element of cultural identity'. Images of the female body are often used as symbols to stress women's feminine traits and motherhood. In some cases, women themselves reinforce these attributed feminine images. Hutchinson (1996:166) refers to the case of the Sudan to argue that women play a vital role as mothers and wives in nurturing violent traits in men. 'They do this by rewarding "good" behaviour and penalising non "masculine" behaviour' (Ibid.).

Discussion on gendered violence suggests that women are frequently manipulated in times of conflict, and that their agency is often downgraded or denied due to the prioritisation of state interests. Another implication to be addressed is the proposition that the formulation of an adequate post-conflict development policy framework (i.e. one which effectively pursues gender equality and women's empowerment) is predicated upon the inclusion of gender analysis in the study of conflict.

The next section discusses female participation in the struggle for national liberation in the South. The aim of the discussion is to illustrate the departure of actual behaviour of women in conflict situations from the passive role attributed to them by conventional war narratives.

Women's role in African liberation movements

The agency of women in times of conflict is relevant to the discussion of gender relations as it shows that the role of women has too often been underplayed in conventional war narratives (Baden, 1997; Byrne, 1995; Turshen and Twagiramariya, 1998). Liberation movements such as the African Party for the Independence of Guinea Bissau and Cabo Verde (PAIGC), the Revolutionary Front for the Liberation and Independence of Mozambique (FRELIMO) and the Popular Movements for the liberation of Angola each created a women's wing during the war for independence. These women's wings played an important role in mobilising and educating the

population. For instance, the FRELIMO leader, Samora Machel, stated at the founding conference of the Organisation of Mozambican Women (OMM) in 1963 that:

> ...The main objective of the revolution is to destroy the system of exploitation and build a new society which releases the potential of human beings, reconciling them with labour and with nature, it is in this context that the question of women's emancipation arises (Waylen, 1996:75).

FRELIMO's central committee decided that women should be encouraged to participate actively in the liberation struggle at all levels, and that they were to receive political and military training (Waylen, 1996:95). In the Eritrean liberation movement, women, too, were trained to fight alongside men.

The participation of women in these struggles indicates that the traditional female roles that women assumed as mothers and nurturers took on a new meaning from their own perspective, as well as in the eyes of their community (see Chingono, 1994). People tended not to oppose women's actions because they were serving the interest of the anti-colonial struggle of their respective liberation movements. Thus, women became 'infused with revolutionary content and significance as the art of survival became revolutionary action' (Danforth, 1995:100). In addition, women involved in military activities transcended the stereotypes of female behaviour by fighting alongside men. Danforth (Ibid.) points out that the involvement of women in the liberation struggles 'not only involves new roles and relationships with men but brings about changes in the societal interpretations of the nature of women and of morally acceptable behaviour'.

Generally, however, the aftermath of conflicts cannot be said to have benefited women. In many instances there has been a backlash resulting from the new gender roles that women experienced during the conflict. Indeed, women often find that when revolutions end, they are still disadvantaged by the unequal gendered division of power and resources. For instance, Perterson and Runyan (1993:133) argue that with victory the 'practical and strategic gender interests of women have been subordinated to masculinist priorities'.

At a macro level, issues concerning women in the aftermath are often not taken seriously. For instance, 'cultures of impunity', which tolerate rape, 'honour killings' or other abuses of women's rights, have been permitted and promoted (Callaway, 1987).

In view of such concerns, a case has been made for development organisations to integrate gender into emergency and humanitarian responses to conflict situations (Baden, 1997:1). For example, Date-Bah (1996:7) argues that:

> ...The interests of women ex-combatants are rarely prioritised in post-war situations, while male ex-combatants are often made the focus of post-war reintegration, with other members of their households treated as dependents, thus reinforcing a 'male breadwinner' model.

As previously noted, the issue of rape has also been neglected, even by humanitarian organisations. However, there has been attempt to correct these oversights. Indeed, the United Nations Conventions on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which aims to ensure that women are treated equally with their men counterparts, has, as Turshen and Twagiramariya (1998:11) have stated:

> ...failed to address gendered violence and gender-related cause, and to correct this oversight, the UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women in 1994, which includes recommendations that pertain to women in situations of armed conflict.

In an attempt to ensure greater visibility of women in peace processes and recognising their specific vulnerability in the aftermath of conflict, the United Nations adopted Resolution 1235 in November 2002. This resolution calls for countries in the aftermath of conflict to establish effective mechanisms to ensure women's equal participation and full involvement in peace making (see Rehn and Johnson, 2002). Yet in many cases this resolution is not taken into consideration. Angola provides an example of this, as women have never been invited to participate in the different peace processes (see Chapter Two for a fuller discussion).

Yet the involvement of women in liberation struggles, as discussed earlier, has resulted in some positives as well as negative outcomes. On a positive note, it for example, has sometimes paved the way for the creation of vigorous women's movements. Evidence

from many countries reveals that the major achievements of the women's movement in respect of women's emancipation took place as an outcome of women's involvement in national liberation struggles, even when women were not that visible in national decision-making at independence (Byrne, 1996). The cases of Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Zimbabwe illustrate this point. Here, major progress for women's emancipation took place right at independence with the inclusion, for example, of more clauses for gender equality in Family Codes.

Kunar (2001) shows that in the case of Rwanda, Eritrea, El Salvador and Cambodia the involvement of women in conflict enhanced the expansion of their public roles. More specifically, Kunar (Ibid.) describes situations in which women redefined traditional roles and projected a new self-confidence. El-Bushra and Mukarubuga (1995:20) echo these findings in the case of Rwanda by arguing that 'whatever women suffer during war, many gain such self-confidence, self-respect, and autonomy in the process that they resolve never to slip back into the old ways, when they were beholden to men and lacked the skills to make their capacities and feelings known'.

By contrast, in some countries, such as El Salvador, evidence shows that 'women became disillusioned with mainstream politics and broke ranks' (Kunar, 2001:22). It goes without saying that the outcomes of women's involvement in conflict carry both negative and positive outcomes for the advancement of women's agenda in mainstream politics. As mentioned earlier, the case of Angola also confirms this trend (see Chapter Two for full discussion) and validates the argument that the effect of conflict on the gender relations depends, as rightly asserted by Byrne (1996:23) 'on how gender relations were prior the conflict, which are in turn influenced by the cultural, political and economic make-up of the country'.

The above discussion has revealed some of the personal and political gains and losses which have discovered when studying gender in conflict and its aftermath. Given that one of the objectives of this study is to assess household arrangements, the next section introduces the concept of the household and its relevance to this study.

Theoretical constructions of the household

The discussion of the household is relevant to this study for many reasons. First, the study of households in war-torn societies provides a greater understanding of how conflict has induced particular forms of household arrangements, and how these arrangements may have opened new space for women and/or reinforced traditional understandings and marital relationships within the household.

It is important at the outset to define what is meant, in this study, by 'household' given the plural meanings and varied interpretations encountered in the gender and development literature (see Chant, 1991; 1997a for discussions and references). Indeed, the concept of household is problematic, given that it is common to use the terms 'household' and 'family' in a similar way. So one first has to delineate the two and then, in turn, point out how the study will refer to them.

While the term 'family' often implies a living situation in which people's relations are based on kinship and marriage, the term 'household' does not automatically imply a family-based unit (see Beall and Kanji, 1999). Gittins (1995:61) further illustrates this point by saying that people can consider themselves 'family' without actually co-residing, and can also co-reside without considering themselves to be 'family'. In addition, the term 'family' implies a set of legal, social, religious and economic systems to which people tend to adhere (see Gittins, 1995 for full discussion). On this point, Beall and Kanji (1999:1) argue that the concept of 'family' embodies a more complex set of relationships and normative assumptions than 'household'. Although kinship often forms the basis of household arrangement, this study will not refer to 'family' but to 'household' most commonly understood as shared residence which is the definition encountered in international and national statistical surveys (see Beall and Kanji, 1999: 1; Chant, 1997a:11).

Over and above considerations of kinship, another important reason for referring to households is that there are commonly used in national poverty surveys as the smallest economic unit to assess the living conditions of its members. In such assessments, household income, consumption and expenditures are used to measure incidence of poverty levels. By the same token, the study also uses the household to

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complement such analysis by looking at households' non-financial assets and at intra-household resource distribution.

Intra-household resource distribution

What takes place inside the household and how its members relate to each other is critically important from the perspective of gender. For instance, Becker's (1981) theory of household economics considers that all household members are equally represented in a single household utility function and that each acts to maximise household utility. This assumption implies that household members have similar preferences and justifies inequality on the basis of joint welfare. Yet the feminist literature have identified that this model is inapplicable become men and women may allocate resources differently among household members (see Bruce and Lloyd, 1992; Chant, 1997a,b; Kabeer, 1994; Moore, 1994; Whitehead, 1994). Chant (1997b:36) emphasises the need 'to look inside the household' rather than leaving households as unproblematised, undeconstructed 'black boxes'.

This is important given that gender norms are transmitted from one generation to the next and directly impact the ways in which individuals live. They also influence the ways individuals make decisions about having and raising children, about seeking employment and about distributing and consuming income (see Folbre, 1991).

The example of intra-household distribution in relation to food allocation is interesting for being thought to be gendered and to constitute a threat to the well-being of both women and girl children. Indeed, various practices based on cultural norms in which women and girl children eat after men and/or are forbidden to consume meat on the basis that men and boys need their strength to perform strenuous labour bolster this claim (see Chen and Drèze, 1992; Kabeer, 1991 for the case of Bangladesh). The long-term consequences of these practices are thought to have major gender implications resulting in girl children showing lower body weight, lower schooling performance and even, as evidenced in South Asia, higher female mortality rates and a rising masculine sex ratio (see Kabeer, 1994:101).

Aside from these specific gender differentials, issues of power and interests within the household are of equal importance, as they can also exacerbate intra-household

inequalities along lines of gender, age and so on. This point is well illustrated by Folbre (1994:263) when she argues that:

> ...It is no longer acceptable to ignore inequalities of power and welfare among household members, or to assume that the household itself can be treated as an undifferentiated optimising unit. Though no paradigmatic shift can be settled once and for all by a barrage of evidence, the burden of proof has been shifted to those which stand by the conventional assumption of family altruism.

The impact these gender differentials have on household members' well-being is context-specific, and may differ across household types. However, it is important to recognise that 'the various types of gender inequality can be mediated by the particular type of household to which people belong', as argued by Chant (1996:15). In addition, what takes place inside the household in terms of gendered division of labour may be linked to headship as being discussed in the next section.

The next section considers how female headship is defined in the literature and explores the key questions relevant to the study of headship in war-torn society.

Household headship

As with the household concept, the definition of headship is not an easy task. Numerous definitions are used and there are many different cultural understandings of what household headship actually is (see Rosenhouse, 1989:3).

Some macro-level studies have used headship in official censuses and poverty surveys to identify the person 'responsible' for the household. The outcomes of these studies have been used to design development policies with regard to poverty alleviation programs. However, this has not proved to be unbiased for women, if we consider the criteria used to define headship. For instance, INSTRAW (1992:237) argues that the term 'head of household' has been used variously to identify:

>   (a) a census reference person;
>
>   (b) the household's chief decision-maker;
>
>   (c) the person who is entitled to claim certain benefits such
>   as land or membership in a co-operative on behalf of
>   the household; and

(d) the person whose characteristics provide the best indication of the status of the household as a whole.

INSTRAW further argues that 'in order to avoid confusion in the future, the term "head of household" should be replaced by a more specific term, wherever applicable' (1992:237). Hence it seems that there are still obstacles to developing a standardised definition as comparability of data seems impossible (see Rosenhouse, 1989 for full discussion).

Following from this, the next section discusses some of the factors that promulgate female household headship in general and in Angola in particular.

Factors leading to the formation of female-headed households

The literature on female-headed households uses numerous terms to define this type of family unit (see Chant, 1985, 1991, 1997a). The most common are 'women-maintained', 'women-led', 'single-parent', 'male-absent' families, 'grandmother-headed' and 'embedded female-headed units'. These various terms imply that women in female-headed households do not constitute a single category with respect to marital status and/or their place in household composition and living arrangements. Women heads of households may be widows, abandoned or deserted wives, single mothers, separated or married, suggesting that the factors leading to the household's formation do not derive, as mentioned earlier, from a unitary experience.

Youssef and Hetler (1983:20) use five broad categories to classify de jure and de facto female household headship. These are:

(1)   Households with no male spouse or partner present at any time, which includes households headed by single mothers, divorced or widowed women who have not remarried, women who are separated, women whose non-legalised unions have been dissolved, and wives who have been deserted by their husbands (de jure women-headed households);

(2)   Households where the male partner is a transient resident, which includes households headed by women who have temporary liaisons with men but cannot count on these partners as regular household residents who will provide economic support (de jure woman-headed households);

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(3)   Households from which the male spouse or partner is temporarily absent, such as households headed by married women whose husbands are away for unspecified periods (de facto woman-headed households);

(4)   Households in which the male spouse or partner is present, but where his contribution to the economic maintenance of the household is marginal (because of unemployment, disability, illness, etc.) (de facto woman-headed households);

(5)   Households from which the male spouse or partner is absent, but where one or more adult males are in residence (de facto/de jure woman-headed households).

The above classification, albeit important, is not without problems. It leaves unattended a series of factors that may constitute the basis for differences between and among these households, and thus between women. These factors include the marital status of these women, their age, the level and degree of remittances these women have, the periodicity and kind of contact these women have with their partners, and the household composition and developmental cycle.

This study intends to further examine the heterogeneity of female-headed households as well as the conflict-induced factors that may have led to their formation in a later chapter on household configuration (see Chapter Four).

The remainder of this chapter discusses female headship and poverty, with the further objective of identifying the factors of disadvantages highlighted in the literature that female heads of household are faced with and those that are of relevance in war-torn societies.

Female headship and poverty

The phenomenon of female-headed households has elicited a lot of controversy among scholars in both the developed and developing world (Buvinic and Gupta, 1993; Chant, 1991, 1997a, b; Moghadam, 1997). However, varied as the concerns of these scholars have been, they seem to agree that female-headed households are over-represented among the poorest segments of the population (Buvinic and Gupta, 1993; Pearce, 1978; Merrick and Schminck, 1983; Ross and Sawhill, 1976).

The debate on female-headed households gained momentum in academic and political circles in the 1980s when the term 'feminisation of poverty' came increasingly into use. The economic restructuring imposed by Bretton Woods agencies such as the World Bank and the IMF on the economies of developing countries led to the conclusion that the immediate impact of recession and reduction in public spending had a negative impact on women's lives and access to and control over resources. These cuts were thought to inflict a heavier burden on women than men, which led to the claim that poverty is feminised, given the rising incidence of female heads of household (Chant, 2003:2, and Box 1:15).

Yet the gender and development literature points out various flaws in the study of this type of family unit, which contradict the proposition that female-headed households are, in Fonseca's (1991:138) words, 'an automatic outcome of poverty'. Chant argues that few of the numerous studies of the relationship between female headship and poverty have undertaken a 'globally comprehensive examination of data on trends in poverty and trends in female household headship' (Chant, 2003:3). This is partly because the data themselves rarely exist (Ibid.).

Although Buvinic and Gupta's (1997:263) comparative study on the relation between female headship, and poverty revealed that thirty-eight out of sixty-one studies reviewed show that female-headed households are over represented among the poor, other studies have yielded contrasting results.

González de la Rocha's (2000:28) review of secondary data from ten countries, for example, revealed that six countries, namely the Maldives, Sudan, Uganda, Angola, Latvia and Indonesia, presented findings in which households headed by women were characterised by equal or even higher incomes and consumption levels than their male-led counterparts, whereas in only four countries (Bulgaria, Lebanon, Palestine and South Africa) were households headed by women poorer. Other in-depth studies in which studied households have been disaggregated (as joint headed, de jure, de facto, polygamous and single female households), undertaken by the World Bank (Baden and Milward, 1995:62) in Zambia, showed that de facto female-headed households, particularly those which received remittances from migrant husbands, were not worse-off than joint-headed households. In contrast, those with de jure female heads or those legally separated, divorced or widowed were disproportionately represented

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among the groups in extreme poverty when compared to joint-headed households. More than 90 percent of households in this category were classified as poor.

These varied findings on the relationship of female headship and poverty indicate that household composition, headship, stage in the life course, and level of remittances, cannot be generalised across or within countries as all play a critical part in determining the relative poverty of women in female-headed households (see Chant, 1997b:101; Fuwa, 2000:1516). However, since the relative poverty of female-headed households is still open to debate, it is important to identify and examine the factors that are conventionally considered to put them in a worse-off situation than their counterparts in male-headed households.

This development links to the next section that introduces the livelihoods approach as a mean to assess the different levels of poverty of households and the ways in which these use their assets at their disposal to minimise poverty.

Livelihoods approach

As mentioned earlier in the aims of the chapter, the study uses a 'livelihoods approach' to assess the poverty level of households. This approach originated in the 1980s, with the work of Robert Chambers, and was developed further by Conway and others in the early 1990s. The 'livelihoods approach' has been widely used in an attempt to explain the multidimensionality of poverty. It has been turned into frameworks such as 'Household Livelihood Assets' (Carney, 1998); 'Asset Vulnerability' (Moser, 1998); 'Capital Assets' (Rakodi, 1999) and 'Entitlements' (Sen, 1981). These frameworks have also been used extensively by international organisations to influence government policy and to ensure a people-centred and driven approach in macro-level poverty alleviation programs (see DFID, 2000; UNDP, 2000).

Most of these frameworks follow the same argument. They stress the importance of examining poverty beyond income/consumption measurements to capture complex external factors and the way in which these may enhance or prejudice livelihoods (Moser, 1998; Murray, 2001; Rakodi, 1999).

'Livelihood' in the present study is defined as comprising the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living (Chambers and Conway, 1992, cited in Rakodi, 1999:3). A 'livelihoods approach' draws on notions of physical, natural, human, social and financial capitals as a way to identify the assets households or communities hold, and mobilise, in order to minimise poverty. The following diagram shows how the different capitals interact, to highlight the inter-relationships between the various assets that households potentially have at their disposal.

Figure 5.1: Asset pentagon
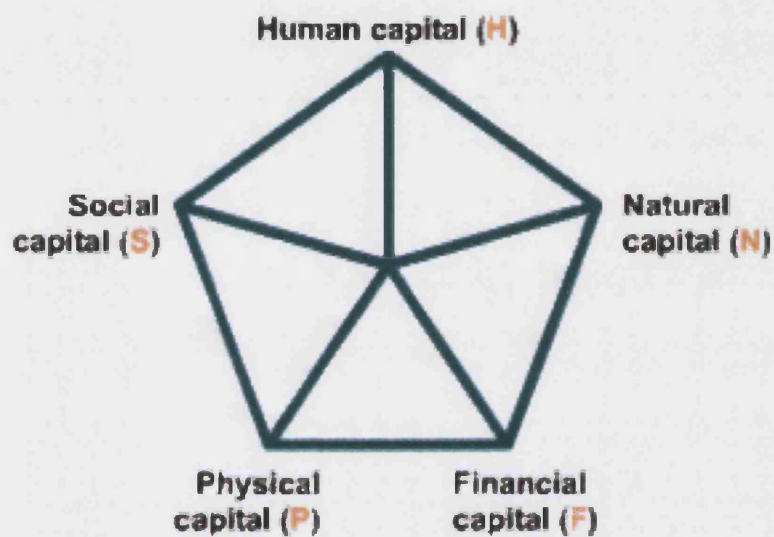
Source: Rakodi, 1999:13

<u>Methodology</u>

This section discusses the methodological approach and tools used to undertake this study. It also provides some of the reasons for selecting the study communities and discusses the issue of my positionality in the field research process.

The choice of the study communities

The choice of the study communities was motivated by a number of factors. A primary factor was my prior knowledge of the area. I had worked in the area as a development worker for a NGO Development Workshop between 1993 and 1997. My existing relationship with the study community ensured that I knew the population I would be working with and that I had ongoing access to the study population through the NGO. There was the added benefit that, through the Development Workshop and other NGO networks, I had access to maps of the area. This two-tiered access was of critical importance as there is a general scarcity of research on the livelihoods of the urban population in Angola. Another advantage of working in an area that I was already familiar with and where they knew me was that I had more freedom of movement and more security than if I had been in a wholly new area. As will become apparent later, single women are highly vulnerable.

Secondly, the case study community seemed to provide a fair representation of Luanda's peri-urban areas in the sense that they had a high concentration of low-income households. It also appeared that there was a high concentration of female-headed households.

The selection of survey instruments and sampling

I chose to use both qualitative and quantitative tools so as to ensure greater flexibility. The quantitative tool consisted of a household questionnaire conducted with 300 households chosen at random in three communes of Luanda's peri-urban areas.

The sample was chosen based on the assumption that this number would provide a substantial base for analysis. The sampling design followed the steps of a stratified random sample (see Appendix 3). Nine bairros were chosen, three each in three

communes (Cuca in Cazenga Municipality, Ngola Kiluanje in Sambizanga Municipality and Kikolo in Cacuaco Municipality).

The number of interviews carried out in each bairro was proportional to the number of households in the bairro. The sample of bairros was made so as to include areas that have been occupied at different times (from the early 1980s to the present), and which have different levels of access to the city centre and main transport routes. The survey was carried out between December 2001 and May of 2002.

Table 1.1: Number of interviews per estimated number of households in the study communities and per bairro

Study Communities	Bairro	Estimated number of households[1]	Number of interviews[2]
Cuca	S João sector 15	2374	51
	Ilha da Madeira sector 12	986	21
	Mabor sector 11	1036	22
NGola Kiluange	Farol das Lagostas	749	16
	Ossos	3373	73
	Val Saroca	3217	69
Kikolo	Augusto Ngangula sector 8	227	5
	Compão sector 1	595	13
	Boa Esperança sector 4	1456	30
Total			300

The main objective of the questionnaire was to gather information which would enable me to compare household types in terms of configuration, source of income, revenues and source of livelihood. The structure of the questionnaire was adapted from the Willingness and Capacity to pay for Social Service Survey carried out by the National Institute of Statistics (INE, 1998). The questionnaire consists of seven sections (see Appendix 2).

The qualitative methods

In addition to general interviews with a number of specialists (see Appendix 1), the variety of qualitative methods used to collect primary data included focus group discussions, semi-structured interviews and life histories. Each is discussed in detail below.

The main aim of using qualitative methods was to enable the respondents (women, men and children) to talk freely and engage as much as possible with me in a more personalised and informal way.

The process of selecting respondents for the qualitative exercise took place while I undertook the questionnaire. Most of the qualitative respondents were self-selecting in that they were willing to be part of the exercise when asked. Criteria such as age group, household structure (nuclear; extended), a headship (male- and female-headed households), marital status (married, co-resident, union, separated, single and widow) and years of residence in the area were also taken into consideration in selecting respondents as I wanted to ensure that the qualitative sample was diverse.

(A) Focus Group Discussions

I found focus group discussions to be very productive because I was able to listen to various opinions at once, and to analyse similarities and differences on the spot. Moreover, I could observe how people reacted to certain types of questions in a group and how these reactions varied from one-on-one discussions.

The focus group discussion tool was used at the start to help structure the open-ended questions to be used in the semi-structured interviews (see Appendix 5).

For each community, four groups of five women and two groups of five men were divided according to age group. Age groups were 19-25, 26-35, 36-45, and 46+. The purpose of separating women and men by age was to provide greater insights on changes and continuity on issues pertaining to household arrangement and gender roles. In some instances, I let women and men respondents decide the topics to be discussed. These did not vary significantly among the different gender and age group. Topics for female respondents revolved around their daily difficulties in accessing social

services in the area, their concern about the future of their children, and personal issues such as domestic violence and personal relationships with their male partners. In turn, male respondents were mostly concerned with matters related to finding employment, and political issues.

Three additional focus groups involving children and teenagers of the study communities were also conducted. Participants were segmented by age: 7-10 years; 11-13 years; and 14-16 years. The children expressed their concern about furthering their education and, in some cases, the physical absence of their fathers, whereas the group of teenagers was mostly concerned with employment and peace consolidation.

(B) Semi-structured Interviews

A set of twenty semi-structured interviews with 10 women and 10 men among age groups of 19-25; 26-35; 36-45; and 46+ were conducted with the aim of engaging in an open-ended dialogue with the respondents (see Appendix 4). The questions were generated from the focus group discussions, with the main objective being to explore particular issues such as domestic violence, child labour and polygamy in more depth and on an individual basis.

A group of ten children were also interviewed in the 7-10 and 11-13 age groups. They were selected from the households where women took part in the semi-structured interviews. Questions revolved around their day-to-day activities, their role in supplementing income where relevant and their perceptions regarding not having a father in the household on a permanent basis or even on a transient basis.

(C) Life history

The life history exercise was conducted with ten women in the 36-45 and 46+ age groups who were selected from the focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews. The criteria used were age group, marital status, headship, number of children and willingness to discuss their lives in more depth. The purpose of the life history exercise was to examine in a more in-depth way whether significant changes in gender relations and the perception of relationship, marriage, female headship and children's welfare have occurred, across generations and during and after conflict.

Variables such as socio-economic characteristics were recorded and cross-checked with household headship in order to legitimise the findings and establish, when possible, the cause and effect relationship. The findings of the qualitative analysis were cross-checked with the quantitative findings throughout the analysis.

Positionality

I considered the issue of positionality from the outset of this study. In developing the research approach I considered two facades of my social positioning that would affect the conduct of the data collection.

While conducting the data collection, I sensed social tension due to insecurity and this prevented me from conducting interviews after hours. I was limited to conducting interviews during the day and this led me to conduct some of the interviews on the weekend so as to have access to my respondents during their free time.

The other issue that I confronted, and at times made me uncomfortable during the interaction process with my respondents, was that of motherhood. Some women were concerned with the fact of me being single and childless. Other women were eager to influence me to know motherhood as soon as possible, and at any cost so as to feel like a complete woman. Often during the process I felt that I was considered the research subject by my respondents because I was so visibly different.

In the end, I became accustomed to working with the tensions and tended to agree with the respondents when pointing at my marital and familial status as being a problem. As such I also became aware that any study is bound to suffer from the bias that results from the position of the researcher (see Stanley and Wise, 1983). Therefore, it is expected that the kind of information that has been provided may suffer from my own relativism, which is derived from my concerns and interests that it fit my study objectives. However, the findings of the study do not in any way pretend to be seen as unbiased but rather as a humble contribution to the existing body of knowledge on household headship in the aftermath of conflict.

Organisation of the thesis

The study is divided into seven chapters. Chapter One has located the questions of the study within the context of the literature on gender and conflict in war-torn societies, on households and on female headship. It has outlined the theoretical parameters of the study and provides a brief review of methodology. Chapter Two provides an historical overview of Angola highlighting the main political, economic and social events of the past forty years with the aim of outlining the context in which the study takes place. It also addresses the position of Angolan women during the conflict and in the contemporary situation. Chapter Three presents the main characteristics of the study communities examining migration, land and housing. Chapter Four identifies the configuration of households and highlights gender roles and relations at the household level, and the understanding of household headship by female and male informants. Chapter Five examines poverty levels and livelihoods, and outlines the means of income-generation to secure livelihoods, and the use of solidarity networks for household strategies. Chapter Six focuses on female-headed households, and discusses the social viability of female-headed households and their children. Chapter Seven addresses the critical findings of the study and implications for policy design and future research agendas.

<u>Notes to Chapter One</u>

[1]Using a survey of the three communes by INE (1998) and DW in January 2000, which mapped the communes and their boundaries, I in turn mapped the bairros and their boundaries and counted the number of habitants in each bairro.

[2]One interview was carried out for each 46.7 households in each bairro.

Chapter Two

The historical development of Angola

Introduction

The main objective of this chapter is to provide an overview of the main political, economic and social events of Angola from the pre-colonial period to the present day.[1] The specific objective throughout the discussion is to set the scene in which the study takes place. In particular, the chapter makes reference to women's positioning in society in order to increase knowledge about Angolan women and gender issues in Angola in view of assessing whether conflict creates possibilities for the greater emancipation of women.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section discusses the political development of Angola with the objective of tracing the various causes of the liberation struggle and civil conflict. The second section examines the economic conditions and policies in the post-conflict period. The third section provides a discussion of the contemporary labour market and the role of the informal sector in survival in particular. The fourth section reviews the evolving position of women in Angolan society since their involvement in the liberation struggle, so as to frame the discussion on gender and headship.

Angola in the pre-independence and post-independence years: 1961-2002

With a territory of 1,246,700 Kilometres, the Republic of Angola is located on the southwest coast of Africa. It shares boundaries with the Republic of Congo Brazzaville and the Democratic Republic of Congo (formally Zaire) to the north, the Republic of Zambia to the east and the Republic of Namibia to the south.

Although the Portuguese founded the capital of Luanda in 1575, it was not until the late nineteenth century that Portugal's economic and political presence became significant in the country. Prior to the late nineteenth century, Portuguese colonial rule was mainly concentrated in enclaves along the coast and was primarily concerned with the exportation of millions of slaves to the New World. Nevertheless, the 1836 decree for the official abolition of slavery pressured Portugal to shift its sources of revenue (Ekaney, 1976). The boom in economic development did not really take place until the

1960s and then only through the importation of a migrant workforce from Portugal. In 1974 this group was estimated at 300,000, out of a total population of 6 million, and was mostly engaged in intensive sectors such as agriculture and mining (De Bosschère, 1976).

The Portuguese colonial system was asymmetrical in its structure and power relations with the Africans (Tali, 2001). The administrative structure maintained the Africans in a state of semi-slavery while privileging a class of *assimilado* (those who were more assimilated to Portuguese culture and mainly of mixed race African and Portuguese).[2]

As a local political consciousness geared towards fighting for greater equality for Africans emerged, Angolans also fought for the reaffirmation of their African identity and, above all, for their emancipation from colonial oppression (Tali, 2001). Consequently, three liberation movements operating with different political ideologies but fighting for the same ideal, which was the freedom of the Angolan people from colonial rule, started to emerge from the beginning of the 1960s: the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).[3]

The military coup against the Caetano regime in April 1974 precipitated the withdrawal of Portuguese troops from Angola. By January 1975, the three liberation movements met to assume political leadership of the country by signing the 'Alvor Accord', which provided for an interim multi-party government and an integrated army. However, tense political differences among the three movements and the influences of respective external alliances led to the dissolution of the Accord.

The MPLA captured the capital city of Luanda, thereby gaining military advantage, which led to the withdrawal of the FNLA troops and the defeat of UNITA, who were forced to return to the southern part of the country. On November 11, 1975, the MPLA declared the independence of Angola and formed a one-party socialist government, which was recognised as such by the international community, with the exception of the United States and South African governments.

Independence, one-party rule, civil war and peace: 1975-1992

Following its creation in the beginning of the 1960s and during the liberation struggle period, the MPLA movement aligned itself politically with the Eastern Bloc. Accordingly, it was no surprise that at independence the MPLA government opted for one-party rule and a centrally planned economy modelled after the Marxist-Socialist tradition where the state became the sole provider of social services to the people.

As a result, the productive enterprises of the private sector were nationalised by the state. This entailed the expropriation of privately held property and enterprises and led to the mass exodus of Portuguese skilled labour. Nationalisation also drastically reduced the influence of an emergent indigenous entrepreneurial class, given that the state became the main employer. Nevertheless, it is important to note that there existed a very small indigenous entrepreneurial class that had a strong affiliation to the MPLA party.

The majority of the population was employed in the public sector, where salaries were low and complemented with subsidies for health, education, transport and food. It is important to note that the subsidies granted to the employees varied and were based on criteria such as seniority, professional ranking and political affinities with the MPLA (see Tali, 2001).

In the post-independence transition period, the living conditions for the majority of Angolans, particularly those living in urban areas, declined. The central planned economy model led to a shortage of food and heavy reliance on the black market. As a result, people used a variety of mechanisms to make ends meet, such as relying on relatives and friends to diversify and swap food products acquired in the State Stores or the black market.

In rural areas, the departure of the Portuguese commercial farmers led to a drastic drop in agricultural production, due to the limited capacity of state farms to maintain the rate of production of pre-independence years. Until 1973 Angola was practically self sufficient in food production and was also a food exporter. But by the 1980s

exports of food products (including coffee), which represented some 60 per cent of total exports in 1973, had fallen to almost nothing (see Pehrsson et al., 2000).

There were, however, some notable positive developments. Social services such as health and education were free for all, and the party encouraged the active participation of citizens in community development projects such as cleaning and mass literacy campaigns. By the same token, these efforts were outweighed by other policies of the state. For instance, although the party proclaimed equal opportunity for all, only party members or their relations and associates enjoyed certain privileges such as access to good housing, scholarships for their children and awards to study abroad.

It was during this period, when the MPLA government was seen by many Angolans as a dictatorship that had abandoned its responsibilities to the people, that UNITA regained its military strength.

Civil conflict: 1975-1991

The first phase of the civil war between the government troops and the rebel movement UNITA lasted for 17 years. These years were marked by the continuous involvement of foreign troops on both sides, as Angola became the instrument of the Cold War.[4] Government troops continued to benefit from the technical assistance of the Soviet Union, Cuba also provided troops and other military support to the MPLA. UNITA benefited from financial help from the United States and military backing from South Africa.

This period in Angolan history was also marked by repression of the citizenry. With time Angola literally became a police state, as freedom of the press and freedom of expression were curtailed. State security agents took control of civil society organisations. Fear reigned in the country and self-censorship became the order of the day. While people who lived in the government-controlled areas had to live with frequent curfews, those who lived in UNITA controlled areas lived in conditions of semi-slavery and were forced to work for the rebel movement. During this period Angolan people continued to see their livelihoods in a constant state of decline but also had their family life distorted in a hostile environment of violence and geographical disparities.

In addition to the difficulties described above, Angola also felt the catalysed effects of the global economic and political changes experienced in the African continent and elsewhere, including the end of the Apartheid Regime in South Africa and the economic decline of the Eastern European countries.   On the political front, the Bicesse Peace Accord was signed in May 1991 by both belligerents and supervised by a troika of countries composed of Portugal, Russia and the United States. The main highlights of the Accord included the shift from a centralised economy to a market-orientated economy, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Angola, the reunification of both armies into the Angolan Armed Forces (FAA) and the implementation of the first multi-party elections in Angolan history.   The preparation of the election lasted for 18 months, during which time Angolans enjoyed living in peace for the first time after seventeen years of war (see Tali, 2001).

The multi-party election took place in September 1992 and gave the MPLA's candidate, President Dos Santos, 49.6 percent of the vote against the UNITA candidate's 34 per cent (Human Rights Watch, 1994:12). In the legislative election the MPLA received 54 per cent against UNITA's 34 per cent.   Given that the Angolan law stated that to be victorious and declared the winner a presidential candidate must receive more than 50 per cent of the total vote cast at the election, a second round was scheduled for the presidential elections (Ibid.).

When it was announced that the MPLA candidate had won in the first round in an election the international community recognised as being free and fair, UNITA contested the preliminary results and restarted the war, denying citizens participation in the second round of the presidential elections.

The post-election war lasted from 1992 to 1994. It was marked by intense and massive bombings on both sides and created hundreds of thousands of refugees and internally displaced people.[5]   Human Rights Watch (1994:61) reported that 'the Angolan government had been responsible for widespread violations of the rules of war, including direct attacks on civilians, indiscriminate attacks, summary executions, torture, forced displacement, and recruitment of child soldiers'. The same report also

stated that 'thousands of civilians have been killed or injured in the indiscriminate bombing of population centres in UNITA-controlled zones' (Ibid.).

The international community through the leadership of the United Nations Secretary General Special Envoy called for the cessation of the war, and facilitated the Lusaka Peace Protocol which called for a ceasefire, the integration of UNITA troops into the government's armed forces, demobilisation of UNITA troops, and the absorption of UNITA members into the national and local government as ministers, deputy ministers and provincial governors. The implementation of the Lusaka Protocol lasted between 1994 and 1998, during which time the country enjoyed relative peace for the second time. By the end of 1998, however, government and UNITA troops had resumed fighting. This round of fighting ended on February 22, 2002, after the death of the President of UNITA, Jonas Savimbi, and a nationwide ceasefire and peace accord was signed on April 5, 2002.[6]

This brief overview of recent Angolan political history highlights the state of civil conflict which has shaped the general socio-economic development of the country. With respect to the case study communities, peri-urban households have been affected in many ways by conflict. The next section explores this in further detail.

<u>Economic conditions and policies in the post-conflict period</u>

The conflict has taken its toll on Angolans in several ways. In particular, its catastrophic effects on the social and economic conditions of the populace should not be underestimated.

According to the Human Development Index (HDI), Angola in 2004 was ranked 166 out of 177 countries (UNDP, 2004). Life expectancy is only 47 years, and malnutrition is severely acute as about 45 per cent of children under age five suffer from low height-for-age and 31 per cent are underweight (Ibid.). Malaria, respiratory infections, diarrhoeal diseases, measles, and cholera are the main causes of illness and death. The potential for an HIV/AIDS surge is high with the return of some 4.5 million displaced to their provinces of origin, reinstallation of some 450,000 returnees from neighbouring countries, resettlement of ex-combatants, and the opening up of roads and circulation of people countrywide (Ibid.). Educational underachievement is slightly

more pronounced among the female population with 70 per cent of adult men and 80 per cent of adult women that are unable to read and write (UNDP, 2004).

Poverty is a more serious phenomenon in the rural areas due in part to the weak or non–existent basic social services such as limited health service coverage (only 30 per cent of the rural areas); unsafe sources of water (38 per cent of the population have access to potable water); and chronic malnutrition (45 per cent of the total population) (World Bank, 2005:39). In rural areas, women tend to comprise the most illiterate groups, with a rate of 80 per cent illiteracy as compared with 60 per cent for men (Ibid.). In addition, rural women in some areas tend not to be able to express themselves in Portuguese, which increases their dependence on men to communicate with third parties.

Economic policies in the post-conflict period

Despite its large water resources and agricultural and fishing potential, the Angolan economy depends heavily on the oil–enclave production and a flourishing diamond sector. As such, it is sub-Saharan Africa's second largest producer of oil (over one million barrels per day) and the world's fourth largest producer of diamonds (6.3 million carats in 2003) (World Bank, 2005:1). Regardless, Angola is considered by the World Bank to be a Low Income Country Under Stress (LICUS) due to low human development indicators, weak governance and fragile human and institutional capacity (Ibid.).

Government has made significant progress towards macroeconomic stabilisation since the end of the conflict in 2002. This can be seen through the decrease in the 12 month rate of inflation for the year 2004 to around 30 per cent, compared with 100 per cent in the past years; a decline in money supply growth; and a considerable deceleration in the rate of nominal depreciation of the kwanza (World Bank, 2005:4).

The Angolan government has undertaken important steps to improve fiscal transparency and accountability. It has published a report of the Oil Diagnostic Study and has also created a unit in charge of managing the financial model and monitoring the oil revenues, the recruitment of suitable technical assistance and the initiation of a comprehensive training programme (MINFIN, 2005). Another initiative implemented to improve management of the oil revenues is related to auditing tax declarations

submitted to the Treasury by the national oil company, Sonangol (Ibid.). The Ministry of Finance is also compiling data and preparing templates in view of initiating the publication, on a regular basis, of oil financial data in its own website. Finally, the intention to adhere to the Extractive Industry Transparency International can also seen as an important step towards achieving greater transparency and accountability.

Other policy measures intend to strengthen broad supervision over the banking system, in order to increase the efficiency and liquidity of commercial banks, enhance their role in the economy and bring more stability in the overall macroeconomic framework, and increase employment. However, in the short term the majority of the population is underemployed and/or active in the informal sector of the economy.

The role of the informal sector in survival

It is interesting that in spite of its growing role in the economy, very little research has been carried out on the informal sector in Angola and its social and economic implications for the population with regard to basic survival. [7] However, the Angolan government and policy makers can no longer ignore this sector, as it has become the main source of livelihood for the majority of the population.

Growth of the informal sector is closely related to the crisis and non-performance of the non-oil sectors, particularly because the oil sector provides few jobs compared with rapid migration to urban centres. The involvement of a large number of the population in the informal sector of the economy seems to suggest that the access to means of subsistence is largely derived from 'a do-it-yourself-phenomenon' in the absence of social services and other assistance from the state.

The labour force in Angola's informal sector comprises a vast array of the population, including children, youth, demobilised soldiers, internally displaced people and former public sector workers. While the informal sector in Angola is not a new phenomenon since it has existed since colonial times, it is a reasonable assumption that it has grown significantly in the last few years, especially in urban areas.

Informal activities are now found in all sectors of the economy including transport, communications, micro- and medium-size industrial activities, clothing manufacture,

financial transaction, retail and wholesale trade, food industry, furniture manufacture, and agriculture. Their agents include shoemakers, street and market vendors, currency exchange dealers, menders, taxi drivers and car mechanics.

Subtle mechanisms of smuggling, bribery and tax evasion, in addition to the use of the police and the armed forces for the import and export of goods, are all now common practices in this sector. Although these illicit practices are also found in other developing countries that have not been at war, the case of Angola suggests that the informal sector is dominated by powerful large-scale operators, even if a sizeable number of its agents are engaged in subsistence activities for survival at a small-scale level and in most cases without knowing nor benefiting from the illicit schemes of the large-scale operators.

The absence of female operators in other economic sectors such as transport, construction and manufacturing is mainly due to barriers of entry such as lack of access to income and credit. There is also visible social stratification between some groups of women within the sector, notably female wholesalers and retailers. Female wholesalers tend to have strong links with the formal sector of the economy, and some of them even benefit from official funding, whereas the retailers often work in precarious conditions and strive to survive on extremely limited funds.

Nonetheless, the high visibility of women in this sector overall suggests that in spite of a hostile environment in which economic decline and social disparities negatively affect the majority of people, women are economically active and are developing a multiplicity of mechanisms for survival.

These mechanisms may also have influenced household arrangements and gender roles and relations at the individual and household level. In order to investigate this, it is important to trace the historical position of Angolan women in society.

Women, war and political mobilisation

The experience of Angolan women as soldiers, leaders, activists, survivors and victims in one of the most tragic conflicts in the Southern African region warrants serious reflection. Angolan women's visibility in national decision-making is minimal despite their contributions to the liberation struggle. The war has tended to exclude women from the decision-making process regarding military issues and peace negotiations.

At post-independence period, women involved in formal politics remained an exception as they only represented 2 per cent (see Perhsson et al., 2000). These figures have increased as there are four women ministers, four deputy ministers, two female ambassadors and three general consuls (UNDP, 2004:3). There are 34 women (25 from MPLA, 6 from UNITA and 3 from PLD) in parliament compared to 220 men, representing 16 per cent of deputies (see Perhsson et al., 2000). Nevertheless, women's participation at the local government level is minimal due to many factors, including their lack of representation within the hierarchies of the political parties and the impediments placed on them by time constraints, which prevent them from competing on an equal footing in the political sphere with men.

Women's political mobilisation within the MPLA and UNITA

As mentioned in the discussion on women's agency in national liberation struggles in Africa in Chapter One, Angolan women's involvement in politics alongside men dates back to the pre-independence period. All three liberation movements during the struggle for independence had a women's wing. There is, however, a dearth of information about the women's wing of the FNLA and UNITA party thus, data on the women's wings of the MPLA is used as reference points to illustrate women's political mobilisation prior independence.[8]

The Organisation of Angolan Women (OMA) is the women's wing of the MPLA, the main liberation movement and political power to date. Reports on OMA activities show that OMA participated in food production for the guerrilla army, organised literacy campaigns and basic health care and carried arms and food over long distances (Äkesson, 1992:20). It is estimated that OMA had 1.8 million registered members in

1983 (OMA, 1984). There are no figures on the number of women who participated in the guerrilla army, but oral testimonies indicate that it was substantial.

Women's position in the aftermath of the national liberation struggle

Like other countries that have been at war, such as Mozambique and Eritrea, women's position in society and gender relations within the household in Angola have undergone changes as a result of the conflict. Evidence from many parts of the world shows that women's roles have often been transformed to support guerrilla fighters and, in some cases, to win national struggles (see Kuumba and Dosunmu, 1995; Turshen and Twagiramariya, 1998).

However, much of the evidence in the literature on gender and conflict, as discussed in Chapter One, shows that when revolution ends, women remain disadvantaged in terms of power and access to resources. In the case of Angola, the political rewards for women certainly do not seem commensurate with their contributions to the liberation struggle. At independence, women were not invited to occupy official positions in government. It was only in the 1980s that 10 per cent of the party leadership was ceded to women.

Meanwhile, Angolan women have been in constant negotiation with mainstream leadership to be heard and for their concerns to be taken seriously by policy-makers and government. OMA has played a decisive role not only as a mass organisation but also as a policy driven outfit dedicated to uniting and fighting for the improvement of women's legal status as well as their economic empowerment, and above all, the integration of women's issues into the mainstream policies (Ducados, 2000).

Arguably the most significant achievements of OMA took place in the 1980s. Their efforts led to the introduction of Family Code and formulation and implementation of a policy to provide family planning to women for free.[9] OMA also provided technical assistance to women and encouraged debate and discussion on women-related subjects such as customary marriage and abortion, which were considered taboo before then (see Åkesson, 1992).

As a result of OMA's activism the MPLA took these issues seriously and they were included in government policies. Yet, although OMA played an effective role introducing these reforms, the reality is that the majority of women are still fighting for their rights to be respected, as Angolan social policies remain largely male oriented. Issues such as rights to inheritance and child support are still neglected, despite the fact the Angolan Constitution provisionally recognises women's rights. Indeed, these rights are often not fully respected due to the fact that the Angolan government does not have mechanisms in place to ensure that men comply with their duty of parenthood. The right to inheritance is more complex due to customary practices that place widows in a vulnerable situation after the death of their partners.

The major obstacle to the realisation of these constitutional provisions is the fact that two legal systems co-exist in modern Angola – statutory (civil) law and customary law, under which men exercise authority over their spouse and daughters. These values and practices by which the majority of the population live, lack enforcement mechanisms and lead to violations of women's rights mainly because statutory law has been eroded by the conflict, and replaced by a more gender prejudicial customary law in respect to widowhood and inheritance in particular (Ducados, 2000).

OMA's position in contemporary Angolan society

The political and socio-economic changes of the 1990s that followed the introduction of the multi-party system have had an impact on OMA's organisation and the question of women's emancipation. The significant entry of women into government and National Assembly occurred following the first multi-party elections in 1992, when women were given four ministerial posts. All were nominated by OMA's leadership.

OMA also called for the establishment of a Secretariat of State for Women, which was created in 1991 and transformed in 1997 into the present Ministry for the Family and the Promotion of Women (MINFAMU). Although many Angolan women see the creation of the Ministry as a concrete advance in gaining political space, one may also see it as an institution that has actually separated women's issues from the government's mainstream policy agenda. An indication of this is the budgetary allocation to the Ministry, which is one of the lowest. The ministry receives 0.8 per cent of government budget in spite of the number of issues that it is supposed to deal

with (see Rede Mulher, 2000). One of the consequences of the limited budgeting of the ministry is under-staffing.

On the institutional side, OMA has failed due to the loyalty of its leadership to the party, to play any effective role as a mediator in the war. Financial dependence on the MPLA is the main constraint faced by OMA. Because the international community views it as a party organisation, it has been difficult for OMA to successfully attract any significant funding. The 1991 OMA Congress decided that the organisation would cease to organise along party lines and that it would become a national non-party association with patriotic and social aims, open to all women regardless of their religious or political affiliations. In practise, however, this did not happen. The OMA is still the women's wing of the MPLA and it has neither the means nor the freedom to break away from the party. It also appears that the MPLA is not supportive of OMA's decision to become independent.

While OMA is still a strong reference point for the women's movement in Angola, it is no longer the leading group representing the women's agenda. In the aftermath of conflict, non-governmental organisations have been more active and resourceful in responding to the needs of women through the organisation of development programmes. These programmes have, to a certain extent, filled the gap that OMA can no longer fill due to lack of capacity. These include sensitisation campaigns on reproductive rights, vaccination for children and so on.

Nevertheless, the women's movement in general is weak since it suffers similar limitations to other social movements in Angola, particularly the donor-driven nature of their activities and limited capacity (see Chapter Three for references). Many women's organisations are unfocused in their role and objectives, reflecting a more general weakness in Angolan civil society, with the result that they have had little influence on policies that could improve the lives of women. Exchange of information, coordination and networking between the different organisations interested in promoting women's rights and gender issues is limited, to the extent that it is difficult to find out what work is being undertaken in different parts of the country.

Another reason why the women's movement has failed to unite on a common platform stems from the fact that the war has not meant the same thing to all women. Women

have used a variety of means to survive, and the social reality of women in low income groups, whether in rural or urban areas, differs greatly from the more privileged women, who suffered less from the direct and indirect impacts of the war (Ducados, 2000). Women in low-income groups are the ones who have lost their husbands and sons in the war and who comprise the highest number in refugee camps. These women are left with little hope of immediate improvements in their living conditions considering their low level of education and the fact that little is done politically to address their special needs.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of the historical development of Angola in order to set the political, social and economic context for this study. In some respects the end of conflict offers promising prospects for lasting peace and national reconciliation. However, development partners in the field face many challenges in addressing the needs of the population in the post-conflict context, and a successful outcome depends partly on the government's capacity to stimulate economic growth and alleviate poverty.

Indeed, following the long years of conflict Angolans are impoverished in respect of economic, social and human development. Millions of people are not only living in precarious conditions but their basic human rights are also denied. Among these people, women and children are the most vulnerable. The informal sector of the economy constitutes the main source of employment and survival for the majority of people. Incomes derived from this sector are limited as activities are mainly conducted on a small scale and in often very precarious conditions.

The situation of women in particular remains critical. This is reflected in the human development indicators, which are lower for women than men. It is therefore not surprising that women's equality in society is still not a given, despite their participation alongside men during the struggle for independence. Women face specific constraints in getting their rights heard and accepted or acted upon, and this is further compounded by the heavy reliance on customary laws which outcomes are often gender prejudicial. In addition, government policies have clearly separated women's issues from the mainstream agenda, thereby de-prioritising women's issues. As such, the post-conflict context seems to have created a situation in which men are financially absent at the household level, leaving women as the main providers.

We now turn to discuss the main characteristics of the study communities, with the objective of identifying the context in which the informants of this study live.

Notes to Chapter Two

[1] It is important to note at the outset that there is a dearth of data on the immediate and long-term impacts of the conflict on Angolan men or women. This deficiency of data and the lack of an information-sharing culture within Angolan institutions has posed an acute challenge with respect to data gathering and analysis for this chapter. As a result, some of the discussion relies on previous knowledge and personal testimonials.

[2] It is estimated that in the 1950s the proportion of the African population in Angola that was granted 'assimilado' status was about 0.75 per cent (Ekaney, 1976).

[3] These movements took as examples the experiences of other African states such as Guinea Conakry and Ghana, which had become independent from their respective colonisers. It is important to note that each liberation movement, apart from having different political affinities, to some extent represented different ethnic groups (see Tali, 2001 for full discussion). For instance, UNITA had its base among the Ovimbundu people in the centre south, the MPLA among the Mbundu people in the centre north and the FNLA among the Bakongo people in the north.

[4] During the Cold War period, De Waal (1996:6) notes that 'superpower patrons competed for African clients, and supported favoured governments militarily and economically, or alternatively backing the guerrilla movements opposed to them'. Even after the Cold War, Africa remains one the world's main buyer of arms while providing space for drug trafficking as well as ivory and diamond smuggling, and environmental degradation (Cilliers and Dietrich, 2000; Duffield, 1994; Volman, 1998).

[5] Angola's return to conflict is in the greater context of civil war in Africa, where in the last 40 years nearly 20 African countries (about 40 percent of sub-Saharan Africa) have experienced at least one period of civil war (Elbadawi and Sabanis, 2000:1). Williams (2000:2) argues that 'there are 30-40 conflicts going on in various parts of the world, most of which get little press coverage in Europe and are largely hidden from view'; which in the case of Angola has sometimes been described as the 'forgotten war' (see Anstee, 1997 for full discussion).

[6] Government agreed to i) continued reaffirmation of the validity of the Lusaka Protocol; ii) implementation of an amnesty programme based on the amnesty law promulgated in November 2000; iii) scheduling of general elections; and iv) creation of a Fund for Peace and National Reconciliation to facilitate the resettlement and reintegration of demobilised combatants (UNDP, 2002:4).

[7] The study uses the 1972 International Labour Organisation definition, which defines the informal sector as 'activities that operate outside government regulation and are mostly ignored and often aggressively suppressed by the authorities' (cited in Tripp, 1997:22).

[8] Women's political mobilisation within the UNITA did not differ much from OMA. The role of women in UNITA's League for Angolan Women (LIMA) during the liberation struggle involved the transport of materials, food and arms to men on the front line.

[9] The main features of the Family Code are the recognition of consensual unions as marriage, the protection of children born out of wedlock and the encouragement of a fair division of tasks and responsibilities within the family (Pehrsson et al., 2000:23).

Chapter Three

The Characteristics of Luanda's Peri-Urban Areas

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the main characteristics of Luanda's peri-urban areas and of the study communities in particular. The specific objective is to examine the living conditions of households by assessing the type of constraints they face in terms of accessing land, housing and basic social services. To this end, it highlights the history, demographics and migration trends of Luanda and its peri-urban areas. For the primary data, the Chapter draws from a random questionnaire survey of 300 households, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions with 30 women and 10 men.

At relevant junctures throughout the discussion and in accordance with the overall aims of the study, the chapter identifies differences and similarities in the situations of male- and female-headed households. While the problems that surround the designation and definition of 'household headship' are discussed in detail in Chapter Four, and are taken up again in the conclusion, the determination of whether a household is male- or female-headed relies was difficult. This follows as far as possible the approach used by the United Nations in its 2001 macro-level urban poverty study in Angola (INE, 2001a), where households are classified as headed by men except in cases where an adult woman (usually with children) resides without a male partner (or, in some cases, another adult male such as a father or brother) (Ibid., 10; see also Chant, 1997a:5 *et seq*). However, in some cases households may not have a male head, but for reasons identified later, are still classified as male-headed due to the woman's reluctance to admit to being un-partnered on a regular basis.

A further point to note relates to the distinction between <u>de jure</u> and <u>de facto</u> female heads of household. Although there have been various discussions of these terms (see for example, Bruce and Lloyd, 1992; Buvinic and Gupta, 1997; Rosenhouse, 1989; Youssef and Hetler, 1983; also Chapter 1), for the sake of simplicity, the term <u>de jure</u> to refer to situations in which women live without male partners on a more or less permanent basis and receive no economic support from men. <u>De facto</u> female heads,

by contrast, are defined as those who have a functional relationship with a man who is temporarily absent through labour migration but who continues to contribute economically to the household. There is often some blurring between the categories, but for the purposes of providing a broad overview of inter-household differences they suffice.

The chapter is organised into three main sections. The first section discusses the historical development of the city of Luanda, its demographics and migration trends. The second provides a historical background of the study communities. The third section considers the main problems households face with regard to access to land and housing.

<u>The city of Luanda</u>

The city of Luanda is the capital of the province of Luanda and the capital of the Republic of Angola. Founded in 1576, it was known in the region as a small commercial port serving the slave trade. To the north, east and south, it borders the province of Bengo, and to the west, the Atlantic Ocean (see Figure 3.1). The province is situated at an altitude of 100 metres above sea level. It occupies an area of 2.418 km², which represents 0.19 per cent of the national territory (MINPLAN, 2001). It has two seasons: one with a hot and dry climate, with an annual average temperature between 25°C and 26°C, and the other with a drier and cooler climate (commonly called 'cacimbo' or 'dry season'), with an annual average temperature between 20°C and 23°C. Rainfall is between 350 mm and 400 mm in the hotter season. The vegetation is semi-arid with scrubland and grass.

The historical development of the city of Luanda

The major growth of Luanda started in the 1960s with the importation of a Portuguese migrant workforce. Back then, the city commonly referred to as 'cidade baixa' (lower part of the city center), was mainly inhabited by white Portuguese and the elite 'assimilado', who worked in public administration, whereas the 'musseques' (peri-urban areas) were mainly inhabited by the African population.[1] This social and racial division led to the configuration of a highly centralised urban space still evident today. As Robson and Roque (2002:1) argue: 'the colonial State directed most of its

investment to the urban centre and a similar pattern has continued after independence'. The landscape of the city of Luanda in the 21st century accordingly remains highly fragmented. New buildings financed by foreign investment stand in stark contrast to run-down and overcrowded colonial buildings. Following the departure of the Portuguese at independence, the majority of buildings were anarchically occupied by migrants from the rural areas, most of whom had never lived in cities. The buildings quickly deteriorated because these migrants lacked the financial means to maintain their housing in a state of adequate repair.

Demographics and migration

The share of the national population living in Luanda and its peri-urban areas was 3 per cent in the 1950s, 8 per cent in the 1970s, 11 per cent in the 1980s and 23 per cent in 2000 (INE, 2000). It is estimated that one-third of the population of Angola lives in Luanda and its peri-urban areas, of which 4,200,000 are internally displaced people. An additional 16,720 demobilised persons and their family members are said to have reintegrated into the capital (OCHA, 2002; UNDP, 2002:2). This concentration is partly because people sought refuge from the most intense areas of conflict, but also because there were better opportunities to secure livelihoods in the urban economy.

Urban population growth in Luanda and its peri-urban areas has been described as 'extremely high at 6 per cent per year, even by African standards' (MINPLAN, 2001:10). Available research shows that 'despite the difficulties of urban life, the perception of life in rural areas is mainly a negative one of forced labour in the colonial era, continuous armed conflict and inadequate social services' (Robson, 2001:166).

Although there has not been any comprehensive research on migration, one may assume that the mixture of the various ethnic groups and differing cultural backgrounds in Angola's peri-urban communities reflects numerous conflict-related population movements. Indeed, the inhabitants of Luanda and its peri-urban areas have increasingly come from other provinces.[2]

Table 3.1:   Origins of the migrant population of the province of Luanda

Years	1964 %	1983 %	1990 %
Native (intra-provincial migrants)	35.2	25.1	18.9
Non-native	64.8	74.9	81.1
Total	100	100	100

Source: Provincial Government of Luanda (1991)

The increased incidence of non-native inhabitants in the last decades can be explained further. There were four historical events which induced population movements to the urban centres. These are described by Robson (2001:8) as: (i) the economic boom of the 1960s; (ii) post-independence fighting in the 1980s; (iii) the resumption of fighting after the 1992 election; and (iv) the resumption of fighting after the failure of the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol in 1998 (see Chapter Two, and Neto, 2001 for full discussion).[3]

Through colonial times and until the early 1970s, the Portuguese administration implemented a policy of relocation for Angolan workers from the southern provinces to the Northern provinces. This entailed the forced conscription of a labour force to work on the coffee plantations of the north. In the process, many families disintegrated, which led to the formation of secondary households and female-headed households (see Pehrsson et al., 2000).

Since independence, people have fled the rural areas because of the conflict, the depletion of resources caused by the collapse of internal trade and distribution networks, and reduced access to cultivable land due to the presence of landmines (see Ducados, 2000). The trajectories of the displaced are complex. Some people have been displaced many times over during their lives, both as a result of the fighting and personal circumstances which force them to move.

The dominant contemporary patterns of migration involve men migrating in search of employment. Men tend to move alone and either send for their wives and children to join them later, or set up new households, abandoning their former families in the

process (see Pehrsson et al., 2000). Although women have traditionally been unlikely to migrate to a different area on their own unless their relatives have organised the journey, conflict has changed this pattern and rendered migration progressively less gender selective. Women's greater mobility has in turn disrupted gendered norms. This is mainly because women and children left behind have been forced to escape to safe areas (see Ducados, 2000).

This is reflected in the large proportion of women and children in the camps for the internally displaced, which is up to 80 per cent in some places (UNDP, 2002:3). Other countries in conflict, such as Eritrea, show the same trend, implying that mass displacement often disintegrates families and is a factor in the potential formation of female-headed households (Kibread, 2003).

The administrative division of the province of Luanda

With an estimated population of 3,395,717, the province of Luanda is administratively divided into 9 municipalities (KPMG, 2003). Each municipality is in turn divided into communes and *'bairros'* (neighbourhoods) (see Table 3.2). Municipalities, communes, and *'bairros'* vary widely in number and size due to lack of administrative planning. Although post-independence governments have attempted to develop and implement resettlement plans, they have never been able to address nor regulate the influx of migrants to the peri-urban areas. These failures can be attributed in part to conflict itself, and also to a combination of economic, social, cultural and political factors that have been exacerbated by the conflict such as limited administrative capacity and information structure to register the newcomers (see DW, 2003a).

'*Bairros'* are further subdivided into sectors and housing blocks which also vary in number and size. Luanda and its peri-urban areas are also broadly subdivided into six types of zonal subsystems (DW, 2005:104-5). The differences between these zonal subsystems are outlined in the table below.

Table 3.2:   Main characteristics of the zonal subsystem

Zonal subsystem	Main characteristics	State of basic services
Popular neighbourhoods	Colonial low-cost township style with minimal planning reaulations	Currently deteriorated and sometimes non-functional services
Old musseques	Anarchic settlement	Inadequate or non-existent basic services
Organised musseques	Most self-built settlements	Inadequate or non-existent basic services
Transitional mussequess	Gradually developed areas with some services improving to an acceotable level	Clandestine connections to water and electricity
Peripheral musseques	Non-orderly layout or anarchic settlements	Water and electricity provided by informal vendors and of poor aualitv
Condominiums	Laid out according to existing regulations with reasonable livina standards	Adequate infrastructure networks but inadequate suoolv due to limited sources

Source: DW, 2005:104-5

The following table describes the division of the province of Luanda and estimated population. In view of this, it is important to note that the delineation of peri-urban areas in this study refers to the areas that are located on the outskirts of the *'baixa'*.

Table 3.3: Division of the province of Luanda and estimated population (2000)[4]

Municipalities	Bairros/Comunes	Share of the provincial population (%)	Municipal Population
1.Cazenga	Cuca, Cazenga, Tala Hady	27.1	920,864
2. Ingombota (baixa)	Ilha de Luanda, Kinanga, Ingombota Patrice Lumumba, Maculusso	5.5	187,831
3.Kilamba Kiaxi	Neves Bendina, Golfe	16.5	562,26
4. Maianga	Maianga, Prenda, Kassequel	15.3	520,308
5. Rangel	Terra Nova, Marçal, Rangel	5.7	195,418
6. Samba	Corimba, Futungo de Belas, Mussulo Benfica	5.8	199,983
7. Sambizanga	Bairro Operario, Sambizanga N'Gola Kiluange	16.7	568,561
8. Cacuaco	Cacuaco, Kikolo, Funda	5.2	176,901
9. Viana	Viana, Calumbo, Barra do Kwanza	1.8	635,91
Total Population			**3,395,717**

Source: KPMG, 2003:4-11

Having outlined the visible contrasts in terms of urban space between the capital city and its peri-urban areas, the next section discusses the main characteristics of the study communities which form part of the peri-urban squatter belt of Luanda.

The study communities

The data collection was conducted in communes in the peri-urban area of the capital city of Luanda, namely N'Gola Kiluange, Cuca and Kikolo. They are located seven, nine and twelve km respectively from Luanda, and belong to the municipalities of Sambizanga, Cazenga and Cacuaco (see Figure 3.1). Due to the proximity of the communes and their shared characteristics, the discussion in this study aggregates data collected from all three communes. Disaggregated data on specific communes are provided where relevant.

A shared characteristic in the study communities is that the majority of their inhabitants are non-native to the province of Luanda and originate from the various

nearby northern provinces and from around Luanda itself. The study survey indicates that the majority of migrants into the study communities come from the following provinces: Malange (23.8 per cent), Uige (19.6 per cent), Bengo (14.7 per cent) and the interior of Luanda province (11.5 per cent) (see Figure 3.2). The reason for this is that these provinces were particularly affected by battles during the conflict, and they have depleted resources in comparison with the agro-fishing dominated southern provinces along the coast.[5]

Figure 3.1: Luanda and its peri-urban communities

THE ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION OF THE PROVINCE OF LUANDA
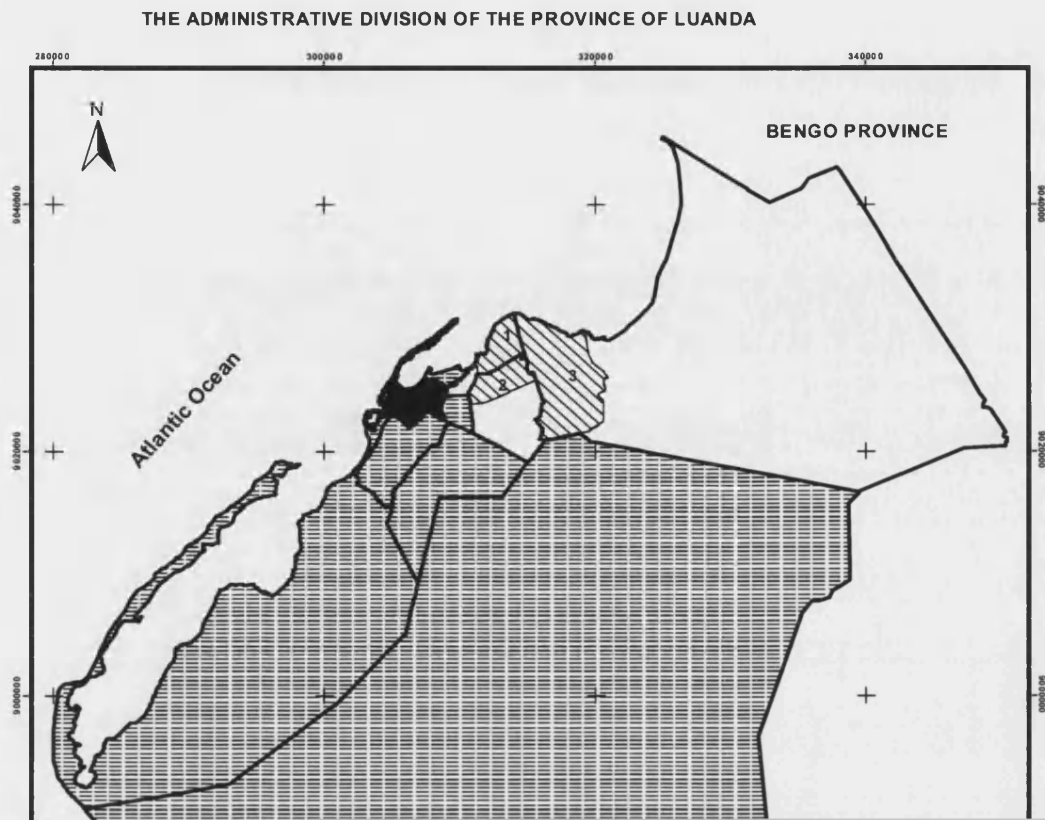
Figure 3.2: Map of Angola (provinces and capital cities)
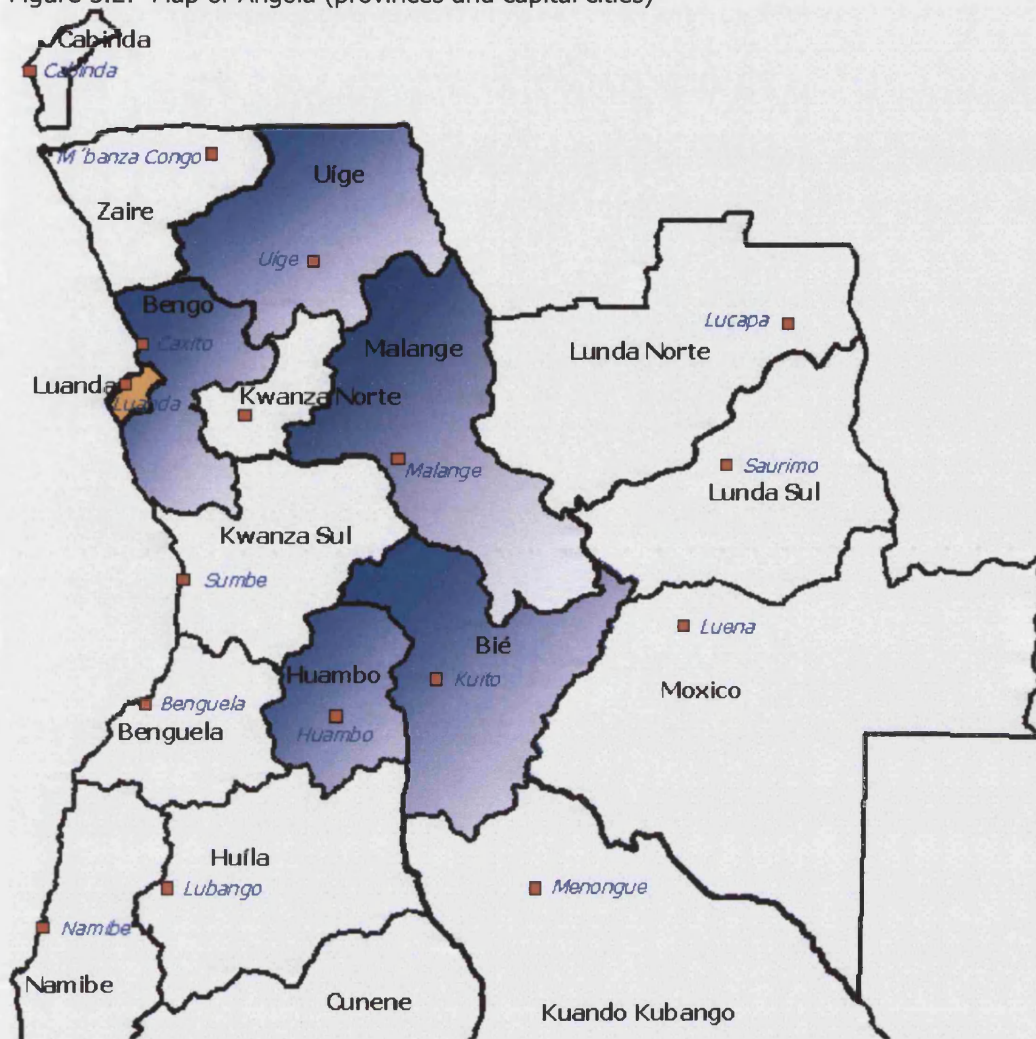
between the 1980s and 1990s due to the intensification of the conflict in the interior of the country.

The origins of the inhabitants of the commune are diverse, although the majority, as mentioned earlier, are from the northern part of Angola. The commune is considered *'musseques'* and is part of the second most populated municipality of the province of Luanda. It has a population of 234,310 out of a total municipal population of 568,561.

This latter figure represents 16.7 per cent of the share of the population for the province of Luanda. Population density in the commune, as evidenced in Table 3.4, is very high (257.48 inhabitants per km² in a small area 9.1 km²). There is little space to build and limited provision of social services.

The commune of Cuca is also considered *'musseques'*. With a population of 279,691, it forms part of the most populated municipality of the province of Luanda, which has 920,864 inhabitants or 27.1 per cent the province's population. Cuca was created in 1962 and was named after a beer factory situated in the area. It shares the same characteristics as the commune of N'Gola Kiluange in terms of the origins of its inhabitants and urban landscape. Population density is also very high at 294.41 inhabitants per km², and there are no empty plots left on which to build. Some parts of the commune are highly urbanised due to the presence of warehouses and abandoned factories built before independence. The commune is also similar to N'Gola Kiluange in that it is not well serviced.

The commune of Kikolo is the largest commune of the municipality of Cacuaco, which is the least populated municipality in Luanda, with a total population of 176,901, equivalent to 5.2 per cent of the population of Luanda province. The commune of Kikolo has a high population density (352.3 inhabitants per km²) in an area of 314.9 km². Kikolo's urbanisation took place more recently than the communes of N'Gola Kiluange and Cuca. Until the 1980s the commune was predominantly rural, with farms and vacant land. In contrast to the other two communes, the inhabitants are mainly from the central plateau of Angola, from the provinces of Huambo and Bié (see Figure 3.2). The commune of Kikolo comprises the 'green belt', as some parts still have farms and vacant plots of land, mainly because the commune is further away from Luanda. The commune also suffers from limited social services, and given its further location

from the city of Luanda, is even less serviced by transport than the other two communes.

Given the great number of inhabitants in these communes, the most visible and striking characteristic they have in common is the difficulty their inhabitants have in securing land and housing. This is discussed in the next section.

Land tenure and housing

A brief consideration of land tenure and housing is important given that migration trends indicate that people in the peri-urban areas are unlikely to return to their area of origin. Moreover, examining patterns of land ownership in the study community reveals some of the difficulties households encounter in securing land and housing, and where these differ according to household headship. It is also useful in assessing whether housing ownership is symbolically important for households, given the disruption of war, for example, to creating a new sense of security, stability and/or collective identity.

Land tenure in Angola, and in the peri-urban areas in particular, is complex given the absence of formal land allocation mechanisms prior to the 1990s (DW, 2005:61). Despite the fact that land and housing had originally been squatted, land regularisation was described by respondents as being expensive and protracted.

As a result, most people rely, not surprisingly, on informal procedures for land acquisition or occupy their land without formal titles. Empirical observation indicated that relying on informal procedures means using a 'buy-and-sell' document signed in the presence of both parties (seller and buyer) to help prevent potential conflicts. The document is recognised as legal by the communal administration, although it does not compare with an official land title. The fact that this document is recognised by the communal authority represents an acceptance on the part of local government that its formal procedures for land regularisation are deficient. Moreover, semi-structured interviews revealed that conflicts over land tenure are also resolved through informal mechanisms. Most conflicts arise when the same land has been sold to multiple owners, or with the state in cases where the latter needs to occupy a land for public purposes.

It is therefore not surprising that the non-regulated market for land is very lucrative (see Table 3.4). Land in the communes closest to the city centres such as N'Gola Kiluange and Cuca commands higher prices, due to greater proximity to commercial activities in local markets (and to the bus and lorry terminals) than the commune of Kikolo (see Robson and Roque, 2002 for full discussion).

Table 3.4: Price for a plot of land with space for building a house with two divisions (two rooms of 15 m²)

Comunes	Price in USD	Pop density
N'Gola Kiluange	2,000 to 3,000	258
Cuca	500 to 1,000	294
Kikolo	200 to 300	352

Source: Robson and Roque, (2002:9)

The focus group discussions revealed that households who had financial means would rather purchase their land than rent it. Indeed, renting, according to the respondents, did not offer a sense of security. Respondents also expressed fears that owners would overlook their rental agreements and repossess the land, in some cases without notice. It was also considered expensive, with average prices presented in the Table 3.5.

Table 3.5 Monthly rent for a two-room conventional house of 15m²

Study Community	Price	Average household income
N'Gola Kiluange	300 to 500 KZ (10 to 30 USD)	20 to 60 %
Cuca	200 to 300 KZ (5 to 10 USD)	10 to 20 %
Kikolo	100 to 200 KZ (2.5 to 5 USD)	5 to 10 %

Source: Robson and Roque, (2002:9)

Although the majority of households in the peri-urban areas and the study communities are faced with constraints in securing land and housing, it is worth highlighting the fact that women are at a particular disadvantage in this regard.

Gender dimensions of land tenure

Women's access to land and property ownership in Angola, as in other post-conflict contexts, is more limited than' men's, and contributes to violations of women's rights (see Beyani, 2002; Makuli, 2002). In Angola this is mainly because statutory law has been eroded by the conflict and replaced by the use of more gender-prejudicial customary law. Testimonial accounts of customary law imply that it often does not work in favour of female-headed households. Teresa recalled that after the passing of her spouse, she had to no say in regards to her spouse's belongings and had to comply with her in-law family decisions. The eviction of widows by in-laws was frequently mentioned by <u>de jure</u> female heads, which led to them moving in with relatives in order to ensure survival. In addition, the semi-structured interviews, for example, revealed that <u>de jure</u> female heads often have difficulties in obtaining land. Some claimed that they had to resort to having their brother or uncle to represent them in negotiations because they lacked a resident male spouse. In light of these constraints, it is important to examine whether they differ according to according to household headship and, if so, whether they impact the type of housing obtained (see below).

Housing conditions in the study communities

At present, various types of housing can be observed in the study communities. The first type consists of houses built before independence, which are made of brick. These houses are found along the main roads and in adjacent sectors. The majority have never been maintained or repaired and are in poor condition, without doors, windows or sanitation facilities. Generally, these were occupied immediately after independence by the second wave of migrants. These houses are not common and provide shelter for only 11 per cent of households in the study communities.

The second type of housing is made of bare cement with corrugated iron roofs (see Plate 3.1). These are commonly called 'conventional houses' and are the most abundant form of housing.
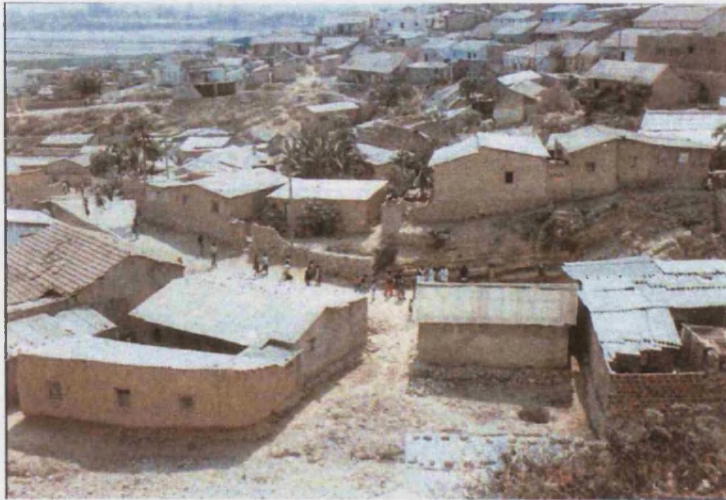
<u>Plate 3.1:</u>   <u>Housing in the study communities</u>

The majority of households in the study community, irrespective of headship, live in the second type of housing, which is occupied overall by 75 per cent of peri-urban dwellers in Angola (Hodges, 2002:17).   Despite being mid-range economically speaking, conventional dwellings lack bathroom facilities and piped water, and are often poorly constructed.

The third type of housing consists of wood and mud materials. These are locally known as '*pau-à-pique*'.   The roofing material is usually cardboard, and these provide generally shelter for the very poor. The survey indicated that approximately 13 per cent of households live in these, with a higher incidence of male-headed (11.6 per cent) and <u>de facto</u> female-headed units (23.6 per cent) than <u>de jure</u> female-headed households (6.4 per cent). Focus group discussions helped to highlight why there was such a low incidence of <u>de jure</u> female-headed households in mud houses.

<u>De jure</u> female heads often mentioned that insecurity and frequent burglary in the '*bairro*' influenced their decisions not to live in mud houses. They feared being at serious risk given the lack of a resident adult male to protect them.

For these reasons, female-headed households often prefer to live in annexes. As the term suggests, these are usually independent rooms located on the property of a

bigger conventional house. The sample revealed that 13 per cent of households live in these.

Being housed in an annex means sharing the space of a conventional dwelling and negotiating a rental agreement with the owner. The sample indicates that there is a higher tendency for de jure female-headed households to be housed in annexes (23.4 per cent) compared with de facto female-headed (8.3 per cent) and male-headed (8.4 per cent) households.

Annexes hold many advantages for de jure female-headed households. First, they are cheaper than a brick residence or a conventional house. Young single mothers related to the owner of a conventional house often lived in annexes due to inability to afford a place of their own.[6] Second, as previously mentioned, de jure female heads would rather be housed in annexes due to the perceived advantage of living close to other people in the absence of a co-resident adult male.

The above description of the types of housing indicates that most households, irrespective of headship, suffer from similar constraints. The main factor is limited financial resources, coupled with a lack of access to credit for housing. Hence the majority of households have difficulty obtaining and securing shelter, and even when they succeed, they are in precarious conditions. The limited capacity of formal institutions to respond to the demand for shelter does not act as a deterrent to most people. Households informally occupy land or find ways to legalise their land through informal mechanisms.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the main characteristics of Luanda's peri-urban areas and of the study communities in particular. Existing research on peri-urban areas is scarce and available data limited. There is a lack of basic information at the local level, and this stands in glaring contrast to rapid population growth. Given the high population in these areas, the fact that little is known about how people, and women in particular, are able to survive is worrying. An analysis of migration into the peri-urban areas and the study communities in particular showed that the inhabitants are mainly from nearby provinces, and have relocated to escape the conflict and/or to seek better livelihood opportunities. Yet, this has not necessarily brought about a great improvement in their situation given the state's limited capacity and will to provide services. As a result, the informal sector plays an important role in supplying social services such as water, health and education.

The discussion on land ownership and housing indicated that the majority of households in the study communities preferred to have their land and housing legalised, where possible, in order to feel more secure. This relates particularly to the climate of general mistrust towards formal institutions. As a result of the deficiency of formal institutions, the majority of people resort to informal mechanisms to obtain their land title documents, while others occupy their land illegally. The discussion also highlighted the important role of the state in implementing strong reforms with respect to land regularisation.

The discussion also sketched out a few aspects of household headship. It revealed that most households, irrespective of headship, suffer from the same constraints in securing land and housing and in accessing social services. Nonetheless, it is also the case that de jure female-headed households suffer marginally more.

We now turn to discuss household headship and configuration in the study communities, with the objective of increasing knowledge on headship and female headship in particular.

Notes to Chapter Three

[1] It is estimated that the percentage of the white population in the city of Luanda increased from 14.7 per cent to 24.7 per cent between 1940 and 1960 due to the economic opportunities which Angola offered to Portuguese migrants (DW, 2003a:13).

[2] The Provincial government of Luanda defines 'native' people as those born in the province of Luanda and 'non-native' people as those born outside it.

[3] As discussed in Chapter Two, the Lusaka Protocol took place between 1994 and 1998, during which time most of the country enjoyed relative peace.

[4] It is estimated that 78.8 per cent of the population of the province of Luanda live in peri-urban areas, suggesting that the growth of the peri-urban areas is closely related to the combined effect of the conflict and high population growth.

[5] The peri-urban areas of capital cities of these provinces were found attractive due to perceived economic opportunities in the informal sector, thus this is why mass displacement occurred more in those areas.

[6] For the purposes of the study and in order to minimise double counting and/or the disguise of this type of female unit in male-headed households, female heads resident in annexes were enumerated separately from the household they rented from.

Chapter Four

Household headship in Luanda's Peri-Urban Areas

Introduction

This chapter intends to increase knowledge on headship and female headship in particular. The main objective of the chapter is to examine contemporary household configuration as encountered in the study communities. To this end, household headship is discussed in terms of women's and men's understanding of the concept of household headship and the various routes leading to the formation of female-headed households.

Given the importance of increasing knowledge about headship in Angola, the discussion makes an attempt to justify the definitions of 'household' and 'household headship' used in this study, and to describe how the concept of household headship is understood by both women and men in the study communities. Suggestions regarding reasons for the under-reporting of female headship in a context where men are increasingly unable to provide economically for their households are given, so as to gain a greater understanding of women's readings of the importance of having a resident man in the household, despite men's commonly irregular financial support.

The chapter is divided into four main sections. The first section discusses the concept of household headship, and how women and men respondents understand it. The second section examines the various routes to female-headed household formation. The third section highlights household structure and size to examine how households are configured, while the fourth provides an overview of gender roles and relations within the households studied.

Household headship

Despite the problems entailed in defining households through a pre-determined set of criteria (see Chant, 1997a, b), the definition commonly used in censuses and international statistical documentation, namely that a 'household' describes a group of

people, related or not, who live together and share consumption, conforms with the grassroots perception of what a household is in Luanda's peri-urban communities.

'Household headship' is a still more problematic concept than 'household', due to disparities in emphasis on pre-defined variables, such as economic provision, decision-making and authority, or self-reporting (the latter being the person recognised by the other members of the household to be the 'head') (see Chapter Three).

While acknowledging that self-reporting often lends itself to male bias, this study opted to let respondents decide for themselves who 'heads' the household. As mentioned earlier, macro-level poverty surveys in Angola conducted by the INE also used self-reporting. Given the cultural bias towards defining men as heads in Angola, only women who were un-partnered, who did not have an adult man in residence, defined themselves, or were defined by others, as household heads in both the INE survey and this study.

Although self-reporting is arguably the criterion which makes most sense given different cultural contexts, it can obscure the important roles in decision-making, economic provision, and other forms of household responsibility, taken by women. In addition, self-reporting may also disguise cases where women may not have a man in residence on a permanent basis, or where women share their spouses with other wives in polygamous arrangements. Women and men tend to refer to men as heads even where they do not fulfil the normative roles usually ascribed to headship. Given this, the study used qualitative interviews as a means of investigating men and women's understanding of the concept of household headship. This also served to unpack some of the reasons why some women may be reluctant to consider themselves heads of household.

This study uses <u>de jure</u> female heads to refer to adult women who do not have a male spouse in residence, such as divorcées, separated women, widows, and deserted women, and also to those who do not have a permanent partner in residence but maintain functional relationships with these men, as polygamous co-wives. <u>De facto</u> female heads, on the other hand, are women whose partners are temporarily absent due to migration, or those whose partners do not contribute financially to the household on a regular basis due to unemployment or disability.

Yet, the distinction between <u>de jure</u> and <u>de facto</u> is not always a straightforward way to classify female heads of household. There are many potential pitfalls in Youssef and Hetler's definitions if context is not considered. This is due, in part, to the dynamism of the life course of female heads, and to the fact that even when men are absent from the household, they can still exercise decision-making power remotely (see Chant, 1997a). In addition, some female heads, as will be discussed later, are reluctant to admit that they share their partner with other women, so at times there can be a blurring between the categories of <u>de facto</u> and <u>de jure</u> which can be problematic for analysis. Despite the outlined difficulties, Table 4.1 presents a crude typology of female-headed households in the study communities in peri-urban Luanda, where each can be distinguished according to whether they have <u>de jure</u> or <u>de facto</u> status.

Table 4.1: Typology of female-headed households in the study communities

Type	Marital Status	Brief description
1. Lone-mother households	Widowed, divorced, separated, abandoned	Unit comprising a mother with co-resident children
2. Female-headed extended household	Widowed, divorced, separated, abandoned	Unit comprising a woman (not necessarily un-partnered) with co-residing children and other relatives
3. Female-dominant/predominant households	Widowed, divorced, separated, abandoned	Unit headed by a woman where although males may be present they are only junior males with less power and authority than adult females
4. Embedded female-headed unit	Widowed, separated, divorced, abandoned	Unit comprising a lone mother and co-residing children contained within larger household (usually that of parents). Sometimes referred to as 'female-headed sub-family'

Source: Adapted from Chant (1997a:10-26)

The discussion in this chapter, and the subsequent chapter dedicated to female-headed households, will elaborate upon this typology based on the findings of this study, as well as exploring possibilities for new definitions of 'female household headship' in the post-conflict context of Angola. For the moment, however, it is important to consider how household headship is understood by both female and male respondents in the study communities.

As mentioned earlier, the most recent poverty household surveys conducted by the INE used self-reporting to identify household heads and estimated (on that basis) that 80 per cent of households in Angola were headed by men (INE, 2001a, b). The sample from the study communities revealed that the percentage of households reported as being headed by men did not differ substantially from INE's findings. The sample indicated that 87 per cent of households have self-reported to be male-headed across the three communes, as opposed to 13 per cent of self-reported female-headed households (see Table 4.2). The respondents were both adult women and men, including junior males in female-headed households. It seems that the majority of respondents share the same perception of who heads the household.

Table 4.2:   Household headship as reported by the respondents across the three
             communes in the study community

Household headship	N'Gola Kiluange %	Cuca %	Kikolo %	Total %
Male-headed households	(139) 87.4	(75) 91.5	(37) 82.2	(251) 87
Female-headed households	(20) 12.6	(7) 8.5	(8) 17.8	(35) 13
Total	(159) 100	(82) 100	(45) 100	(286) 100

N.B. Numbers in brackets refer to numbers of cases.

Nonetheless, the high incidence of male headship found in both the INE findings and this study is surprising, given the post-conflict context and the large numbers of men killed in fighting. It is highly likely that many men did not return from the war and that some may even have migrated outside the country to flee the war. This suggests, a priori, that the proportion of female-headed households might be higher than actually reported. My prior knowledge of the situation of female-headed households, although based on personal observation, certainly led me to expect a higher number of both de jure and de facto female-headed households than indicated by the above.

In the interests of investigating this apparent conundrum, I decided to break down female headship and distinguish between de jure and de facto female-headed households. To this end, I examined each questionnaire with the objective of disaggregating the number of female heads in view of distinguishing women who had

an absent male spouse on a more or less permanent basis in the context of polygamy from those who had a partner on a more or less permanent basis in the context of migration. Based on the above classification, this provided a figure of 16 per cent for de jure female-headed households and 50 per cent for de facto female-headed households and a figure of only 33 per cent male-headed households in the study communities as a whole, which is significantly a lower figure than the 80 to 87 per cent of self-reported male-headed households (see Table 4.3). It is important to note that out of the 50 per cent de facto female-headed households about 30 per cent were second wives and/ or living in a situation of polygamy.

Table 4.3: Number of male-headed and female-headed households across the three communes in the study community

Household headship	N'Gola Kiluange	Cuca	Kikolo	Total	%
Male HH	48	32	15	95	33.3
de Jure FHH	24	13	10	47	16.4
de Facto FHH	87	37	20	144	50.3
Total	159	82	45	286	100

HH: headed households
FHH: Female-headed households

There are a number of explanations for these differences. First, there is a male bias in self-reporting. Indeed, some lone mothers and co-residing children may easily be disguised in male-headed households, particularly in cases where these women share the same domestic dwelling compound with male-headed households. There are also cases when female-headed units who live in annexes of male-headed households are also counted as part of male-headed households, when in fact these units are separate units as they do not share domestic activities. Another reason is that some de facto female heads, for cultural reasons, may not say in public that their partners are absent on a more or less regular basis, due to embarrassment or fear of harassment.[2]

Last, some de jure female heads who maintain sporadic relationships with men may consider themselves male-headed for the same reasons and/or in order to 'save face' within the community.

In order to better grasp women and men respondents' understanding of household headship, during the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions women and men

respondents were to react to three variables often used to define male headship (United Nations, 1973:11, cited in Youssef and Hetler, 1983:225). These were (i) authority, (ii) decision-making and (iii) economic provision. The objective of the discussions was to explore the relevance of these variables to grassroots perceptions of household headship.

Concept of household headship by women and men respondents

Men and women perceptions of household headship seem not to differ greatly which in the end suggest that both felt comfortable in associating men with household headship. For instance, male authority was considered by the majority of women in male-headed households as the main variable to define household headship. Discussions also uncovered that the person recognised by the members of the household as the key figure of 'authority' is called the *'chefe de familia'* (head of the family), in this instance the one who represents the other members of the household. Some women reported that their husband was the head of the household because he was the man of the house and 'the one who speaks on behalf of all of us'. One woman who had an unemployed spouse explained that to be the head of the household does not necessarily mean bringing money home, but that 'the man cares for the household'.

Decision-making was also attached to men's authority, and often to such an extent that men's decision-making tended to pertain to 'big issues' such as household investment and repairs, planning ceremonies, etc. However, issues regarding basic needs, such as food and education for the children, were generally considered the women's domain. Findings from the focus group discussions also pointed out that in cases where a woman was the sole economic provider for the household, she would enjoy a certain degree of independence from her spouse with regard to how to spend money on food, yet she would always consult her spouse. A recurrent comment was that women made an effort to please their spouses and thus let them make the decisions. In the end, men will always have the last say. Therefore, it can be said that decision-making is associated with men and constitutes an important factor in grassroots perceptions of headship.

In turn, economic provision was not considered important in defining household headship in comparison with authority and decision-making. Women who were the main economic provider in their households concluded that they were in fact the household head in economic terms, but it was better to say that their spouses had the role of head in order 'not to have problems with them'. Indeed, cases of domestic violence were often mentioned in situations where men felt undermined by their inability to provide financially for the household. As one female spouse said, 'Let us just say that my husband is the head, even if you and I know that I am the one who brings the money home'.

In the end, women with no male resident partners felt that 'a head of household is automatically the husband or the man in the house; it can only be a woman if there is no man around'. This is presumably because men were symbolic leaders, despite their limited capacity to provide economically for the household. As such, some of the reasons why the majority of women were quick to point to their spouse as the household head had a lot to do with respect for male authority. This was the most important factor behind the over-reporting of male headship.

This means that even when women respondents recognised that other criteria were valid, such as economic provision, this was overridden and underplayed by the cultural and/or moral imperatives for women to be attached to a male partner.

In summary, the understanding of the concept of household headship by both women and men respondents underlined the importance of the normative ideal of a man at the apex. For these reasons, female household headship may be less frequent than might be anticipated after several years of civil war.

The next section identifies the routes to female headship in the post-conflict context, and in the study communities in particular, in an attempt to provide some explanations of how conflict may have altered household formation and headship.

Routes to female headship in the post-conflict context

Demographic changes, mass displacement and labour migration are often mentioned as bearing an impact in the formation of female-headed households in the conflict and

gender literature (see Date-Bah and Walsh, 2001; El Jack, 2003 for full discussion). In turn, the gender and development literature points to a wider range of factors in a non-conflict context. These are categorised by Chant (1997a) as demographic, economic, social and legal-institutional. Since they tend to overlap, it is difficult to examine any of them in isolation.

When it comes to the analysis of potential routes to female headship in Angola, empirical observation suggests that female-headed households comprise a heterogeneous group, and that the circumstances that have led to their formation remain unexplored in most development reports on Angola. The principal factors highlighted in existing data stem from divorce and male abandonment due to mass displacement (Pehrsson et al., 2000). Therefore, one can assert that conflict has lead to the formation of a high number of <u>de facto</u> households where women assume the leadership of the household in the temporary absence of their male spouse. Second, the 'short-supply' of men in reproductive age groups, coupled with the climate of insecurity, has led some single women to be willing to accept relationships as second wives in order to benefit from 'male protection' and also to comply with ideals of motherhood, thus increasing the number of <u>de jure</u> female-headed households.

It is also important to take a closer look at the male/female ratio in Angola given the assumption that a significant number of adult men have been either killed or displaced during the 27 years of conflict. Yet the male population (48.1 per cent of the total population) is only marginally less than the female share of the total population (51.9 per cent) (Pehrsson et al., 2000:18). Various reasons can be offered to explain this apparent anomaly; for instance, (i) national surveys do not always provide accurate statistics for the male population in the 15-24 age group due to respondents' reluctance to divulge their real age for fear of conscription, and (ii) surveys do not always disaggregate sex ratios according to age cohorts. Other factors are gender selective migration and the high incidence of HIV/AIDS. Despite women's higher life expectancy (44.2 years versus 40.7 for men), women in the age group of 20-29 are the most seriously affected by HIV/AIDS (Rede Mulher, 2000). Furthermore, maternal mortality in Angola is among the highest in the world, with an estimated 150 deaths per 1,000 live births (World Bank, 2003).

The above reasons indicate that surveys contain some inaccuracies and show an over-reporting of the male population. This is important because demographic factors may not, after all, be the leading factor in the formation of female-headed households in the post-conflict context. For instance, the age cohort in selected provinces for the year 2000 indicates that there is a high incidence (61.1 per cent of the population as a whole) below 19 years of age.

Table 4.4:   Percentage of male/female ratio in selected provinces (2000)[3]

Age groups	Male	Female	Both sexes
0 to 4	8.8	8.6	17.4
5 to 9	7.4	7.9	15.4
10 to 14	7.7	8.2	15.9
15 to 19	5.9	6.5	12.4
20 to 24	4.1	5.1	9.2
25 to 29	2.9	3.6	6.6
30 to 34	2.8	3.1	5.9
35 to 39	2.4	2.6	5
40 to 44	1.9	1.8	3.8
45 to 49	1.4	1.2	2.6
50 to 54	0.9	1	1.9
55 to 59	0.6	0.8	1.4
60 to 64	0.5	0.5	1
65 and above	0.8	0.9	1.7
Total	48.1	51.9	100

Source: INE, 2001a: 44

The figures in Table 4.4 indicate that the majority of the population is young and not of reproductive age. The main differences between sexes are within the age cohorts of 15-19; 20-24; 25-29; 30-34; then the age cohort from 40 to 65 and above is more or less the same for both sexes.

One may reach the conclusion that the female population is greater at the age of marriage and/or reproduction than the male population. This means that it is hard for women aged between 20 to 39 to set up an exclusive relationship with a man and that they may have to resort to sharing their partners with other women in order to have children and/or retain a man in their household, albeit on an irregular basis.

Hence the low number of widows (19.1 per cent) in the study communities is not surprising given that these women do not retain this status for long (see Table 4.3).

Other factors influencing the formation of female-headed households, such as labour migration, are hard to assess due to the dearth of data. However, one would assume that there are a higher number of <u>de jure</u> female-headed households in rural areas than in urban areas, since men tend to migrate to peri-urban areas for perceived opportunities to earn a living in the informal sector, possibly setting up new households in the process. Lastly, factors derived from conflict, such as mass displacement, have led to the high incidence of women and children in settlements of internally displaced camps, thus suggesting a potential rise in female-headed households.

That said, it is difficult to point to a single factor that explains the routes to female-headed formation without examining personal circumstances, as will be discussed in a later chapter. The next section examines contemporary household configuration, with the objective is to further examine the heterogeneity of households in the study communities.

<u>Household structure and size</u>

Angolans inherited a western household model from the Portuguese, which they mixed with elements of their traditional culture, framed in the Bantu social system (see Pehrsson et al., 2000). As a result, Angola provides an interesting setting for the study of households due to the mixture of diverse household models. In the Bantu model, the household is based on kinship relations, where the individual is integrated into a complex system of rights and duties (see Åkesson, 1992:1). This characteristic is still found in urban Angola although Portuguese colonisation introduced norms and behaviours reinforced by the Catholic and Protestant Churches where the nuclear family was considered the most important social and economic unit. At the peak of the economic boom in the mid-1960s, nuclear family households (parents and children) were mostly found among the urban elite population and 'assimilado' families, who mostly settled along the coast and among the economic elite of the interior of the country. It was more common to find extended units, namely parents, children and other relatives living together, in the rural areas of the country where the influence of Portuguese culture was less prevalent. However, nowadays, the typical Angolan

household among low-income groups in urban areas is big, as co-residence with kin is very common and kinship is highly valued in a situation of poverty and urbanisation.[1]

The results of the survey supports this point, as it shows that there are no substantial differences in household composition between male- and female-headed households. Indeed, the findings classified 65.3 per cent of extended male-headed households, 70.2 per cent of de jure extended female-headed households, and 66.7 of de facto extended female-headed households (see Table 4.5). The majority of these households are extended for being composed of four to six members, with 37.9 per cent for male-headed households, 38.3 per cent for de jure female-headed households and 45.8 per cent for de facto female-headed households. This correlates with the findings from the most recent poverty survey by the INE, which revealed that 34.7 per cent of the urban population is composed of seven to nine members per household (INE, 2001a).

Table 4.5:   Household structure, size and headship in the study community

	MHH %	de jure FHH %	de facto FHH %	Total (% average)
Household structure				
Nuclear	(33) 34.7	(14) 29.8	(48) 33.3	(95) 33.2
Extended	(62) 65.3	(33) 70.2	(96) 66.7	(191) 66.8
Total	(95) 100	(47) 100	(144) 100	(286) 100
Household size				
(number of people per household)				
1 to 3	(28) 29.5	(10) 21.3	(32) 22.2	(70) 24.4
4 to 6	(36) 37.9	(18) 38.3	(66) 45.8	(120) 42
7 to 9	(25) 26.3	(14) 29.8	(41) 28.5	(80) 28
10 or more	(6) 6.3	(5) 10.6	(5) 3.5	(16) 5.6
Total	(95) 100	(47) 100	(144) 100	(286) 100
Mean	5	6	5	
Median	5	6	5	
Household structure				
(number of children per household)				
0	(25) 26.3	(8) 17	(34) 23.5	(67) 23.4
1 to 3	(62) 65.3	(29)61.7	(96) 66.5	(187) 65.4
4 to 6	(8)8.4	(10) 21.3	(14) 10	(32) 11.2
7 to 9	(0) 0	(0) 0	(0) 0	(0) 0
Total	(95) 100	(47) 100	(144) 100	(286) 100
Mean	1,53	2,28	1,65	1,71
Median	2	2	1	1

N.B. Numbers in brackets refer to numbers of cases.
MHH: Male-headed households
FHH: Female-headed households

There are a number of reasons for the predominance of extended households in the study communities, and overall, it seems that all are related to poverty. Shortages of housing have led family members coming from the provinces to settle first with their relatives, prior to finding places on their own. As a result, there is a dispersal of relatives between families already settled in peri-urban areas, thus increasing the number of extended households. As one woman expressed, 'There is nothing we can do but receive our family members. Even if we cannot even afford a meal for our own children'. Second, it was also observed that new settlers in possession of funds usually build dwellings on their relatives' plot of land (if available) and/or stay for varying lengths of time with kin. In some cases, up to three generations may be organised in an 'embedded household' and sharing the same plot of land. Moreover, in the absence of social security benefits, it is also common for grandparents to live in households with their children and grandchildren.

On this point, Altuna (1983) argues that in the Bantu social structure the nuclear unit is inconceivable, as Bantu men cannot live without a family and a clan. This is presumably because the clan protects the individual and facilitates community integration. This is thus reflected in the high incidence of extended households, and is one of the reasons why family members settle first with relatives until finding their own means.

The findings also indicate that de jure female-headed households are overall slightly bigger than the other two household types, with 10.6 per cent having more than 10 members compared with 6.3 per cent for male-headed and 3.5 per cent for de facto female-headed households (see Table 4.5). Although de jure female-headed households have a mean of six members per household in comparison with a mean of five members in the other two households, these findings reveal that there is no substantial difference across household headship in terms of household size.

The number of children per household also helps to provide a greater understanding of how households are composed. Table 4.5 shows the number of children under 15 years of age in residence according to household headship. The findings reveal that 65 per cent of male-headed, 61 per cent of de jure female-headed and 66 per cent of de facto female-headed households have one to three children in residence. Overall, de jure female-headed households have more children in residence (seven to nine). This supports the findings of Table 4.1 that also indicate that de jure female-headed households are slightly bigger than male-headed and de facto female-headed households.

The higher number of children in de jure female-headed households is usually due to the guardianship of relatives' children. This is mainly because relatives' children are often invited in order to help out with domestic activities, such as the care of younger children, while female heads are working.

This can also apply to other types of households, yet empirical evidence shows that de jure female-headed households tend (in comparison with the other household types) to have their children's relatives residing in their household, to make-up for the male absence in the household and to help female heads with household chores. In

addition, <u>de jure</u> female heads are more likely to have had more than one separation in their life time and thus may have more children overall than male heads and <u>de facto</u> female heads. However, the study cannot confirm the average number of children born to women in different types of household to substantiate this point.

The above discussion reveals that there are some indications of continuity from pre-conflict norms in household configuration and household headship, irrespective of the combined effect of conflict and poverty. One of the visible consequences of this is the high number of extended households, irrespective of headship. Indeed, despite, and conceivably because of, the difficulties that households encounter in making a living, households remain on the large side.

To further our understanding of households in the study communities, the next section examines gender roles and relations at the household level, and assesses if there are differences according to household headship.

Gender roles and relations within the household

The examination of gender roles and relations at the household level in rural and urban Angola is difficult due to the scarcity of data. Therefore, the discussion in this section is based on qualitative findings from the study survey with male and female respondents in the study communities.

The question of gender roles and relations deserves special attention in light of the post-conflict context. Indeed, as discussed previously in Chapters One and Two, there are many examples in the gender and development literature that point out that the context of conflict has negatively influenced the redefinition of gender norms and relations at the household level (see El-Bushra, 1998 for the case of the Sudan).

For instance, in the case of Angola there is a disparity between the role of women in the liberation struggle and the limited recognition given to them in the aftermath of conflict by government. This is a source of concern, given that the legal framework seems progressive, and in tune with the main international conventions with respect to the protection of women's rights, yet the reality shows that women's rights are often

undermined due to the heavy reliance on customary laws that frequently fail to operate in women's favour. This leads one to conclude that Angolan society can be described as 'patriarchal'.

Gender roles at the household level display similarities with other sub-Saharan African countries in the sense that urban women in Angola always enjoyed a certain degree of independence from men (see Silberschmidt, 1991; Whitehead and Lockwood, 1999). It is acceptable for women to be actively involved in the public domain and to have paid work. To this end women in low-income groups in Luanda's peri-urban areas are usually involved in income generating activities from home or in the marketplace. Women and men tend to spend their incomes without excessive control from one another (see Åkesson, 1992:1). For instance, as discussed earlier, decision-making regarding household expenditure in male-headed households is flexible between male and female spouses. In practice, female spouses, as well as de facto female heads, are often in control of the household budget, and they tend to spend their income on household needs such as food items, education for the children, and health care. Male spouses tend to participate in household expenditures when they can, but seem not to impose their agendas on spouses. This is presumably due to men's limited capacity to provide economically for the household. It is in line with other regions of the world, because men exercise discretion over variable amounts that they retain for personal needs (see Chant, 1997a on selected countries in Latin America).

Despite the flexibility of male and female participation in the generation and control of income, in the sphere of reproductive labour at the household level gender divisions appear to be more marked and rigid and have apparently not undergone much change as a result of conflict.

Traditionally women and girl children in rural and urban Angola have performed all household tasks, as well as working to make a living. Overall, this still seems to be the pattern across households, irrespective of headship. Women and girl children are responsible for cleaning the house, fetching water, preparing meals and caring for younger children. Semi-structured interviews revealed that when a girl child turns six years old she is expected to clean dishes and perform some of the cleaning. By 10 years of age, and sometimes younger, a girl child will fetch water or queue for water. These tasks, as mentioned earlier, take up two to three hours per day, suggesting that

girl children may have less time for leisure and schoolwork than boys (see Chapter Three). Gender roles among children are also fairly rigid, with male children tending to have a privileged position in the household in comparison with female children. Indeed, as indicated in the findings of a Save the Children project conducted in Luanda's peri-urban settlements, there is a great disparity in time allocation with regard to the major activities that male and female children of the same age undertake (see Table 4.6).

Table 4:6:   Average time allocation in per cent by major activities undertaken by male and female children (10-13 years)

Major activities	Male children %	Female children %
Domestic work	7	36
Income-generating activities	23	38
School	43	14
Recreation	27	12

Source: Save the Children, 2000:29, Adapted table from figures 11 and 12.

The data in Table 4.5 also suggest that male children spend more time in school (43 per cent) than female children (14 per cent). Girls allocate 36 per cent of their time to domestic work compared with 7 per cent among boys. There is also a disparity in time spent in recreation, with male children enjoying 27 per cent compared with 12 per cent for female children. Although my study did not quantify these data, the Save the Children study corroborates my empirical observation of the time spent by children on their different major activities. In the long run, this points to possible impacts on the social mobility of girl children. In addition, since total time spent in school is already low, this implies that girl children are bound to remain behind in their schooling if government does not take this gender bias into consideration in its education policies.

In the semi-structured interviews, female spouses frequently mentioned that male children were not often asked to do household tasks. Tabita, a 39-year-old female spouse and mother of four children, explained that only her girl children do the household tasks on a regular basis. Tabita does her share on Sundays after the church service and in the evening since she is the one who brings home food for dinner. The

17- and 19-year-old daughters do the fetching of water. The 12- and 15-year-old boys fetch water only when they want their clothes to be washed. When questioned why there was such a separation of gender roles, women often answered that it has been that way forever, and they did not see how it could change since male children did not have the skills and were, besides, reluctant to do their share of household tasks.

Therefore, the involvement of children in household tasks is gendered, to the detriment of girl children. That said, it appears that children in de jure female-headed households may benefit from a more equitable sharing of household tasks between household members. Evidence shows that in some de jure female-headed households male children are requested to participate more regularly in household chores than their counterparts in male-headed households (see also Chant, 1997a on selected countries in Latin America and Southeast Asia). For example, Elvira, a 45-year-old separated woman and the mother of two sons and one daughter, stated that she tried to have all her children participate in household chores on a regular basis.

In turn, adult men tend only to work (if they are employed) between 8 to 10 hours per day, enjoying several hours of rest. Women, on the other hand, work an average of 10 to 15 hours per day with little time for rest or relaxation. The time difference indicates that women carry a heavier burden than men in the process of ensuring the survival of the household. This indicates that social norms ensure that men do not lose their place in the household, even if they are unable to provide economically or to contribute in other ways, for instance, by providing practical help with childcare and domestic labour.

The survey revealed that 70 per cent of men respondents indicated to consider their participation in community activities as the most important task. Hence men tend to be more active at the community level than women, as a result of having more time on their hands. This is observed through men's visibility in the public sphere, for instance at political party meetings and in local administration activities. One reason why men are more visible in these gatherings is because leadership at the local level is a man's preserve, in the absence of local elections and space for public gatherings. Men are perceived to represent the community's interest, insofar as they are seen as the head of the household. The survey indicated that the only regular activities in which men and women participate with the same intensity are those organised by the church and

by NGOs, with 80 per cent of free time spent in these for both genders. The church, as will be discussed later, has become an emotional refuge for people traumatised by conflict and in need of comfort. The church has also attracted large groups of people because of its role in dispensing humanitarian aid. Activities promoted by NGOs tend to accentuate the participation of both genders. In addition, activities are also geared to promoting a sense of ownership among community members, leading to the participation of both men and women.

The above discussion shows that, in the aftermath of the conflict, gender roles and relations within Angolan households do not differ much from those in other sub-Saharan countries that have not been at war. Indeed, women are in a disadvantaged position in relation to men when it comes to the division of labour and household survival. Moreover, in the view of older respondents, gender roles and relations seem to have remained despite the years of conflict broadly the same.

In sum, the above discussion has revealed that there are very few changes in gender roles and relations in the aftermath of conflict. It seems that there is a continuity in behaviour, and this is visible through the disparities in the amount of time men and women spent on labour within the household. As a result, men retain certain privileges in the household.

Thus, in the aftermath of the war, women's positioning in the household remains a paradox. Women tend to have more economic power than men, and yet women suffer from a 'trade-off': wanting to have a man around to provide them with a higher social status than un-partnered women, even if this is to the detriment of emotional, and even material and physical, well-being.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to document the configuration of households in the study communities with reference to quantitative and qualitative data. The discussion revealed that there is a high incidence of extended households in all household types. Furthermore, men's and women's understanding of household headship is equated to male's authority and decision-making irrespective of economic provision.

A puzzling scenario is presented by the high incidence of male headship in the macro level government poverty survey and this study's survey. Some of the reasons for this derive from the use of self-reporting in determining the head of the household. Yet this study's findings indicate that a high number of <u>de facto</u> female-headed households are 'disguised' through 'embeddedness' in male-headed households, which leads to the conclusion that both women and men are comfortable recognising the man as the head of the household, irrespective of his actual contributions to, or irregular presence in, the household.

The qualitative findings showed that some women are reluctant to name or categorise themselves as household heads, given the normative ideal of a man at the apex. Many statements on issues of morality and respectability and on the importance of women retaining a man in the household have also inflated the number of male-headed households. Although this is not unique to Angola, there are reasons specific to this context.

First of all, <u>de facto</u> female heads are numerous, due to male underemployment, and second, they are numerous because women report themselves as being part of a male-headed household, due to issues of social status and personal security. There is a blurring between <u>de facto</u> and <u>de jure</u> female heads, due in part to underlying factors, using standard definitions and also because some of the household arrangements in the study communities were found to be polygamous.

The discussion highlighted that the only conflict-induced factors that lead to the formation of female-headed households is male abandonment whereas the main causes for women's forming their own households is mainly due to separation due as a result of fertility problems and family pressure. Nonetheless, it is important to add that

female heads of household live a double standard, making conscious choices to ensure their social survival. This is evident in their lack of objection to sharing partners with other women.

At the household level, gender relations seem to be flexible. Female and male spouses enjoy a certain degree of independence over household budgeting, since women are often the only economic provider for the household. Yet gender relations are more rigid when it comes to a division of labour that usually falls essentially on women and girl children. Women are thus solely responsible for the well-being of the household and for ensuring its survival.

The study also indicates that men are more involved in community activities than women for having more time on their hands and because local institutions are seen as a male preserve. The only activities in which women and men participate equally are those promoted by the church and NGOs.

In summary, the case of female-headed households is puzzling, as it seems that female heads place great emphasis on having and/or retaining a man in the household to gain social legitimacy, but at the same time render themselves vulnerable to promiscuous practices on the part of men and an increase in domestic violence. In the following chapters I attempt to illuminate the reasons for this situation.

Notes to Chapter Four

[1]
The sample comprises the provinces of Cabinda, Luanda, Lunda Norte, Benguela, Namibe, Huila and Cunene (see Figure 3.2).

[2]
It seems that there is a high incidence of household arrangements in which men maintain sexual relationships with different women in the study communities, comprising one-third of the sample.

[3]
There is also a long-standing practice for better-off households to take responsibility for their relatives' children as a way to ensure greater opportunity in life for the children. In many cases younger relatives such as nephews and nieces originating from the interior of the country are given the opportunity to join their relatives living in urban areas to enable access to education.

[4]The use of self-reporting was helpful as the fragmentation of communities and interpersonal mistrust resulting from conflict has made women worry about speaking to strangers. Indeed, they would rather let their male spouses deal with public matters.

Chapter Five

Poverty and livelihoods

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to examine poverty and livelihoods of households in the study communities. The specific objective is to assess whether poverty impacts all households equally or if female-headed households are especially affected, a prominent area of study in the gender and development literature. Recognising that poverty and coping mechanisms involve more than income, the analysis draws on a 'livelihoods approach' whereby households are recognised as possessing different types of 'capital' (natural, physical, financial and social) which they mobilise in different ways.

The chapter is organised into five main sections. The first section provides background information on the 'livelihoods approach'. The second section describes human capital as found in the study communities and highlights the role that the informal sector plays in survival in the lives of the households. The third section pays particular attention to the financial capital of households, and the main constraints households face in generating income. Section four traces the principal coping strategies and the formal and informal safety nets which male-headed and female-headed households use to develop and increase their social capital. The final section examines the situation of children in both male-headed and female-headed households.

The main objective in using a 'livelihoods approach' is to identify the constraints as well as the opportunities faced by the poor, by building upon people's own definitions of these constraints and opportunities and by showing how these relate to one another. The access and use of assets is influenced by policies and the relationships between individuals and organisations within the 'vulnerability context' in which households live.

In light of the above, the following discussion examines the different capitals, human, financial and social of households as found in the study communities (see definitions in Box 5.1).

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Box 5.1　　Household Livelihood Assets

Human capital: The labour resources available to households, which have both quantitative and qualitative dimensions. The former refers to the number of household members and time available to engage in income-generating activities. Qualitative aspects refer to the levels of education and skills and the health status of household members.

Social and political capital: The social resources (networks, membership of groups, relationships of trust and reciprocity, access to wider institutions of society) on which people draw in pursuit of livelihoods.

Physical capital: Physical or produced capital is the basic infrastructure (transport, shelter, water, energy, communications) and the production equipment and means which enable people to pursue their livelihoods.

Financial capital: The financial resources available to people (including savings, credit remittances and pensions) which provide them with different livelihood options.

Natural capital: The natural resource stocks from which resource flows useful to livelihoods are derived, including land, water and other environmental resources, especially common pool resources.

Source: Carney, 1998: 7 cited in Rakodi, 1999: 11

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Human capital in the study communities

Human capital in the study communities in line with Carney's (1998) definition (see Box 5.1) is problematic, as households (irrespective of headship) have low levels of education and health due to a lack of infrastructure, trained personnel, and the cost involved in accessing these services. Moreover, the limited capacity of state bodies to provide education and health services in the study communities showed scant prospects for immediate improvement.

The results of the survey revealed that the education level of the majority of respondents is low irrespective of the sex of the household heads. That said, a higher

percentage of male heads of household have completed the full four grades of primary level education (24 per cent) than de jure female (15 per cent) and de facto female (20 per cent) heads of household.

The labour resources available to households are also limited. Employment is a crucial problem for the Angolan population in general due to the scarcity of jobs and government's limited capacity to implement reforms to revitalise the non-oil sectors of the economy in the short term. Those employed in the public sector receive very low wages, which often drives them to complement their revenues by engaging in activities in the informal sector (see Adauta de Sousa, 2001). This is compounded by high inflation, which makes it difficult for people to rely solely on a monthly wage. According to the IDR 2001 survey, the distribution of urban employment in the provinces surveyed was as follows: 25 per cent of the economically active population in the private sector; 15 per cent in public enterprise; 16 per cent in non-wage home-based business; 43 per cent as self-employed and 1 per cent in others category (INE, 2001b). To enhance an understanding of employment in Angola, it would be useful to assess the magnitude of unemployment; however there is no accurate data available, partly because unemployment is disguised by underemployment (Hodges, 2002:14).

As such, and as a means of further evaluating the labour resources available to households, Table 5.1 provides data on the distribution of the economically active population above 15 years old across the main sectors of economic activity in the province of Luanda in the year 2000.[1]

The figures from the KPMG study do not differ substantially from those of the IDR 2001 survey. Indeed, in both cases there is a high proportion of the population who are self-employed, probably in the informal sector (about 43 per cent of the total).

Percentage of the economically active population above 15 years old in Luanda province (2000)

Sector of activities	%
Public administration	10.0
Public enterprise	5.0
Private sector	25.0
Self-employed	43.0
Non-waged home-based business	16.0
Others	1.0
Total	100

Source: Adapted from KPMG, 2003:24

The figures show that the economically active population is unevenly distributed across the different sectors. The public enterprise and the public sector make up only 10 and 25 per cent respectively. Therefore, one of the reasons the majority of the population is self-employed is due to the scarcity of jobs in both the public and private sectors. An additional factor is the barriers to entering these sectors, such as secondary-level education and contacts. The informal sector thus seems to offer the poor greater opportunities to generate and/or supplement income.

Having provided a general picture of employment, the next section focuses more specifically on the role of the informal sector in the study communities given the high proportion of households' members that rely on this sector for survival.

The importance of the informal sector for survival in the study communities

Given the limited opportunities in the other sectors, the informal sector offers the only prospect of survival for the majority of the population in both urban and rural areas of Angola. Empirical observation in the study communities revealed that activities in the informal sector were mainly commerce oriented, such as trading in the marketplace, and were undertaken by men, women and children alike. It was also observed that some households run home-based ventures such as bread-making. These activities are usually undertaken by women and girls, as these tasks can be done whilst being at home and doing domestic activities such as cleaning and looking after young children. It was also observed that the very poor or those who lack start-up capital are usually involved in ambulant trading. They are the lowest step on the commercial trading

ladder, because as street traders they generate lower returns than market trading. Additionally, respondents pointed out cases where the police would abuse their authority to steal from and inflict harm upon street traders. This type of behaviour is permitted in the absence of official and legal mechanisms to protect traders.

The informal sector (as in other developing countries) is highly segmented, segregated, and gendered in a variety of ways, (see Nelson, 1997 for the case Kenya and Scott, 1990 for the case of Peru). This is reflected in a comparison of the types of sub-sectors where women and men are involved. For instance, women's activities in the study communities were mainly restricted to food preparation, petty commodity production and street trading (see also Nelson, 1997; Thomas, 1995 for similar cases). The lack of female operators in other economic sub-sectors where men are predominant, such as transport, construction and industry, is not only due to barriers to entry such as gender segregation, but also to financial constraints, such as lack of start-up capital and credit. It is not that women are reluctant to enter these sectors, but rather that the majority do not succeed in getting the start-up capital required. However, some female operators run large-scale operations. These women established thriving businesses with help from their spouses, other relatives, or savings clubs (see Baden 1997:2 for the case of Mozambique and West Africa's 'Mama's Benz' for similar cases).

Nonetheless, it is important to highlight that the majority of people in Angola and those in the study communities, are retailers (35.9 per cent) and are involved in small-scale activities in the sector (see Table 5.2). The figures show a higher incidence of de jure female heads (58.7 per cent) than de facto female heads (30.6 per cent) and male heads (33 per cent) employed in the informal sector. It also seems that the private sector recruits more male heads (28.6 per cent) and de facto female heads (27.8 per cent) than de jure female heads (13 per cent).

Table 5.2:   Main activities of heads of household in the study communities

Main economic activities	Male heads %	De jure FH %	De facto FH %	Total %
Public sector	(21) 23.1	(7) 15.2	(41) 27.8	(69) 24.2
Private sector	(26) 28.6	(6) 13	(41) 27.8	(73) 25.6
Informal sector	(31) 33	(27) 58.7	(45) 30.6	(103) 35.9
Domestic	(3) 3.3	(2) 4.3	(1) 0.7	(6) 2.1
Unemployed without looking for work	(2) 2.2	(3) 6.5	(4) 2.8	(9) 3.1
Unemployed looking for work	(8) 8.8	(1) 2.2	(12) 8.3	(21) 7.5
Retired	(1) 1.1	(0) 0	(1) 0.7	(2) 0.7
Military in the reserve	(0) 0	(0) 0	(2) 1.4	(2) 0.7
Total	(93) 100	(47) 100	(144) 100	(286) 100

N.B. Numbers in brackets refer to number of cases
FH: Female heads

Given that the survey indicated in Chapter Three that de jure female heads have, on average, a lower education level than male heads and de facto female heads, it is perhaps not surprising that de jure female heads opt to be employed in the informal sector due to the barriers of entry derived from their low educational attainment. However, although de jure female heads of households have fewer choices due to their low education level, they may in some respects find it more advantageous to be engaged in the informal sector than the other sectors due to the possibility of earning an income every day, however small, instead of waiting for a monthly wage. The following cases of Luzia and Maria indicate some of the reasons women articulated to explain their preference for work in the informal sector.

Luzia, aged 27, has been involved in commercial activities in the informal sector since she was 15 years old. She commented that she opted to operate in the informal sector because of her reluctance to wait until the end of the month to receive a salary. Luzia stressed that she needs cash right away to take care of her children, since she does not have a male partner in residence. Luzia presently rents a stall at the local market where she sells beverages. She has regular clients, and has kept records of her spending since her involvement in a credit association sponsored by a local NGO. She claims that she is able to take care of her children even without the financial help of their father.

Nevertheless, not all women like Luzia are able to generate viable profits in the informal sector. The story of Maria, a de jure female head, reveals that economic activities in the informal sector can often be strenuous as well as non-lucrative. Maria

is a 30-year-old widow and mother of two children. She sells fresh fruits from outside the market place on a cardboard box on the floor, as she cannot afford to pay a monthly fee to rent a stall. She does not keep written records of her spending, so does not really know the amount of her profit. On the days she is able to sell something, she spends whatever is left in her hand after her sales. This goes mainly to providing dinner for her children. On the days she is not able to sell, she swaps some of her fruits for a cup of rice and oil to ensure that her children have something to eat. Although Maria is also a member of a local NGO-managed credit association, her sale activities do not allow her to accumulate capital nor to make a substantial profit.

In summary, the majority of households have limited options to derive their livelihoods, and this is not likely to improve in the short- to medium-term due to the lack of employment opportunities outside of the informal sector.

In order to further our understanding of poverty and livelihoods, the next section examines earnings along with other sources of income, classified by Carney (1998) as 'financial capital', with the objective of assessing whether these differ according to headship.

<u>Financial capital in the study communities</u>

Financial capital is defined by Carney (Ibid.:7) as the resources available to people (including earnings, savings, credit, remittances and pensions) which provide households with different livelihood options (see Box 5.1). As such, in order to assess the earnings of households, heads were asked to recall their earnings in the last month.

The figures point out that almost half of the households, irrespective of headship, reported having monthly incomes (at the time of the study) of less than USD 180 per month with a rate of 51.7 per cent for the male-headed households, 31.8 per cent for <u>de jure</u> female-headed and 47.7 per cent for <u>de facto</u> female-headed households. As such, earning differentials are particularly pronounced across different types of headship. Indeed, the higher headcount of female and male spouses in male-headed and <u>de facto</u> female-headed households implies that the majority of these households benefit from multiple earners, whereas the majority of female heads in <u>de jure</u> female-headed households depend on a single source of income.

Table 5.3: Percentage of households' per capita income

Household monthly income	MHH	De jure FHH	De facto FHH	Total
Less than USD 180	(45) 51.7	(14) 31.8	(62) 47.7	(121) 46.4
USD 180-360	(14) 16.1	(11) 25	(30) 23.1	(55) 21.1
USD 360-540	(12) 13.8	(8) 18.2	(20) 15.4	(40) 15.3
USD 540-720	(4) 4.6	(1) 2.3	(4) 3.1	(9) 3.4
More than USD 720	(12) 13.8	(10) 22.7	(14) 10.8	(36) 13.8
Total	(87) 100	(44) 100	(130) 100	(261) 100

N.B. Numbers in brackets refer to number of cases
FHH: Female-headed households
MHH: Male-headed households

The figures also point out that about 17 per cent of households as a whole earn at least USD 540 per month. When disaggregating this data by headship, the figures indicate an incidence of 25 per cent of de jure, 14 per cent of de facto female-headed and 18 percent of male-headed households. These figures indicate that while fewer de jure female heads are employed in the formal sector, with a rate of 28 per cent compared to 52 per cent of male heads and 55.6 per cent of de facto female heads (see Table 5.3), their representation among those with higher levels of income is much higher. This means that the argument that they remain in the informal sector due to their lower level of education and opportunity to earn a daily income is not enough. Indeed, one of the reasons they are employed in the informal sector is because they are, to some extent, doing better than the other heads of household.

This is indicated by the median per capita income for de jure female-headed households, which is USD 2.82 per day compared to USD 1.51 per day for male-headed households and USD 1.69 per day for de facto female-headed households. Furthermore, considering that the median income for these households (male-headed and de facto female-headed households) is either lower than or similar to the individual poverty line established by INE in 2000 at the equivalent of USD 1.68 per day per adult equivalent, this suggests that half of these households are living in poverty.

Table 5.4: Mean and median of households' per capita income

Household headship	Mean	Median
Male-headed	4.51	1.51
De jure female-headed	8.75	2.82
De facto female-headed	4.86	1.69
Total	5.3	1.78

In sum, it is possible to assert that de jure female-headed households are not worse off in terms of per capita income than male-headed and de facto female-headed households when comparing the mean per capita income. However, the vulnerability of de jure female heads is higher than the other household types for having fewer earners and because they only depend on the informal sector for survival. This implies that the days that female heads are not able to work, they do not benefit from an income. This is not the case for those employed in the formal sectors, as they receive monthly wage. In addition, the informal sector does not offer any type of compensation apart from a daily income, whereas those employed in the formal sector may benefit from some type of social security and/or in kind compensation such as food or transport subsidies that are not counted in their monthly salary but still represent financial advantages.

The next section identifies the number of earners per households, and dependency ratios, to assess the livelihood options that households have at their disposal and to provide a greater understanding of financial capital.

Number of earners per household

Table 5.5 shows that a significant share of households, irrespective of headship, relies on one source of revenue. This applies to 35.8 per cent of male-headed, 36.1 de facto female-headed and 48.9 for de jure female-headed households. Considering the relatively better off status of de jure female-headed households, as discussed earlier, this reinforces the view that wages in the informal sector are likely to be higher than in the other sectors. The findings also show that in order to compensate for their relatively lower wages in the formal sector, de facto female-headed (40.3 per cent) and male-headed households (37.9 per cent) rely on a second earner. This suggests that both male-headed and de facto female-headed households may benefit from additional income from spouses, resident kin, or older children.

Table 5.5:   Numbers of earners according to household headship

Household headship	Numbers of earners per household					
	0	1	2	3	4	5
Male-headed	(8) 8.4	(34) 35.8	(36) 37.9	(10) 10.5	(3) 3.2	(2) 2.1
De jure female-headed	(3) 6.4	(23) 48.9	(14) 29.8	(4) 8.5	(3) 6.4	
De facto female-headed	(14) 9.7	(52) 36.1	(58) 40.3	(9) 6.3	(6) 4.2	(1) 0.7
Total	(25) 8.7	(109) 38.1	(108) 37.8	(23) 8	(12) 4.2	(3) 1

N.B. Numbers in brackets refer to number of cases

Table 5.6:   Mean and median of number of earners per household

Household headship	Mean	Median	Depedency ratio
Male-headed	1.82211	2	1/5.2
De jure female-headed	1.1957	1	1/6
De facto female-headed	1.7222	1	1/5.2

Moreover, dependency ratios according to headship were examined to complement understanding of households' earnings. Calculations showed that de jure female-headed households have a higher dependency ratio (1:6) than male-headed and de facto female-headed households (see Table 5.6 which reveals a dependency ratio of one earner for 5.2 non-earners in both male-headed and de facto female-headed households).

This correlates with INE findings which reveal that the dependency ratio for female-headed households in the province of Luanda is 1.2 earners for 6.3 household members, suggesting that one earner supports up to 6 members (INE, 2001b:17). Moreover, examining the occupational density across households in the study communities revealed that both male-headed and de facto female-headed have a higher occupational density than de jure female-headed households, given that these female-headed households have fewer earners than the other two household types.

Yet the number of earners per households may not be accurate, as the high level of underemployment has presumably disguised those members who occasionally work and only contribute periodically to the household. This study attempted to clarify the reasons for the potential inaccuracy of these findings by using semi-structured interviews. These helped to show how some household members perform part-time work and were therefore not reported as contributors to the household. Additionally,

some <u>de facto</u> female-headed households do not automatically report contributions they receive from their absent spouses or from non-resident kin members, due in part to the irregularity and the small amounts received. As such, the figures provided in Table 5.5 tend to underreport some of the earnings of household members.

The above discussion indicated that <u>de jure</u> female-headed households are more vulnerable because they have fewer earners than the two other household types. It is important to point out that their vulnerability is further increased by the fact that their main source of revenue is derived from the informal sector. This means that <u>de jure</u> female heads do not benefit from additional in-kind or financial compensation apart from their daily income. However, the examination of income per capita of households placed <u>de jure</u> female-headed households in a better off position than the other household types, indicating that <u>de jure</u> female heads are performing well in the informal sector.

We now turn to examine how households prioritise their expenditures with the objective of assessing whether these priorities differ according to headship.

Allocation of household expenditures

Examining how households allocate their expenditures is said to help increase understanding of poverty levels. Indeed, it is commonly agreed that when over 50 per cent of expenditure is allocated to basic needs, such as food, this is an indicator of poverty. This is explained by the fact that when these needs are covered, households have very little surplus left to spend on other things. Of notable interest, INE's findings on expenditure patterns across poverty categories revealed that the food share is equal for all poverty groups at over 50 per cent (INE, 2001b).

Findings in the study communities also exemplify this point. Female and male heads of household were asked to recall the amount of money they had spent and on what items in the last month, and to rank them in terms of priority.[2]

The items listed by the respondents were food, health, education, clothing, recreation and housing repairs. Food share was indicated as the first priority by all the households, with 75.8 per cent for male-headed, 66 per cent for <u>de facto</u> female-headed and 55.3 per cent for <u>de jure</u> female-headed households.

Table 5.7: Household reported monthly expenditures

Male-headed households	1st priority	2nd priority	3rd priority	Total
Food	(72) 75.8	(18) 18.9	(5) 5.3	(95) 100
Health	(29) 30.5	(43) 45.3	(23) 24.2	(95) 100
Education	(5) 5.3	(37) 38.9	(53) 55.8	(95) 100
Clothing	(0) 0.0	(13) 13.7	(82) 86.3	(95) 100
Recreation	(24) 25.3	(0) 0.0	(71) 74.7	(95) 100
Housing repairs	(14) 14.7	(22) 23.2	(59) 10.4	(95) 100

De jure female-headed households	1st priority	2nd priority	3rd priority	Total
Food	(26) 55.3	(17) 36.2	(4) 8.5	(47) 100
Health	(20) 42.6	(22) 46.8	(5) 10.6	(47) 100
Education	(0) 0.0	(7) 14.9	(40) 85.1	(47) 100
Clothing	(3) 6.4	(0) 0.0	(44) 93.6	(47) 100
Recreation	(0) 0.0	(5) 10.6	(42) 89.4	(47) 100
Housing repairs	(0) 0.0	(9) 19.1	(38) 80.9	(47) 100

De facto female-headed households	1st priority	2nd priority	3rd priority	Total
Food	(95) 66.0	(43) 29.9	(6) 4.2	(144) 100
Health	(49) 34	(68) 47.2	(27) 18.8	(144) 100
Education	(7) 4.9	(41) 28.5	(96) 66.7	(144) 100
Clothing	(16) 11.1	(30) 20.8	(98) 68.1	(144) 100
Recreation	(0) 0.0	(12) 8.3	(132) 91.7	(144) 100
Housing repairs	(2) 1.4	(41) 28.5	(101) 70.1	(144) 100

N.B. Numbers in brackets refer to number of cases

Findings also reveal that health constituted the second main element of household expenditure at 45.3 per cent among male-headed units, 46.8 per cent among de jure female-headed units and 47.2 per cent among de facto female-headed households.

Expenditures such as clothing, recreation and housing repairs were the least mentioned by all the households. It shows that households, irrespective of headship, generally spend their income on the same items. There are also no substantial differences in the distribution of expenses across different categories.

The next section examines the existence and use of savings of households with the aim of identifying whether the financial resources available to households provide them with opportunities to accumulate capital and enhance their livelihood security.

Existence and use of savings

The accumulation of capital through savings is thought to play an important role in poverty alleviation as it allows people to face unexpected hardships such as illness as well as complementing income. However, most low-income people in developing countries have great difficulty in accumulating savings due to their low earnings and lack of assets.

My survey revealed that savings reported by households in the study communities do not vary much according to headship. The concept of 'savings' was explained to the respondents as the money left over at the end of the month and/or the day after having covered their main expenses. It is seen as a resource they can draw upon in times of need, and not necessarily as something to earn interest on (considering limited involvement with the formal banking system). Although people may save collectively through a variety of savings mechanisms such as the Rotating Credit and Savings Associations, I opted to only examine the savings of individuals and assess if these differed according to household headship.

My survey indicates that there was a higher incidence of male heads in possession of savings (44.2 per cent) than <u>de jure</u> female heads (32 per cent) and <u>de facto</u> female heads (29.9 per cent).

Table 5.8:   Existence of savings according to headship

Existence of savings	Yes	No	Total
Male heads	(42) 44.2	(53) 55.8	(95) 100
De jure female heads	(15) 32	(32) 68	(47) 100
De facto female heads	(43) 29.9	(101) 70.1	(144) 100

N.B. Numbers in brackets refer to number of cases

Greater frequency of savings among male-headed units might be explained by the fact that female spouses in male-headed households are probably working, thus making it easier for male heads to accumulate surplus revenue.

Knowing what households do with their savings is also important in order to assess whether the savings play a significant role in improving livelihoods. Findings do not differ significantly across households (see Table 5.9). The majority of households use their savings for health expenditures with a rate of 33.7 per cent among male-headed units, 20 per cent among de jure female-headed and 39.8 per cent among de facto female-headed households. Food also occupies an important use of savings with 24.2 per cent for male-headed households, 23.3 per cent for de jure female-headed and 15 per cent for de facto female-headed households. Given the fact that the majority of households often have to use their savings to complement their calorie intake, this implies that savings are only short-term. They cannot be deemed a long-term source of security since they are frequently depleted.

Table 5.9:   Use of savings according to headship

Use of savings	Male HH	De jure FHH	De facto FHH	Total
Health	(32) 33.7	(6) 20	(53) 39.8	(91) 35.3
Education	(9) 9.5	(4) 13.3	(17) 12.8	(30) 11.6
Food	(23) 24.2	(7) 23.3	(20) 15	(50) 19.4
Recreation	(1) 1.1		(1) 0.8	(2) 0.8
Accumulation of capital	(16) 16.8	(3) 10	(26) 19.5	(45) 17.4
Other	(14) 14.7	(10) 33.3	(16) 12	(40) 15.5
Total	(95) 100	(30) 100	(133) 100	(258) 100

N.B. Numbers in brackets refer to number of cases
HH: Headed-households
FHH: Female-headed households

The findings also indicate that, overall, households use their savings for the same needs, thereby indicating that households are faced with the same constraints and that livelihood strategies across households do not differ significantly. People have limited scope to save money, and savings are simply used to cover emergency and unforeseen expenses and not to accumulate capital. That said, it seems that male-headed and de facto female-headed households use more of their savings for a great variety of purposes, mainly because they have more savings at their disposal than de jure female-headed households.

The above discussion has explored the financial capital of households in the study communities and the livelihood options households have at their disposal. Households, irrespective of headship, have limited financial in-flows, and the majority live under the INE established poverty line. This is reflected in the difficulty households have in accumulating capital and in the allocation of expenditures, with a greater share of income going to basic needs such as food and health.[3]

It also indicates that the majority of households rarely spend on items such as leisure, travel and entertainment.

The discussion also provided greater insights on household headship as it showed that de jure female-headed households do not suffer from significantly greater economic disadvantages than de facto female-headed and male-headed households, despite having greater dependency ratios and a lower amount of savings at their disposal. In sum, the livelihood options derived from financial capital in the study communities are scarce, pointing to the need to also examine the type of social capital households rely on, as discussed in the next section.

Social capital in the study communities

The term 'social capital' gained momentum in development writings with the work of Putnam, who introduced it into research and policy discussion (Putnam, 1993; 2000). Since then, the World Bank has embraced the term and refers to it as a critical element for societies to prosper economically and for development to be sustainable (World Bank, 1999). 'Social capital' is broadly understood as norms of reciprocity and networks that enable people to develop collective action. The basic premise of social capital is that:

...Trust between individuals thus becomes trust between strangers and trust of a broad fabric of social institutions; ultimately, it becomes a shared set of values, virtues, and expectations within society as a whole. Without this interaction, on the other hand, trust decays; at a certain point, this decay begins to manifest itself in serious social problems. The concept of social capital contends that building or rebuilding community and trust requires face-to-face encounters (Beem, 1999:20).

In the context of the present study, two forms of social capital were examined. One that is observable, such as networks and associations, and another that is more subjective, including norms of behaviour, trust and reciprocity. The reasons for examining these two elements is to assess whether trust and reciprocity can take place on their own and outside of the networks and associations or if the two are interrelated. Furthermore, fundamental aspects of social capital strengthening, including household ties and extended family networks, have arguably been comprised due to displacement, economic hardship, natural shocks, and the physical and emotional consequences of the conflict.

Given that the majority of households fight for the same limited resources, one question which arises is whether there are any imperatives of a moral or material nature, or otherwise, which may bring people together to form networks and/or to develop collective action. Indeed, the motivation to form networks is commonly thought to be based on norms of reciprocity, shared values and identities (see Putnam, 1993). It is thus opportune to discuss social capital in the light of the consequences of civil conflict on people's lives and behaviours. Moreover, given that community networks, which formerly took care of more vulnerable community members, have been compromised due to displacement, economic hardship, and the physical and emotional consequences of the conflict, it is interesting to examine the challenges households face in the process of recovery from civil strife, and their degree of vulnerability in the daily struggle for survival.

The use of networks by households in the study communities

The wider literature on networks suggests that societies are 'characterised by networks of interpersonal communication and exchange, both formal and informal' (Putnam, 1993:173). Networks are found in both developed and less developed societies, yet the main difference is the degree to which people rely upon them (see Lomnitz, 1977; Willis, 2000). 'Networks' are defined as the set of relations people maintain, and the exchange of goods and services inside and outside households that enhance social capital.

Networks in the study communities were found in informal self-help groups and organisations. Informal self-help groups or support associations such as the ROSCAs were found to be common, especially among women and men traders. These seemed to have sustainability in terms of repayment rate and capacity for generating revenues according to the majority of respondents. Focus group discussions also pointed out that respondents had a tendency to organise themselves around specific activities, often those promoted by the church and NGOs. Activities promoted by the church often provide a source of financial support, especially among women's groups, since these groups promote income-generating activities. Yet it seems that networks organised by NGOs often lacked sustainability because they were donor driven and tended to disappear after the completion of the project activity.

Findings from the study regarding the type of institutions/people households rely on in times of need reveal that the majority of heads of household (34 per cent of the total) pointed out the 'others' category. The definition of this category in the focus group discussions revealed the church as an example, with a higher incidence of de jure heads (61.7 per cent) and de facto heads of household (44.7 per cent), in comparison to 6.4 per cent of male heads of household. One reason for the high incidence of both de jure and de facto female heads in this category include the fact that women are often involved in church groups that promote income-generating activities and grant loans to members.

The second most mentioned category that heads of household resorted to was that of relatives, with 17 per cent for male heads and 23 per cent for both de jure and de facto female heads of household. The reliance on relatives indicates that even though kinship networks have a tendency to deteriorate in the aftermath of conflict, relatives are still considered a source of support (see Table 5.10).

Table 5.10: People and institutions from whom loans were requested in times of need, according to household headship

People/Institutions	MH	De jure FH	De facto FH	Total
	%	%	%	%
Partner	(2) 2.1	0	(5) 3.3	(7) 2.3
Relatives	(16) 17.0	(11) 23.4	(35) 23.3	(62) 20.6
Daughter/Son	(2) 2.1	0	0	(2) 0.6
Friends	(15) 16	(6) 12.8	(15) 10	(36) 12
Neighbour	(5) 5.3	(2) 4.3	(8) 5.3	(15) 5
Influential people in the community	(3) 3.2	0	0	(3) 1
Colleagues from the work place	(3) 3.2	0	(1) 0.7	(4) 1.3
Nobody	(43) 45.7	0	(15) 10	(58) 19.3
Others	(6) 6.4	(29) 61.7	(67) 44.7	(102) 34
Total	(95) 100	(48) 100	(150) 100	(293) 100

N.B. Numbers in brackets refer to number of cases
MH: Male heads of households
FH: Female heads of households

Although relatives were mentioned by 20.6 per cent of heads of household as a whole, focus group discussions revealed that de jure female heads of household were more inclined to ask help from their own relatives than from their in-laws' families. This is presumably because de jure female heads do not always maintain on-going contact with their in-laws and are indeed often ostracised by them, especially in cases when separation has been instigated by the woman. This is supported by findings from other parts of the world (see Willis, 2000 for the case of Mexico). This also influences, as seen in Chapter Three, these women's choices with respect to the type of housing in which they live. The loss of valuable resources such as their spouses' networks can also act as an additional constraint on women leaving men.

The findings also indicate that neighbours were only mentioned by 5 per cent of heads of household as a whole. Interaction with non-kin may indeed be difficult in an environment of depleted resources and lack of trust induced by the legacy of conflict. Bonding outside of kin networks in the communities may also be difficult because heads of household, and female heads in particular, find it difficult to create time to socialise due to the burden of their livelihood activities (see Willis, 2000).

In sum, and given that the discussion in Chapter Three indicated that most residents in the study communities have diverse areas of origin, 'there is an impression that people

are abandoned, left to their own devices and can only count on themselves' (Robson and Roque, 2002:9). The deterioration and disappearance of solidarity mechanisms also comes about through displacement, with the heterogeneity of ethnic groups now much common in peri-urban areas. Moreover, new migrants cannot always afford to settle close to their relatives due to lack of space and high prices of land (see Chapter Three), thus creating difficulties in mobilising resources among kin.

Table 5.11 presents data on what households do with the help they request in times of need. The survey reveals that there is not much difference in the use of loans from kin and non-kin according to the gender of household heads.

Table 5.11: Use of loans according to household headship

Item	MHH %	De jure FHH %	De facto FHH %
Food	(16) 33.3	(5) 26.3	(19) 27.9
Health	(21) 43.8	(7) 36.8	(29) 42.6
Education	(0) 0	(0) 0	(1) 1.5
Recreation	(0) 0	(0) 0	(1) 1.5
Funeral	(3) 6.3	(2) 10.5	(3) 4.4
Transport	(4) 8.3	(0) 0	(5) 7.4
Business	(9) 4.2	(5) 26.3	(15) 22.1
House repairs	(0) 0	(1) 5.3	(1) 1.5
Travel	(2) 4.2	(0) 0	(1) 1.5
Other	(4) 8.3	(0) 0	(8) 11.8
Total	(59) 100	(20) 100	(83) 100

N.B. Numbers in brackets refer to number of cases

MHH: Male-headed households

FHH: Female-headed households

The majority of households report that they use their loans for health and food. These findings correlate with the earlier observation about the use of savings, indicating that additional income is generally allocated to improve health status and obtain food, irrespective of headship. One of the reasons for this is because people would rather use their own money to cover unforeseen expenses such as funerals, and then ask for money for food. Yet it is important to add that the amount of loans that people ask for are rather small given the limited financial resources households have at their disposal and also because of the difficulty of paying the loan back. Focus group discussions

revealed that people often negotiate their loans based on their earnings. So they compromise their future salary and/or daily earnings from informal activities.

This discussion on social capital has examined two forms of social capital, one derived from networks and the other from norms of behaviour, trust and reciprocity. Findings indicate that networks in the study communities are often created through local church and savings associations and that these lead to the accumulation of financial capital. There is a blur between social and financial capital given that social capital can lead to the increase of financial capital. Indeed, networks or associations promoted by the church are not only sustainable, but they also seem to provide a space where people can request loans. The savings associations gather a large number of respondents, principally those involved in similar economic activities. The sustainability of these associations is evidenced in the high repayment rates. Despite this, the creation of networks outside of institutions is not very common. Indeed, while at least one-third of households claim they do not turn to anybody in times of need, kin remain the main source of support for those that seek outside help. Therefore, the creation of networks outside kinship is made difficult given the fact the people have very limited assets at their disposal. Moreover, the legacy of the conflict has influenced the ways in which people relate to each other. Indeed, the focus group discussions revealed that male and female respondents felt a spirit of suspicion ever since the violent turmoil after the election results in 1992 in which sympathisers of the UNITA party were killed in the study communities. However concerns of burglary and physical insecurity were identified as one of the main constraints of interpersonal trust in the study communities.

This is due in part to the fact that the scarcity of social resources has increased mistrust among people. This is why, apart from the existing bond among kin relatives, trust and reciprocity seem to need to be fomented through institutional initiatives such as external programmes and activities which aim to bring people together through civic engagement.

The next section discusses the social viability of female heads and their children, and asks whether female headship is likely to incur disadvantages for children in comparison to their counterparts in male-headed households. In addition, the

discussion attempts to assess children's perceptions of having or not having their father in residence.

The social viability of female heads of household and their children

One reason for dedicating a section to the social viability of female heads of household and their children is to further enhance understanding of poverty and livelihoods in the study communities and across headship. More specifically, the section assesses if there are obvious differences for children's human development through having a father around or not. In addition, given the above discussion on 'capitals', the analysis of the findings draws on the potential transfer of poverty-related capitals to children. This is then subsequently illustrated by relevant case studies.

The wider gender and development literature suggests that children in female-headed households may suffer from greater disadvantage due to the absence of a father in the household (see Chant, 1991 for discussion and references). In particular, it is commonly assumed that children in female-headed households suffer from a lower level of physical and emotional well-being, and lack opportunities for education. They engage at an early age in child labour, both inside and outside the home (Ibid.). Additionally, as part of the debate on the inter-generational transmission of poverty, variables such as infant feeding, nutrition and mortality are often used to assess children's welfare as a basis for comparison in assessing differences in well-being between children's situations in female-headed versus male-headed households (see Bruce and Lloyd, 1992).

Children in developing countries are widely observed to play an important role in supplementing income within their households, due to poverty and limited state capacity to ensure their survival and human development. The situation of children in Angola is critical for all the above-mentioned reasons. In addition, the human development of children is further aggravated by the lack of educational physical structure in both the rural and peri-urban areas, thereby leading children to work at a very early age (see Chapter Three).

INE findings on urban poverty show that 20 per cent of children aged five to nine and 10-14 worked in a sample of 25 per cent in urban areas and 42 per cent in rural areas.

Out of that sample, 31 per cent were girls and 29 per cent were boys (INE, 2001a). The reality in the post-conflict context may be far worse, as these figures do not take into account children living in the street, and ex child soldiers who are now likely to also be working. These groups may be in a worse situation than their counterparts who live with their families in terms of health care, education, violence and other sorts of abuse.

In relation to this data, the variables of children's education level according to headship and children's involvement in the labour force were used to assess transmission of disadvantages. In addition, children in male- and female-headed households were interviewed through semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions. The aim of the discussions was to assess the factors in the transmission of disadvantage, whether children benefited from the outcome of the capital generated by their parents, and to what extent headship had an impact. This proved to be a challenging task given the commonality of children's disadvantage and the lack of obvious differences among children due to having a father around or not.

The examination of the number of years spent in school by children indicated that the majority of children have, on average, three years of schooling irrespective of headship (see Table 5.12 and 5.13). This shows that children in the study communities do not study more than their parents, as the survey shows that heads of household as a whole (55.6 per cent) also have three years of schooling. Therefore, the variable of education on its own tells little about the transmission of children's disadvantage given the similarity of data across headship.

Table: 5.12   Education level among children (5-15) according to headship

Number of years of schooling	Male HH	De jure HH	De facto HH	Total
	%	%	%	%
1-6 years	(137) 89.5	(101) 95.3	(244) 98.8	(482) 95.3
7-8 years	(13) 8.5	(5) 4.7	(3) 1.2	(21) 4.2
9 and more	(3) 2			(3) 0.6
Total	(153) 100	(106) 100	(247) 100	(506) 100

N.B. Numbers in brackets refer to number of cases
MHH: Male-headed households
FHH: Female-headed households

Table 5:13   Mean and median of numbers of years in school among children

	Male HH	De jure HH	De facto HH
Mean	3	3	3
Median	3	3	3

It is also important to note that there are a variety of factors which relate to the above findings, including the lack of schooling infrastructures in the study communities and the difficulties and high cost involved in accessing the formal education system.

When it comes to the involvement of children in the labour force, semi-structured interviews revealed that children who are not studying are often helping their mothers in home based commercial activities; for example, watching merchandise being sold from a stall at the doorstep.

The survey also revealed that there are: 8.8 per cent of children working in male-headed households, out of a sample of 153 children; 12 per cent in de jure female-headed households, out of a sample of 106 children; and 6.4 per cent in de facto female-headed households, out of a sample of 247 children. These findings echoed those of the INE, which indicated that 25 per cent of children in the urban area are involved in the labour force (INE, 2001a). Therefore, children in both de facto female-headed and male-headed households are less involved in the labour force for having more earners on average than de jure female-headed households (see Table 5.5). Moreover, these findings also imply that children in female-headed households do help

more in household tasks given that there are fewer earners in their households. Focus group discussions also confirmed as discussed in Chapter Four that gender roles in female-headed households are less rigid than in male-headed households for female heads' greater flexibility than their counterparts in male-headed households to take decisions in regards to their children upbringing.

That said, it is difficult to determine whether the absence of a father in the household is an independent factor of disadvantage for children in female-headed households. It is also hard to determine if this puts them automatically in a disadvantaged position in comparison with their counterparts in male-headed households.

From what we have discussed about gender roles and relations within the household, children's upbringing in female-headed households seems to favour a more equitable share in the division of labour, thereby bringing about a higher sense of maturity for the children (see Chapter Four). Therefore, it seems plausible to assert, based on the evidence gathered, that the possible disadvantages faced by children in female-headed households are less related to education level and involvement in the labour force and more related to the challenges that result when mothers form a new relationship in which stepfathers treat their stepchildren poorly.

Conclusion

This chapter presented primary data on urban poverty gathered in the peri-urban communities, which indicates that per capita income is low and that the majority of households have very limited assets at their disposal. The only major source of employment for households in the study communities is the informal sector, especially for women. This does not allow the majority to draw substantial profit, as economic returns from activities in the sector are low.

In addition to these general problems, access to and control over resources and assets is gendered. Male-headed and de facto female-headed households tend generally to be in a better position vis-à-vis livelihood security than de jure female-headed households because they have more earners in their households. Yet de jure female-headed households are slightly better off than de facto female-headed and male-headed households in terms of per capita income.

The analysis of findings from households' financial capital shows that economic differentiation between households is not very pronounced, although de jure female heads have higher income per capita than heads in the other household types. Still, de jure female-headed households are arguably more prone to experiencing poverty because they have fewer social relations, especially with their in-laws' families, and less time at their disposal than the other household types. That said, the intensity of the disruptive effects of conflict on social relations in general appears to be affecting households equally irrespective of headship.

Examining poverty and livelihoods using a 'livelihoods approach' a picture of the responses used by households regarding how they ensure and support their livelihoods. It revealed that households, irrespective of headship, rely on a limited portfolio of assets due to their low return on their revenue and weak social relations. Social capital is depleted due in part to the scarcity of social resources that lead to mistrust between neighbours, and which in turn does not allow much solidarity outside kin relations.

The section on the transmission of disadvantages to children in female-headed households was inconclusive, as it seems that children in both household types suffer

from the same types of constraints. 'Male-absence' *per se* did not seem to constitute a factor leading to disadvantage so much as general structural constraints of social and economic inequality and disadvantage.

Given the fact that <u>de jure</u> female heads are more socially than economically vulnerable than male-headed and <u>de facto</u> female heads, the next chapter attempts to examine if this factor may affect female heads' decisions to remain partnered in order to counteract their social vulnerability. This is explored in more detail in the context of a dedicated discussion of female-headed households in the study communities.

<u>Notes to Chapter Five</u>

[1] Table 5.2 is based on a sample of 1,021,074 people (KPMG, 2003: 24).

[2] Since the majority of respondents do not keep written records, some had difficulty recalling their expenditures. In order to minimise potential inaccuracies in these cases, I used a visualisation technique that uses coloured cards for each item of expenditure and asked the respondents to place them on the floor and rank them by priority.

[3] Although wealthier people also prioritise their basic needs, they have additional disposable income for other consumption items such as leisure.

[4] Table 5.2 is based on a sample of 1,021,074 people (KPMG, 2003: 24).

Introduction

The main objective of the chapter is to examine the social viability of female heads of household and their children, and the types of constraints these women may face because of the absence of men from their households, as compared with that of female spouses in male-headed households. The specific objective is to assess the struggles and successes of female-headed households with further reference to the data gathered in the study communities. This is done through an assessment of the social viability of female-headed households, and by identifying whether their perceived vulnerability is a decisive factor in retaining a man in the household.

This chapter is organised into three main sections. The first section provides contextual background to the way female headship is perceived by the wider community and the state. The second section discusses the marital status of female-headed households, with particular reference to the study communities. The third section examines the social viability of female heads of household, and what difference a co-resident male partner makes in the household.

Perceptions of female headship by the community

The justification for considering the views held by others about female headship is to assess whether outsider views are sympathetic to the situation of female-headed households, and if female heads of households are alienated because of this.

One important set of stakeholders here is the state, which, in response to the demands of the women's movement, approved a new and more gender-sensitive Family Code in the 1980s (see Chapters Two and Four). As a result, war widows and widows of political militants, for example, benefit from a special clause in the constitution. They receive some financial support on account of the participation of their spouses in the

war and/or active involvement in the liberation struggles and civil conflict as high-ranking political activists.[1]

Although financial support is low, widows have the right to claim a monthly stipend. Another outcome of the women's movement is the recognition of common-law marriages in the Family Code (see Chapter Four). This has resulted in the children of both formal and informal unions being automatically recognised before the law and the granting of paternal responsibility in the case of the death of one parent.

Despite this move, however, what is stipulated in the law is not implemented in practice, thus putting the needs and interests of female heads of household at risk, especially with respect to non-conflict-induced issues such as widowhood, inheritance and paternal responsibility.

For instance, the law does not cater to widows whose husbands are killed outside of conflict. These women do not receive state financial support, so they are left to their own devices. The issue of inheritance is also problematic in practice and is mostly resolved through informal mechanisms. This is frequently detrimental to the human rights of female heads of household and their children (see UNDP, 1997 for references in selected countries). In the case of the death of one parent, rights of inheritance of legitimate or illegitimate children under 18 years old are in principle protected by law. However, the formal process of ensuring the right of succession for minor children involves the service of a lawyer and the presentation of a series of documents. These are difficult to obtain for the majority of low-income groups, and peri-urban residents in particular. In addition, the process is expensive, long and bureaucratic, which inhibits people from relying on formal institutions to represent their rights (Personal testimony).[2]

Overall, it was observed that the majority of people are not aware of their rights, have difficulties in obtaining any necessary documentation, and rely instead on traditional law. This states that when a man dies his belongings are passed on to the children of his sisters, leaving his own children and widow with nothing. The family of the deceased also usually takes full ownership of the belongings of the deceased, without consulting the widow. Therefore, when the man dies, women are forced to return to live with their family. Focus group discussions showed that widows are usually granted

the right to remain with their children. But those with older male children tend to be in a better position to negotiate with their in-laws than widows with younger children, because their children can represent them.

The issue of paternal responsibility also warrants concern. Legitimate or illegitimate children of lone mothers, as mentioned in Chapter Four, should, nominally, receive remittances from their father as stipulated in the Family Code. Yet this does not usually happen because of men's low earnings and government's limited capacity to make sure that the legislation on child maintenance is enforced. In addition, the Family Code has not been widely distributed nor translated into local languages, so low-income groups lack awareness of its content and tend to rely instead on customary law. Although the Angolan Women's Organisation (OMA) plays an important role in the main cities of Angola by providing free legal services to low-income people, including legal advice on marital disputes, cases of domestic violence, inheritance and paternal responsibility, these services are not provided in rural areas.

The weaknesses of formal institutions in addition to a lack of awareness of the law make it difficult for people to exploit whatever formal institutions might do for them. Gender bias in favour of men in traditional customs also means that female heads such as widows are faced with specific constraints to their own and their children's well-being after their partners pass away, since they are left to their own devices.

Concerned institutions such as the Ministry of Women's Affairs and the Ministry of Social Reintegration should, in practice, deal with the above limitations of law enforcement and protect female heads of household and their children. In order to do this, macro- and micro-level studies could be undertaken to assess the living conditions of female heads of households in the aftermath of conflict, with the objective of establishing mechanisms for ensuring that what is stipulated in law is reinforced in practice when it comes to issues of inheritance, paternal responsibility and polygamy. But these ministries have limited resources and in-house capacity to do this, especially given the lack of a research culture. This deficiency with respect to research generally inhibits well-informed policies and, subsequently, programs on female headship on household livelihoods.

The limited attention paid to female household heads, which characterises government bodies, also features in civil society organisations such as the church. The Catholic Church settled in Angola in the late-17th century and occupied an important place in society as it succeeded in penetrating both urban and rural areas. In turn, Protestant missions arrived in Angola in the late-19th century in the wake of evangelical movements in Europe and America (Robson and Roque, 2002). Besides religious services, both churches provided an education to people through their missions. However, at independence, the Marxist-Leninist Government of the first republic disassociated itself from the church, and, although it was not forbidden for people to frequent church services, the position of the church in Angolan society was undermined through its association with capitalism.

After the Bicesse Accords in 1990 and the preparation of the first multi-party elections, the government reconciled with the church. This was marked by the president inviting the Pope to Angola, with the objective of resurrecting Angola's relations with the Vatican.

Since then, the church has proliferated all over Angola, and the peri-urban areas of Luanda are especially noted for hosting a high number of established and non-established.[3] Robson and Roque (2002:45) refer to this as the most visible change in Luanda's peri-urban areas, given that 'every corner has become a church'.

The church seems to provide a refuge for people in search of spiritual and emotional support. The church also provides humanitarian aid and education, and is very active in organising social activities.[4] But some activities offered to women have a gender bias, in the sense that they promote the 'ideal of the good wife' with the teaching of cooking and sewing. As in other mainly Catholic societies, the church in Angola pursues a rather traditional line regarding women, especially with respect to marriage.

Before a couple gets married in church, that couple has to seek three consultative sessions with a priest. These sessions are mandatory, and serve to advise couples on the value of marital unions. Consensual unions are not recognised as a marriage by the church, and, although the church does not openly give their opinion on female

headship or lone motherhood, it seems that the church is not keen on the idea of adult women living without a man. Moreover, the church encourages couples to stay together.[6]

The following story of Veronica exemplifies how the church can play a conservative role in cases of marital dispute.

Box: 6.1   Veronica: a 30-year-old separated lone mother

Veronica has three children aged six, ten and twelve. She took three years to leave her partner. He used to abuse her verbally and physically and had a problem with drinking. Veronica recalled that she used to sleep at her mother's house on the days that her partner returned home drunk as she feared for herself and her children because of his violence. On repeated occasions, Veronica sought help at her local church, where she attended sewing activities at weekends. She recalled that all she heard was for her to be obedient and try to please her partner more in order for him to remain calm. One morning, Veronica gained courage to leave her partner. She then returned to live at her mother's house with her children. Since then, the priest in whom she used to confide has not behaved the same towards her and has recriminated her for being a bad example to the community.

Veronica's experience with the church is not an isolated case, as the church does not approve of women who disrupt 'wifely norms' by leaving their husbands. These women are not seen in a good light, and are often stigmatised for having strayed outside traditional norms. This is not easy on those women because social respectability is highly valued.

Women as a group and as individuals are faced with a set of constraints that seem to be reinforced by the church, promoting the ideal of 'a good wife' by advising women to be calm and obedient to their partners regardless of men's behaviour towards them.

In turn, the views held by people at the grassroots can illuminate the type of alienation female heads suffer from, and whether these views influence them to remain partnered or not. This is considered in the next section.

Perceptions of female heads of household by female and male spouses

The following comments were chosen to show how the perceptions of the people at the grassroots about female heads of household tend to be negative given that female heads of household are often regarded as potential 'trouble makers' for the community due to male absence in their households.

According to Madelena, a 45-year-old female spouse in a male-headed nuclear household with four children, some female heads of household living without a man in the community do not behave 'respectfully', and this is why they are stigmatised by men and women alike. '*Não tem maneira de falar, tem muito namorados*' (They do not how to behave when they talk and have lots of boyfriends). However, Madelena was careful to add that some women, especially those who are older, have gained respect from the community because they are 'well-behaved' and do not chase men.

The perception of Graciano, a 50-year-old male household head and father of six children, did not differ much from Madelena's. Graciano is of the opinion that a household without a man is acceptable only if the woman is smart enough to gain the respect of the community by keeping to herself and not chasing men.

Last, the opinion of Adriano, a 25-year-old man, shows how the presence of an adult male son in the household can score respectability in the eyes of the community. Adriano lives in an embedded unit with his spouse, his children, his mother and siblings. He is of the opinion that '*um lar sem homem não tem respeito*' (a home without a man is not respected). Adriano completed his argument by saying that when there is a man in the household things run better because it is difficult for children to comply with the authority of a woman. When asked about the position of his mother and spouse in his own household he added that since his father left he had been in charge of decision-making in the household, and that people respect his mother and his spouse because he is at their side. This statement is important as it indicates, as in other developing countries, that an older male son can substitute for a male spouse and thereby reduce vulnerability for the female heads of household (see Fonseca, 1981 cited in Chant, 2003:20, for the case of Brazil)

Another aspect that constitutes concern for the grassroots, and for female spouses in male-headed households in particular, is promiscuity. Female spouses in the focus

group discussions had a tendency to view female heads of reproductive age with suspicion as they will, according to them, 'engage in sexual affairs for being unattached and for benefiting from the anonymity of the big city'. This perception is shared by men, but in general female spouses were more inclined to place the fault on female heads. For instance, blame in relation to extra-marital affairs was not automatically placed on men, but more often on un-partnered women (see also Chant, 1997a: Chapter 7 on Mexico, Costa Rica and the Philippines).

Cases of violence between first and second wives over the attention of a man were often cited in the semi-structured interviews as one of the main forms of public dispute in the study communities. The media often reports cases of violence instigated by female spouses when jealousy gets in the way. The media tend to portray female heads of household as the ones instigating problems in 'good homes', because they are available and ready to have children with married men, whereas men remain 'blameless'.

One of the reasons why men remain untouchable is due to '*machismo*'.[6] Men have a privileged position in Angolan society, and this is unlikely to change in the short term. Indeed, semi-structured interviews demonstrated that men have a tendency to engage easily in multiple sexual relationships, at any stage in their life course and regardless of their conjugal status. There are two possible explanations for men's promiscuous behaviour.

One is that the female population is greater at the age of marriage and/or reproduction than the male population as mentioned in Chapter Four. This means that it is hard for women aged 20 to 39 to set up an exclusive relationship with a man and that they may have to resort to sharing their partners with other women in order to have children and/or retain a man in their household, albeit on an irregular basis.

A second reason, as mentioned earlier, is that large and diverse populations in peri-urban areas create anonymity, thereby allowing women and men to escape the opprobrium they might face in more close-knit communities. Poverty and urbanisation compound this.

The next section provides assessments drawn from female heads' perceptions of their own situation.

Perceptions of female headship by female heads of household

Chapter Four concluded that both women and men consider having a man in the household important, in order to gain respect and social legitimacy in the community. Women who share their partner with other women would like their partner to 'stay around in the morning', in order for the neighbours to see that there is a man in the house and to effectively legitimise their sexual relationships in the view of others. This phenomenon is interesting because women do not seem to object to sharing their spouse with other women, and a man does not necessarily have to be seen in the household on a regular basis. Since both men and women seem to have the same outlook when it comes to social respectability, it is important to unpack how female heads perceive the fact of not having a man living with them on a regular basis, and the specific constraints they and their children may face as a result.

Cristina, the mother of four children aged four, six and seven years and a widow from a previous relationship, is presently sharing her partner with another woman. She has an interesting story.

Box 6.2:   Cristina: a 35-year-old mother

Cristina lived happily with her first partner for nine years before he instigated a separation due to family pressure on his part. Her in-laws started to accuse her of practising '*feticios*' (sorcery) because her partner had difficulty finding employment and was always sick. Her partner then wrote a letter to her family to ask for a separation and died soon after from an unknown cause. Cristina was asked to take her children with her and move out of her partner's house. Since the house was in her partner's name, Cristina argued that she could not do anything but move out and leave behind all the assets such as the beds, kitchen utensils and radio. She recalled that her in-laws treated her badly, blaming her for the passing away of her partner and not giving her any notice to move her things. Cristina got help from her brother, who took her to church and introduced her to a group of women who were benefiting from an NGO credit program. There Cristina found the financial means to

support herself and her children, but she did not find moral support. She often hears that people point her out as an 'evil woman' because her partner died suddenly. Cristina found some comfort in her current partner whom she met at church. However, her current partner lives with another woman with whom he has three children. He sleeps at Cristina's house three days a week and the other four days with his first partner. When questioning Cristina about this arrangement, Cristina said that '*eu me sinto normal*' (I feel normal). Cristina argued that her partner is an industrial painter, pays her rent and is kind to her children. Cristina does not know the first wife and does not care much whether she meets her or not. She also pointed out that she is doing her best to give a child to her current partner, and would like people to stop talking about her. '*Neste momento, o homen Angolano não aceita estar com uma mulher sem filho*' (Angolan men do not accept to stay with women who do not give them children). Cristina has not been successful in getting pregnant and had tears in her eyes when she said '*Não sei se e o diabo que me impede isso, não sei se eu devo me entregar ao Senhor para ele fazer milagre e para as pessoas deixar falar de mim*' (I do not know if it is the evil that is stopping me having children, but I do not know whether I have to give myself to God to ask for a miracle and for people to stop talking about me).

The next case provides a similar example of female heads' fear of remaining alone.

Box 6.3:   Laurinda: a 20-year-old mother

Laurinda is the mother of a two-year-old child. She is reluctant to ditch her non-resident partner due to what people might say about her. Laurinda met her partner when she was 18 years old and got pregnant right away, '*ele assumui a responsabilidade da criança mais não deu o seu nome*' (he assumed the responsibility of the child but did not give our child his name). Her partner is 15 years older than her and was already living with his wife when she met him. Laurinda said that when her partner insisted that she should have more children and forbade her to use family planning: '*Fiquei mais esperta, comecei a fazer e foi dai que ele bravou, ele so quiz me dar filho, as contradições entraram com o planeamento familial*' (I got smart and used family planning, and then he became upset and differences started because of family planning). Laurinda sells beer at the

market place and lives in a rented one-bedroom house, which is in the name of her partner. Laurinda said she does not feel very comfortable that the house is in the name of her partner although she is the one who pays the rent with her return from commercial activities. Laurinda does not consider the house to be hers since her partner has never said 'this is your house'. Laurinda pointed out that her partner is still involved with his first wife and does not contribute financially to the household but insists on knowing how she spends her money. Her partner visits her three times a week at night and they continue to maintain a sexual relationship. Laurinda described in one breath how she felt. *'Nunca deixou a primeira mulher, ele não me registrou a nossa criança, nunca me bateu, mas dei-me mal a viver'* (He never left his wife. He did not register our child. He has never beaten me up. But it is hard to live like this). When questioned about forming a new relationship, Laurinda said that due to her age she is afraid to get involved with another man because of the things that people might say about her. *'Não quero arranjar outro homem agora por causa do aborrecimento que posso ter de outras pessoas'.* (I do not want to be involved with another man as of yet because of the problems that I may have from other people). She also added that even if her child does not carry his father's name, everyone in the community knows who the father is, and this is, in a sense, a source of comfort and respectability.

The perception of female heads of households and their situation remains contradictory. It seems that female heads of household do not remain on their own for a long time. Whatever a woman's <u>de jure</u> status, there is always a man in the background. The community's perception seems to be highly valued by female heads. For instance, the case of Cristina shows that relationships with in-laws can be difficult and have repercussions on the way the community feels, especially because the passing away of Cristina's first spouse was associated with her in-laws' belief that Cristina had practised sorcery. The case of Cristina also reveals the importance for women of having children, on the one hand to consolidate a new relationship and retain a man in the household and on the other to gain a higher status in the eyes of the community.

The case of Laurinda shows that although her partner does not live with her on a regular basis, he exercises control over her. Yet Laurinda is reluctant to get into a new relationship, at least in the short term, for fear of what people might say about her.

This implies that female heads' decisions about remaining partnered or on their own are often determined by their fear of community stigmatisation.

Last, the viability of widows was assessed through focus group discussions. These revealed that the treatment of widows by the community resembled findings from other parts of the world (see Bradshaw, 1995a,b; Willis, 1993). For instance, these women did not face the same type of social constraints and vulnerability. Some were in a better position than other female heads in the eyes of the community. Indeed, the semi-structured interviews revealed that widows, and older ones in particular, were respected by the community and in some cases maintained a good relationship with their spouse's parents. Focus group discussions helped to understand that widows are usually shown great respect by the community, especially if the passing of their spouses did not constitute a source of suspicion and they remain single for a while in order to honour that passing. Younger widows, on the other hand, are usually taken care of by kin, and the community always attempts to help them find a new spouse, preferably among kin.

In the light of these cases, the issues surrounding the social legitimacy of being attached to a man seem to be a recurrent theme for female heads. Female heads are concerned with how they are viewed by the community, and this seems to play an important role in their decision to remain alone or partnered.

Over and above what has been already discussed on female headship and the importance for some female heads of retaining a man in their household, another symbolic element to add to our understanding of female headship is the issue of children.

Female headship and children

It is striking to observe that some women think they will do their children greater justice by having a man around, even if the man is not their biological father and/or provides no real emotional or financial support.

Women tend to view motherhood and having children with new partners as essential in forming a new relationship, even if this puts their children at risk of being treated badly

by their stepfathers. There is certainly a cultural pressure for women to comply with motherhood. Procreation is regarded as a 'virtue' in the Bantu culture, and a couple without children is not recognised as such by the community (Altuna, 1983).

In order to have children, and for oneself and one's children to be respected, there really has to be a man visible in the household on a sporadic basis, and this is presumably one of the driving factors leading women to reside in male-headed households.

Given this, social norms dictate how female sexuality and motherhood are legitimatised through a woman being seen to be and/or being attached to a man, even if that man is not a permanent resident in the household. This is presumably because men are viewed as the 'protector' of the household through bringing respect to the household and to women. The influence of Catholicism, as discussed earlier, also plays an important role in a woman's decision to remain partnered. Maintaining appearances, even in cases of discontent, seems to be vital for women to survive socially, thus explaining women's trade-offs.

Some of the reasons for men's behaviour

It seems that in the aftermath of conflict men are more interested in immediate sexual gratification, to the detriment of making long-term investments in existing and/or new relationships. Some of the reasons for this are derived from the climate of uncertainty during the long years of conflict.

This translates into men's apparent lack of responsibility to their spouses and children. The climate of conflict has exacerbated *'machismo'*, which explains men's apparent impunity in going from household to household. Since the majority of women seem not to oppose men's behaviour, and increasingly consent to sexual relationships outside the confines of formal unions (possibly due to the perceived need to be with a man to gain respect from the community), men enjoy a certain degree of freedom in forming new households without automatically abandoning their first. This is exacerbated by the scarcity of labour resources, the deficiency of formal institutions, and the climate of uncertainty, all of which lead men to ignore their responsibilities.

It is also important to point out that although polygamy has been practised for centuries, an aspect of discontinuity in the contemporary context is that while men are still taking additional spouses, they are now having difficulty supporting them financially. As a result, many marital unions are not stable, particularly given the domestic violence that often results from men's limited capacity to contribute financially to the household. This instability is reflected in the study communities through the high incidence of <u>de facto</u> female-headed households (48 per cent) compared to male-headed households (34.2 per cent).

To further our understanding of women's routes into female headship, the next section examines the marital status of female-headed households.

<u>Marriage under statutory and customary law</u>

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the Angolan Women's Organisation in the 1980s succeeded in formulating and lobbying for the approval of a new Family Law. The Law was developed into a Code that, in theory, encompasses many positive aspects for gender equality at the family level. For instance, it recognises equality in marriage and in all family matters, and states that each spouse should have the same powers of acquisition, administration and use of all possessions, that each is able to choose to carry the name of the other, and that each has the right to divorce (Ăkesson, 1992:7). There is also a special clause to protect pregnant wives or those who have given birth during the last year in the case of divorce, and a wife must always consent before the divorce process is legally recognised. Consensual unions are also addressed by the Code and are valued as equal to marriage after three years. The same rights and obligations are granted to children from consensual unions, and even in cases of separation there is no legally recognised difference between legitimate and illegitimate children.

The Code, in essence, is in the interests of women and children in formal and <u>de facto</u> unions. It is interesting to point out that the women's movement fought to include polygamous marriages as consensual unions. Although these arrangements are not called polygamous unions, they are still considered by the Code and disguised in <u>de facto</u> unions. This is especially relevant given evidence in this study, from the current urban context, of an increasing number of men who maintain sexual relationships with

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different women in different households without contributing financially on a regular basis.

Table 6.1 identifies the marital status of women and men respondents in the study communities, with a view to assessing how marital status is being reported by women and men respondents. This is especially relevant given the under-reporting of female headship.

The figures in Table 6.1 show that the incidence of formal marriage is on average 8.7 per cent across the three household headship types. This can be partly explained by the fact that most couples in the survey claimed that they were dissuaded from marrying formally due to bureaucratic procedures as well as financial constraints. Celebrating marriage in a civil or church ceremony, for example, involves presenting several documents such as a certificate of residence, an identification card and a birth certificate.

Table 6.1:   Marital status according to male and female headship

Marital Status	Male heads %	De jure FHH %	De facto FHH %	Total %
Married	(13) 13.7	(2) 4.3	(10) 6.9	(25) 8.7
Consensual union	(66) 69.5	(20) 42.6	(133) 92.4	(219) 76.6
Separated	(5) 5.3	(15) 31.9	(0) 0	(20) 7
Divorced	(0) 0	(0) 0	(0) 0	(0) 0
Single	(7) 7.4	(1) 2.1	(1) 0.7	(9) 3.1
Widow	(4) 4.2	(9) 19.1	(0) 0	(13) 4.5
Total	(95) 100	(47) 100	(144) 100	(286) 100

N.B. Numbers in brackets refer to numbers of cases.

FHH: Female-headed households

These documents (as we have seen in Chapter Three) are difficult to obtain due to the limited capacity of institutions to deliver formal documentation and the price involved in addition to people's lack of knowledge concerning where and how to obtain them. None of the respondents have been divorced, and this may be because divorce procedures are expensive and are mostly the preserve of middle- and high-income groups (see also Chant, 1997a on Costa Rica).

Despite the lack of state-regulated marriages, informal customary practices are still observed when it comes to marital union. The sample survey indicates a high incidence of male heads (69.5 per cent) and de facto female heads (92.4 per cent) who were not formally married but living in consensual unions. Male heads and de facto female heads living in consensual unions explained that their union to their partner was celebrated with family members according to traditional customs. This entails a 'pedido' (formal request) among family members for the couple to establish a union. This traditional ceremony, similar to birth and funeral ceremonies encountered in the Bantu culture, also involves a cost, which is usually collectively shared by the community (see Obenga and Simão, 1991). This entails granting money to the family of the female spouse, and/or the granting of in-kind goods for a luncheon, which may take up to one week.

According to custom, in the event of separation down the line, the families get together in an attempt to resolve differences and/or to agree on separation. The involvement of the family in marital affairs shows the importance that is given to marital unions and that families assume a long-term mutual commitment for the well-being of the couple. Moreover, it shows the heavy reliance on informal mechanisms for conflict resolution, even at the household level. It is also important to add that since the majority of respondents are non-native in the study communities, habits concerning the celebration of marriages are derived from their traditional customs, thus implying the strength of these customs, despite urbanisation. It also implies that the community's acknowledgment is still highly valued and respected, even in urban settings and among strangers.

The findings also reveal that 42.6 per cent of de jure female heads of household live in consensual unions, although the de jure female heads interviewed claimed not to have a man in residence at the time of the survey. This incongruence is explained by the blurring between the category of de jure and de facto female heads of household, as some de jure female heads have relationships with men, but share them with other women in the context of polygamy. Moreover, these women can also be reluctant to say in public that they live alone and have sporadic relationships with men, for fear of stigmatisation and/or harassment by men. In addition, some de jure heads may be

disguised as de facto heads, where these women may be reluctant to admit that their spouses will not return to them.

Therefore, it is likely that the self-reporting of marital status under-reported female headship and over-reported the number of de facto unions, given that it may be more advantageous for some women to present themselves as partnered. Given the need to better understand how functional relationships are lived and practised, the next section addresses the particular situation of de jure female heads living in polygamous arrangements.

Polygamy under customary law

As mentioned in Chapter Two, although the Angolan population encompasses various ethnic groups, there are shared cultural characteristics derived from the Bantu culture that are common all over Angola, and which one can find in the social structure at the community level. Polygamy is one of these. Polygamy is practised all over Angola and is most visible in rural areas, where co-wives cohabit in the same compound and thereby share their spouses and labour inside and outside the home. Similar to other sub-Saharan African countries, having more than one wife represents wealth and is a guarantee that men will have many children and, therefore, labour to work the land (Altuna, 1983). The first wife maintains a special status and in some cases chooses co-wives for her spouse. Children from the different wives have the same status in the household, although male children are favoured over girl children due to their greater participation in labour outside the home. Altuna (1983:305) argues that, in Angola, polygamy in the Bantu culture is a symbol of social life which strengthens the possibilities for the expansion of livelihoods and the consolidation of ties between families, and this is why the act of procreation is valued as it guarantees the perpetuation of lineages.

In the study communities, polygamous households were identified through semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions only, as the questionnaire did not include a specific question on this matter. Despite the fact that evidence shows that polygamy is practised all over Angola, the respondents were led to bring up the subject themselves in focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews.[7]

The following stories describe cases where men maintain relationships with more than one woman. The first case (Box 6.4) is of a first wife who is sharing her spouse with another woman from a different household, and the second case (Box 6.5) is of a man who lives in the same household with two wives. The first case suggests that women fear being alone despite men's inability to provide financially for the household, and despite them having another woman. Domingas maintains a relationship with her partner despite the fact that he formed another household with another woman. The second case (Box 6.4) suggests that some of the reasons for men's willingness to have more than one wife derive from their perceived need to have many children. Indeed, traditions in Angola rooted in the Bantu culture promote fertility, and the psychological pressure on women to have many children is very strong (see Obenga and Simão, 1991 for full discussion). Both cases also suggest that men enjoy having the freedom to take more than one wife and, in these circumstances, women have little choice. Given the social stigma attached to single status, women prefer to share their partners with other wives rather than live alone.

Box 6.4: The case of Domingas: first wife sharing her partner with another woman

Domingas is from the southern central part of the country (Bié province, see Figure 3.2) and met her first partner when she was 15 years old. They lived in the same `bairro'. Her partner went to see her parents to perform the 'pedido'. They started living together in 1975 and had their first child in 1976, when Domingas was 16 years old. After she had given birth to three daughters, her partner left her for another woman. Following his departure, her partner never contacted her or the children and died from sickness in 1980 (his family informed her of his death).

Domingas was working as a maid when her first partner died and was not making much money, therefore she decided to take her children with her and move to the settlement of N'Gola Kiluange, on Luanda's peri-urban fringe, and settled in her brother's house. There she started selling goods with the help of her family members.

Within a year, she met her second partner. He was also from Bié province. They lived together and had six children. They built a one-bedroom house together where Domingas and her children still live in today. In 1986, her second partner formed

another household with another woman with whom he had a child. Domingas came to know about this relationship much later (after five years) through her partner.

Domingas' partner comes and goes between his two households. He spends one week in each and does not provide regular financial support to either household due to his low salary as a policeman. Domingas said she has never met her partner's wife, yet she does not mind about his other household because her greatest fear is being on her own, despite her partner's negligible financial contribution, *'Tenho medo de ser abandonada, principalmente por causa das crianças'.* (I am afraid to be abandoned because of the children).

This household arrangement presumably has emotional and economic consequences for the children, who witness their father coming and going in between two households. Empirical observation revealed cases in which children had low educational attainment and discipline problems due to the irregular presence of their father in the household. As such, Domingas fears how it would impact her children if their father were to stop visiting them, despite his negligible contribution to the household.

Box 6.5:   Adão: a man who lives with two wives in the same household

Adão recalled that he only wanted one wife, but life decided otherwise for him. He met his first partner, Maria, in Bengo province (north of Luanda) when he was working there as a commandant for the army (see Figure 3.2). He performed the formal request to Maria's family and their union was legalised by both families. When he realised that Maria was not getting pregnant within a year of their union, he separated from her and became engaged to his second partner, Bela, through the same request procedures.

When Maria heard that Adão had gotten engaged to Bela, she came back to him on the grounds that she still loved him and could also give him children. Adão took her back, and within a year, Maria got pregnant. Adão said he could not tell Bela to leave because she had already given him a child, so he kept both women under the same roof. *'Não quis fazer sofrer a Bela'* (I did not want Bela to suffer). Adão said that Bela did not get upset with him as she was happy that Maria could bear children.

Adão said they are doing well and that '*nosso problema e que não temos vida sufficiente para aguentar'* (our only problem is that we do not have means to make ends meet). Adão added that both women are like sisters to each other and that they do not fight. Adão also explained that each have their own bed and sleep in their own room where he spends one week at a time with each. He said that if he had the financial means, each woman would live in her own household. Adão has two children with Maria (the first) and three children with Bela (the second). The children of both mothers call Maria and Bela 'mother' indiscriminately.

The type of household arrangement presented in Box 6.5, although not very common in the study communities, implies that there are economic reasons for maintaining two wives in the same household, especially when the spouse is unemployed. Moreover, there are also cultural reasons to explain Maria and Bela's willingness to remain in the same household, as both originate from the same area. Being from the same area of origin presumably offers a sense of security for people recently residing in the '*bairro*', and this can be an underlying factor to explain these two women's acceptance of sharing the same partner.

The cases studies indicate that household arrangements in the study communities are extremely complex. Although I observed plural traditional marriages or polygamous arrangements where several wives know each other and live in the same household, there was a higher incidence of household arrangements in which men form separate units and maintain sexual relationships with more than one woman.

These units are functionally headed by women, since women are responsible for the well-being of the household, but in practice men are considered by women as the head of the household. These new forms of household arrangements, where one can find an elevated number of de jure female-headed households, are common. Since we already have some indication of the reasons why some women would rather share their partner with other women, it is interesting to examine men's views on this issue. From the point of view of men, having more than one wife, and more than one household, is usually accidental. Indeed, the focus group discussions indicate that men are often faced with situations where their extra-marital affairs lead to the

constitution of secondary households, especially when their affairs produce children. In the process, though, there are cases in which men do not acknowledge to the community that they have formed a secondary household. Why men tend not to comply with traditional customs is partly due to limited financial resources and urbanisation, which favours anonymity. Thus, in the majority of cases, first and second wives do not know each other, and men have the freedom to come and go between households. Moreover, men's limited financial resources free them from economic pressure to sustain their households. However, men's limited financial contribution to the household is not a factor that leads women to remain on their own, or to consider themselves heads of household. As the case of Domingas shows, her fear originated from the fact that she has children to care for, and may feel greater vulnerability if her partner were to eschew contact with her.

Given the need to understand how households (as encountered in the study Indeed, the discussion on marital status provided further insights on household arrangements. Evidence of a high proportion of couples who live in consensual union reveals that the requirements to marry formally are too bureaucratic, and that the majority rely on traditional custom to celebrate their union. In turn, consensual unions are often polygamous arrangements in which men maintain sexual relationships with different women from different households. Polygamous marriages seem also to be more common in the post-conflict context, given that women outnumber men in the relevant age group of reproductive age. Nonetheless, some changes seem to have occurred: men now tend to form secondary households without women's consent, and women tend to agree to this form of arrangement. This can be explained by the importance that women place on having/retaining a man in their household and by the feminised sex ratio.

The social viability of female-headed households

Socially, female heads of household suffer, given that female headship is not viewed with 'good eyes' by the grassroots and the church. However, there are some successes to recount. In the previous chapters, the discussions pointed to evidence that indicated how male absence led to a series of constraints, to the detriment of female heads' social survival. These constraints were shared by the majority of de jure female heads and included the foregoing of land ownership to live with or close by kin and a

reliance on third parties for conflict resolution. Yet there are other conditions that favour of female heads which were assessed through the economic achievements of the majority of female heads of household. For instance, the discussion of financial capital did not point out major differences between female-headed and male-headed households. In fact, it indicated that de jure female-headed households have higher per capita income than other household types.

It is also important to point out that the majority of female heads are employed and do not depend on a male spouse for the survival of themselves and their children, as exemplified in the next case (see Box 6.6).

Box 6.6: The success of Florinda

Florinda, 27, met the father of her children in 1995 in Uige province, where she grew up. He used to visit her house frequently. '*Dai a amizade entrou e ele fez pedido a minha familia*' (This is how we became friends and how he asked my family to formalise the union). Florinda recalled that that the first years were good, but then he changed. Her spouse began to drink heavily and had lots of women around. Some even stayed the night in their house. Her spouse died three years ago from a mental illness. '*Ficou maluco e morreu*' (he became crazy and died). Given that Florinda's in-laws evicted her and her two children, her brother helped her get a rented one-bedroom for her and her children in the same '*bairro*' where he lived. There Florinda met another man through her brother. Although Florinda only sees him three times a week, she is satisfied with the relationship because she knows where she stands in relation to the first wife. She also added that her brother is not opposed to her new relationship and is even relieved to know that she is receiving some kind of emotional support other than his. When asked if her partner gives her financial support, given that they have one child together, she said that in case of financial trouble she has no one to help her out: neither her brother nor her partner have the means. '*Eu memos faço tudo com o retorno da minha vendas, não tenho ninguém que me ajuda*' (I do it all myself with the return from my sales. I have no one to help me).

The above story shows how female heads of household make conscious choices about their relationships with men. Indeed, the case of Florinda indicates that her new relationship was not imposed on her and that she gets what she wants from it, given

that she knows what comes with sharing a partner. The agency demonstrated in the story of Florinda shows her success in being solely responsible for the social survival of her household, and for being economically independent from her spouse. This implies that some female heads of households are successful in using men to fulfil and legitimise their sexuality and compliance of motherhood. The granting of male power and authority to a male partner is consciously done in order to avoid abuse from other men and gain respect from the community.

Conclusion

The chapter sought to analyse the struggles and successes of female-headed households. It examined how the wider community views female heads of households and identified the type of vulnerability they and their children may suffer from. Throughout, the discussion has examined whether those assumptions encountered in the gender and development literature (with regard to the social vulnerability of female-headed households) hold in the aftermath of a conflict.

The discourse in Angola on female headship is not sympathetic to women living alone, as images of female household headship are often negative. Female heads are often viewed with disapproval, and as a potential threat to the well-being of female spouses in male-headed households. The position of the church regarding female headship also influences women's decisions to remain partnered or not, given that the church often disapproves of separation despite the bad treatment that women may endure from their male spouses. The legal framework has limited mechanisms to guarantee enforcement of the law. Moreover, existing policies concerning female heads of household do not consider their heterogeneity, thus leaving a large group of female heads unattended.

the discussion on marital status provided further insights on household arrangements. Evidence of a high proportion of couples who live in consensual union reveals that the requirements to marry formally are too bureaucratic, and that the majority rely on traditional custom to celebrate their union. In turn, consensual unions are often polygamous arrangements in which men maintain sexual relationships with different women from different households. Polygamous marriages seem also to be more common in the post-conflict context, given that women outnumber men in the relevant age group of reproductive age. Nonetheless, some changes seem to have occurred: men now tend to form secondary households without women's consent, and women tend to agree to this form of arrangement. This can be explained by the importance that women place on having/retaining a man in their household and by the feminised sex ratio.

The majority of women tend to view being in a relationship as essential to gaining respect from the community. This is why most tend not to instigate a separation,

despite the bad treatment, such as physical abuse, they may receive from their partners. The majority of heads of household tend to form new relationships fairly quickly. They view motherhood as important and vital to consolidating their new relationships, as well as bringing respect on themselves and their children. Men's promiscuous behaviour is not condemned by society, and is a driving factor in the formation of secondary households and the creation of female-headed households. Irrespective of their marginal contribution to the household/s, men do not lose their privileged position as the authority figure in the household/s.

It follows that the successes of female-headed households in the aftermath of conflict are greatly determined by the community at large, which does not hold sympathetic views of some types of female headship. The visible presence of a male spouse, even on an irregular basis, brings social viability to a female-headed household. This means that female headship is not automatically associated with a 'male-absent' household, given that some de jure female heads share their partner with other women. This is done to comply with expectations around motherhood on the one hand and to gain community respect on the other. In the contemporary situation, once can assert that female heads opt to live a trade-off in order to survive socially and be considered viable.

Notes to Chapter Six

[1]This clause is extended to all the political parties represented in Parliament. This financial stipend is paid by the Secretary of State of Ex Combatants.

[2] The documents requested are a copy of the birth certificates of minor children, a copy of the death certificate of the deceased, a list of goods left by the deceased and the amount of approximately USD 2,000 to cover legal costs.

[3] Non-established Churches from other denominations including those of African origin have also proliferated as established such as the Catholic and Protestant.

[4] It must be noted that in some cases the church succeeds in getting more funding to undertake this type of activity than NGOs.

[5] The role of the church in encouraging women to remain partnered is also found in other parts of the Catholic world (see Bradshaw, 1995 a; 1996 a,b for the case of urban and rural Honduras and also Chant, 1997a on Mexico and the Philippines).

[6] Lancaster (1992:235 cited in Chant, 2003:16) defines 'machismo' as men's assertiveness in proving one's masculinity and virility. In the study, 'machismo' is manifested in regards to men's attitudes towards women having many children and not using contraceptives.

Chapter Seven

Conclusions

This chapter summarises the most critical findings of the study and places them in the context of the original objectives. The chapter also discusses possible theoretical and policy implications for future research.

Main findings

The main objective of the study was to investigate how households go about guaranteeing their survival in the post-conflict period of Angola. Female headship was given special attention due to the controversy that surrounds the social and economic viability of female-headed households and the fact that little is known about many aspects of economic and social survival of female heads of household in war-torn societies.

Specifically, the study comprised three main objectives. The first objective aimed at identifying how contemporary households are configured and if conflict may have had an impact on the formation of female-headed households. To this end, household headship was examined in terms of women's and men's understanding of the concept of household headship and the various routes leading to the formation of female-headed households. The second objective examined whether poverty brought about by the conflict is affecting all households equally or if female-headed households are particularly affected. This was assessed using a 'livelihoods approach' so as to identify the types of assets households derive from physical, financial and social capitals. The third objective examined the social viability of female heads of household and their children, and the types of constraints these women may face because of the absence of men from their households.

The study hypothesises that conflict creates space for renegotiating gender roles at the household level and perhaps even creates possibilities for the greater emancipation of women. This hypothesis arises from women's narratives of war in many parts of the developing world, and in Angola in particular, which has led to the transformation of gender roles and relations due to women's involvement in combat alongside men.

Although the gender and development literature points to cases in which gender roles and relations in peacetimes have reverted to pre-conflict norms, women in Angola recorded noteworthy achievements such as the emergence of a strong women's movement and the integration of more clauses for gender equality in the Family Code. It is imagined that these gains would influence gender relations within the household and in society and possibly encourage, or at least better legitimise, the formation of female-headed households.

Yet the study found that despite tolerance for the absence of men during conflict, the majority of women do not remain on their own for long after separation due to social vulnerability imposed by society. Therefore the hypothesis of women becoming more emancipated due to conflict is not reflected in women's willingness to live alone with their children.

The first objective of the study was to identify how household arrangements are affected by conflict and its aftermath and how conflict may have an impact on the formation of female-headed households. The examination of gender roles and relations within the household indicates continuity in behaviour as inequality, as defined by the amount of time men and women spend on household labour, persists. Moreover, men retain certain privileges in the household. Despite the fact that women have spent many years alone during conflict, gender roles have not been transformed. Instead, the conflict seems to have reinforced the position of men within the household as the principal if not sole authority. The situation is influenced by the shortage of men in certain age groups and the necessity for women to have a man in the household for 'legitimate' procreation and social legitimacy, even to the extent that women are prepared to share their partner with other women. Hence the study concludes that in the aftermath of conflict, women's choice vis-à-vis whether to remain partnered or not is greatly influenced by cultural norms so as to allow for sexuality and reproduction.

The second main objective of the study was to examine if poverty affects households equally or if female-headed households suffer particularly. This was analysed through a 'livelihoods approach' whereby different stocks of capital (natural, physical, financial and social) were examined in order to assess the types of assets households derive from these.

The findings showed that the 'livelihood approach' indicated that returns of the set of capitals that households have at their disposal are stretched to the limit. Therefore, the findings conclude that there is not much difference among households, and that female-headed households are not automatically the poorest of the poor as suggested in the mainstream literature.

However, an element that adds to the gender and development literature on female headship and poverty is that the study found de jure female-headed households to be slightly better off than de facto female-headed and male-headed households in terms of per capita income, although they are not able to accumulate capital for savings purposes. De jure female-headed households also have fewer earners in their households, and thus tend to be in a worse-off position vis-à-vis livelihood security than male-headed and de facto female-headed households. In addition, de jure female-headed households have reduce social networks due to lack of time at their disposal and through not having contact with their ex in-laws.

The third main objective was to examine the social viability of female-headed households and their children. The discussion on the transmission of disadvantage to children in female-headed households reinforced findings from other parts of the developing world insofar as it showed that a father's absence was not necessarily a risk factor for children.

That said, the findings also showed that unpartnered mothers are not viewed with sympathetic eyes by society at large. The Church influences women's decisions to remain partnered or not, given that the Church often disapproves of separation despite the bad treatment that women may endure from their male spouses.

Possible theoretical and policy implications for future research

The study suggests that the use of self-reporting to assess the head of the household carries a male bias and tends to over-report the number of male-headed households. This is important because the study uncovered many subjective reasons for women to opt to be part of male-headed households that are difficult to capture using self-reporting and which can be better evaluated through qualitative assessment. Given

the need to address female-headed households as a heterogeneous group, complementing the self-reporting technique with qualitative assessment is crucial so as to disaggregate female-headed households and generate increased understanding of the reasons for their formation.

The study adds to the gender and development literature on female headship as it indicates that self-reporting carries a male bias and can blur the actual number of female-headed households. The study indicates that there are a high percentage of de facto female-headed households, which are 'disguised' through 'embeddedness' in male-headed households, so as to avoid stigmatisation and social vulnerability. For instance, some de jure female heads who have sporadic relationships with men in the context of polygamy would rather not consider themselves heads of households so as to justify their sexual relationships with men and, also, to counteract social vulnerability.

The implication of these findings for social policies is that by continuing to use self-reporting on its own to assess household headship, the real number of female-headed households may be obscured. In addition, women's contributions to the household, financial and otherwise, may be undermined.

The study indicates that the context of post-conflict, as suggested in the literature, is not always prone to promote women's emancipation. The study found that the integration of more gender clauses in the legal framework is still subject to battles. Moreover, women's emancipation is thus far not reflected in the improvement of gender roles and relations at the household level, given that conflict seems to have reinforced the traditional roles of men and women irrespective of their behaviours during conflict. In peacetime women continue to suffer from the same constraints as prior to conflict, implying that conflict is not conducive to changes. Consequently, in the aftermath of conflict, social policies should be as gender-sensitive as possible so as to address gender-specific problems that have been accentuated by conflict, such as issues of widowhood, inheritance and paternal responsibility.

Future research agenda

The discussion paid a great deal of attention to issues regarding the social viability of female-headed households, given that issues of respect and vulnerability were often pointed out by female respondents as a way to rationalise their behaviour.

Therefore in the aftermath of conflict, social norms often dictate that female sexuality and motherhood can only be legitimated through the presence, real or illusory, of a male partner (shared or not) despite the progressively diminishing capabilities of men to provide economically for the household. Moreover, women are prepared to concede to male power and authority, even where they themselves are effectively in charge of household survival. In addition, the findings point to the high incidence of household arrangements in which women share their partner with other women.

Further research is undoubtedly needed to further understand the reasons for women's acceptance of these arrangements. It is therefore important to take into consideration the subjective factors such as those that are derived from conflict which influence women's decision to retain a man or not in the household and, subsequently, to remain flexible in categorising female heads of households.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: List of key persons interviewed

Name	Institution/profession
Mario Adauta	Angola Institute of Research
Allan Cain	Development Workshop
Camilo Ceita	National Institute of Statistics
Laurence Clark	Economist
Mary Daley	Christian Children's Fund
Anthony Hodges	Journalist
Joao Lukumbo	Sociologist
Ana Maria de Oliveira	Anthropologist
Paul Robson	Urban development specialist
Jean Michel Tali	Historian

London School of Economics	Inquérito as Características dos Agregados Familiares nas Áreas Peri-Urbanas de Luanda

Gostaría que me fornecessem algumas informações que ajudariam a melhorar o nosso conhecimento sobre os agregados familiares. Esta informação será confidencial e o nome do chefe do agregado vai manter-se anónimo. O questionário não se trata de um teste e agradecemos que responda com toda honestidade. Este inquérito levará aproximadamente uma hora do seu tempo e a sua participação é voluntária.

FICHA DE COBERTURA

Comuna:	Nome do Chefe:
Município:	Bairro:
Sector:	Quarteirão:
Número de agregado	Sexo de Chefe: Masculino **1** Feminino **2**

**Categoria do agregado	Número de Membros
Agregado nuclear	
Agregado alargado	

Visitas do Inquiridor		
	Visita 1	Visita 2
Data:		
Hora:	Início: Fim:	Início: Fim:
Resultado da Visita:		
Próxima Visita: Data: Hora:		

Códigos para o resultado das visitas:

1. Entrevista Completa   **4.** Recusado
2. Entrevista Incompleta   **5.** Alojamento Desocupado / Destruído
3. Família Ausente   **6.** Outro (Especifique) _____

Numero total de pessoas no agregado:_____ e Número de Formulários adicionados:_____

SECÇÃO A: ESTRUTURA E COMPOSIÇÃO DO AGREGADO
* Essa estrutura de questionário baseia-se na estrutura de alguns questionários realizados pelo Instituto Nacional de Estatística

Informação	*Número do Indivíduo*							
1. Indicar o primeiro nome de pessoas que vivem no agregado	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08
2. Grau de Parentesco com o Chefe do Agregado **(ver código abaixo)**	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08
1 Chefe : 2 Conjugue: 3 Filho(a): 4 Enteado(a): 5 Genro/nora: 6 Neto(a): 7 Pai/mãe: 8 Sogro(a): 9 Irmão(ã): 10 Tio(a): 11 Primo(a): 12 Avós(ôs): 13 Cunhado(a): 14 Outros Especificar: _____								
3: Sexo: Masc=**1** Fem=**2**	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08
4. Data de nascimento: dia/ mês/ano (Não sabe = 99)	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08
5. Idade em anos: **Calcule e verifique**	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08
6.Local de nascimento Se estrangeiro: **99**	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08
7. Qual a língua falada em casa: **(ver código abaixo)**	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08
Português=1 Kikongo=2 Umbundo=3 Kimbundo=4 Fiote=5 Ganguela=6 Cuanhame=7 Chokwe= Outros=9								

Se a resposta for diferente de <u>Separado</u>, passe para a pergunta 11

Razoes para a separação								
10. Indicar o motivo da separação	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08

Morte=**1** Migração=**2** Violência doméstica=**3** Mau relacionamento=**4** Outras mulheres/homems=**5** Mau comportamento (bebedeiras, etc.)=**6** Enfermidade do parceiro=**7** Pressões da família =**8** Outro=**9**
Se outro, especifique:_____

Informações detalhada sobre e estatuto civil dos membros do agregado. Para maiores de 12 anos								
11. Indicar a idade ao casamento ou união	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08
Informações sobre fertilidade. Todas as mulheres maiores de 12 anos de idade								
12. Indicar a idade da primeira gravidez	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08
13. Indicar a idade do parceiro ao momento da primeira gravidez	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08

SECÇÃO B: INFORMAÇÃO SOBRE O TEMPO DE RESIDENCIA NO BAIRRO E BENS DO AGREGADO

As perguntas deste módulo devem ser feitas, de preferência ao chefe do agregado ou ao adulto que o representa.

1. Sempre residiu neste Bairro? Sim=**1** Não=**2**   **Se Não salta para a pergunta 3**
2. Tempo de residência no bairro (indicar os anos):   Menos de 1 ano=**1** De 1 a 5 anos=**2** De 5 a 10 anos=**3** Mais de 10 anos=**4**   **Se as resposta for mais de 10 anos, salta para a pergunta 7**
3. As razões para sair da sua área de origem: Guerra=**1** Casamento (parceria)=**2** A procura de melhores oportunidades de vida=**3** Pedido dum familiar=**4** Outro=**5**   **Se Outro, especifique** _____
4. Quantas pessoas da sua família ficaram na sua área de origem?
5. A sua família tem contactos regular com os restantes membros da sua família   *na sua área de origem?* Sim=**1** Nao=**2**   **Se Não, salta para a pergunta 7**
6. Que tipo de contactos?   Envio de produtos=**1** Envio de carta=**2** Envio de dinheiro=**3** Envio de noticias por intermediarios=**4**   Recepção de produtos=**5** Recepção de carta=**6** Recepção de dinheiro=**7** Recepção de noticias po intermediarios=**8** Outro=**9** **Se Outro, especifique** _____

Tipo de habitação

7. Indicar o tipo de habitação: Vivenda=**1** Casa Convencional=**2** Casa Tradicional=**3** Apartamento=**4** Anexo=**5** Cubata ou Cabana=**6** Outro=**7**   **Se Outro, especifique** _____

8. A sua família tem : Sim=1 Não=2	**Indicar nos códigos respectivos**	
A. Rádio?		G. Electricidade em casa?
B. Televisor?		H. Mesa?
C. Cama?		I. Cadeiras?
D. Geleira?		J. Latrina particular ?
E. Fogão a gás?		K. Latrina colectivo?
F. Tanque de água particular?		

9. Considera o seu agregado como sendo pobre ou não pobre? (Somente para o Chefe do Agregado)   Pobre=**1** Não pobre =**2**

SECÇÃO C: OCUPAÇÃO LABORAL DOS MEMBROS DO AGREGADO, SÓ PARA
PESSOAS MAIORES DE 7 ANOS DE IDADE

1. Indicar o tipo de ocupação laboral do inquirido, nos últimos sete (7) dias:

Sector publico=**1** Sector privado=**2** Sector informal=**3** Domestica=**4** Desempregado sem procurar emprego=**5** Desempregado a procura de emprego=**6** Reformado=**7** Só a estudar=**8** Militar aguartelado=**9** Estudante a trabalhar=10

Outro=**11** **Se Outro, especifique** _____

	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08

2. Localização da ocupação laboral do inquirido (indicar o bairro):

	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08

3. Indicar o tempo médio para chegar ao local de trabalho:

Menos duma hora=**1** De 1 a 2 horas=**2** de 2 a 3 horas=**3** Mais de 3 horas=**4**

	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08

4. Horas passadas no local de trabalho por semana:

	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08

*5. Remuneração dos membros que trabalham **no último mês em kwanza:***

	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08

*5bis. Remuneração dos membros que trabalham **no último dia em kwanza:***

	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08

6. Indicar quais os membros que contribuem com as despesas da casa:

Sim=**1** Não=**2**

	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08

7. Indicar se as contribuições são regulares

	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08

Sempre=**1** Algumas vezes por semana=**2**   No fim do mês=**3** As vezes quando calha=**4** Não (nunca)=**5**

8. *Se houver regularidade nas contribuições, indicar quem decide como e para que efeito o dinheiro dado deve ser gasta?*

_____ (indicar o código da pessoa)

Informação sobre a poupança aos membros

9. *Indicar se os membros do agregado tem poupança*
Sim=**1** Nao=**2**

	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08

10. Se Sim, aonde guarda o seu dinheiro?

Em casa=**1**   No Banco=**2**   Com colegas=**3**   Com o empregador=**4**   Com a Kixiquila **5**

Outro=**6**   Se outro, especifique_____

	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08

11. Como constitui a sua poupança?

Joias=**1**   Dinheiro=**2**   Imobilario=**3**   Outros=**4,**

Se outro, especifique_____

	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08

12. O que é que faz com a sua poupança?

Saúde=**1**   Educação=**2**   Comida=**3**   Recreação=**4**   Acumulação de capital=**5**   Outro=**6**

Se outro, especifique_____

	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08

13. Quanto é que poupo por dia?

	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08

14. Quanto é que poupo por semana?								
	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08

15. Quanto é que poupo por mês?								
	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08

SECÇÃO D: CONSUMO E DESPESAS DO AGREGADO

1. No ultimo mês, a sua família gastou mais em (**indicar de 1 a 3: em ordem de importância**)

A. Comida		B. Saúde	
C. Educação		D. Roupas e calcado	
E. Recreação e actividades sócias		F. Despesas para casa	

2. Indicar no que foi que gastou mais (**indicar de 1 a 6: em ordem de importância**)

A. Farinhas, fubás, massas, pão, batatas e mandioca		B. Cereais, feijão, arroz	
C. Óleos, óleo de soja e manteiga		D. Furtas, vegetais e legumes	
E. Peixes, carnes, ovos		F. Leites e derivados	

3. Indicar o que gastou mais (**indicar de 1 a 6: em ordem de importância**)

A. Compras de medicamentos		B. Consulta no medico privado	
C. Consulta no hospital		D. Consulta no Kimbandeiro	
E. Intervenção cirúrgica		F. Consulta em casa	

4. Indicar o que gastou mais (**indicar de 1 a 4: em ordem de importância**)

A. Compras de matérias escolar		B. Pagamento das propinas	
C. Pagamento do professor		D. Cotização da comissao dos pais	

5. Indicar o que gastou mais (**indicar de 1 a 4: em ordem d**

| E. Refeições feitas fora de casa | | F. Discoteca | |

7. Indicar o que gastou mais (indicar de 1 a 4: em ordem de importância)

| A. Renda de casa | | B. Electricidade e outros combustíveis | |
| C. Transportes | | D. Reparação, melhoria e manutenção da casa | |

SECÇÃO E: AJUDA E DISTRIBUIÇÃO NAS TAREFAS DE CASA

Informações sobre a ajuda nas tarefas de casa (Só para o inquirido)

1. Indicar quem ajuda nas tarefas de casa

*Indicar o número respectivo do membro do agregado conforme o modulo A

A. Fazer compras		E. Carretar agua	
B. Cozinhar		F. Cuidar dos pequenos	
C. Limpar a casa		G. Levar/buscar a escola	
D. Lavar as roupas			

2. As ajudas são regulares?

Todos os dias=**1**   Alguma vezes por semana=**2**   Mensais=**3**   Quando calha=**4**

	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08

Informações sobre o tempo levado a fazer as tarefas de casa (perguntar somente a pessoa que faz as tarefas de casa)

3. Indicar quanto tempo em média por dia leva para fazer o trabalho de casa se tiver ajuda

(Actividades reprodutivas, como os item da pergunta 2)

Menos de 1 hora=**1**   De 1 a 2 horas=**2**   Mais de 2 horas=**3**

SECÇÃO E: ESQUEMAS DE SOLIDARIEDADE (Só para o inquirido)

1. A última vez que pediu dinheiro emprestado, a quem pediu?

| A. Parceiro(a) | | F. Igreja | |
| B. Familiares | | G. Empresários (Pes. influentes na comunidade) | |

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C. Filhos		H. Colegas de trabalho	
D. Amigos		I. Ninguém	
E. Vizinhos		K. Outros: Especificar_____ _____	

2. Para que fim utilizou este empréstimo?

A. Comida		F. Transporte	
B. Saúde		G. Negócio	
C. Educação		H. Reparação da casa	
D. Recreação		I. Viagem	
E. Óbito		K. Outros Especificar_____ _____	

3. Os pedidos são regulares?

Sim=**1**   Não=**2**   (Se a resposta for Não, passar para a Secção H)

4. Indicar a frequência dos seus pedidos

Todos os dias=**1**   Alguma vezes por semana=**2**   Mensais=**3**   Quando calha=**4**

SECÇÃO F: ENVOLVIMENTO EM ACTIVIDADES NA COMUNIDADE E ORGANIZAÇÕES LOCAIS (Só para o inquirido)

1. Indicar se pertence e se participa nas actividades de alguma organização na comunidade:

A. Igreja

F. Associações de crédito e poupança informal (kixikila)

A. Campanha de vacinação		E. Manifestação social ou cultural	
B. Campanha de limpeza		F. Actividades voluntárias com a sua Igreja/Associação/ONG	
C. Campanha de informação		G. Comissão de agua/lixo	
D. Manifestação de protesto		H. Comissão de Pais	

4. Indicar a frequência

Sempre=**1**   Vez em quando=**2**   Irregularmente quando calha=**3**

5. Indicar se de modo geral se sente parte (envolvida) das actividades da sua comunidad

Sim=**1** Nao=**2**

6. Se Não, porquê?

Não sei=**1**   Não estou informado=**2** Não estou muito tempo na Comunidade=**3**   Não tenho tempo=**4**

Não estou interessado=**5**   A cultura não permite=**6**   Em casa não deixam=**7** Outros=**8**

Se Outro, especifique_____

Appendix 3

Sampling Process

An important aspect of sampling decisions is that of ensuring that the sample size reflects statistical validity of what the study is to achieve. In others words that the sample pool is of adequate density to address the main issues that the study wants to explore while have enough relevancy to draw a comparative analysis. The pool of households that have been surveyed is 300.

The sampling design followed the steps of a stratified random sample with proportional allocation (self-weighting sample). The sampling stratum was the *"municipio"*. Luanda has a total of 9 municipalties, of which 3 were chosen to be included in the sample. However, although the selection of the 3 municipalities in Luanda province was ideally a random process, I choose to exclude the municipalities that had a greater urban density to meet my objectives. The number of questionnaires to be carried per municipality was proportional to the size of its population[1] in the province of Luanda.

The sample size was initially estimated using the formula below and then adjusted, according to operational contraints described previously in this study, resulting in a final number of 300 households:

$$ n = \frac{T\alpha^2 pqDeff}{\Delta^2} $$

Where,
- n is the required sample size, assuming a maximum sampling error of 5%;

- p is binomial distribution's prevalence of the characteristic to be observed in the population;

- q =1-p, is binomial distribution's non-prevalence of the characteristic to be observed in the population;

- Deff is the Design effect;

- Δ is the sampling error.

- α is the level of confidence set at 95%

---

[1] The population size for each municipality is based on data from the 1995 World Bank's Living Standards Measurement Survey for Luanda province.

- T α is 1.96 at the Normal Table.

According to this formula, a sample size of 300 interviews was required for the study.

1. The selection of the sampling followed six different steps, of which five were based on a non-selective process:

As mentioned, the province of Luanda is divided into 9 municipalities and 29 communes and neighborhoods and each is divided in sectors. Each sectors is composed of an X number of housing blocks. The unit of analysis in this study are households that are found in the housing blocks. Each sectors in the neighborhood selected were mapped in using the GIS as a means to have an estimated number of housing.

a. This study will intervene in 3 municipalities out of the 9 that constitute the province of Luanda.[the selection of the 3 municipalities was motivated by the fact, I have gained prior knowledge in these areas];
b. Out of the 3 municipalities, one comuna was selected randomly in each municipality;
c. 3 neighborhoods in each comuna were in turn selected;
d. 1-2 sectors in each selected neighborhood were then chosen;
e. The selection of the housing blocks in each sectors respond to the proportinal probability of the size of the housing blocks that is estimated by the number of housing per housing blocks. This selection was done in a sistematic way and in taking into consideration the selection ratio and the average number of 10 housing per housing blocks. However, it also depends on the way the sample is to be distributed among the comuna and this may vary in between 9 to 13 housing;
   The selection ratio may be defined as the avarage number of housing per housing blocks versus the weight that each housing blocks has in relation of the total of the housing or sizee of the areas selected;
f. The study will then based its selection of households based on a random selection of an average of 10 households in each housing blocks [assuming that one household corresponds to one unit, however it is important to note that some households may be embedded, thus in this case the researcher will not conduct another random indentification thus, all embedded households encountered will have to be interviewed, filling one questionnaire each independently.

Appendix 4

Profile of women and men interviewed

PROFILE OF WOMEN INTERVIEWED

COMMUNITIES	Single (No children)	Single with children	Separated**	Live in couple	Married	Polygamous Household	Widow	Total
N'Gola Kiluange	1	5	1	6	1	2	1	
Kikolo		4		1		1		
Cuca		4		1		2		
TOTAL	1	13	1	8	1	5	1	30

**No divorcees were found

PROFILE OF MEN INTERVIEWED

COMMUNITIES	Single (No children)	Single Men	Separated	Live in couple	Married	Polygamous Household	Widow	Total
N'Gola Kiluange					1	4	1	
Kikolo				2				
Cuca		2						
TOTAL	0	2	0	2	1	4	1	10

Appendix 5

<div style="text-align:center">Guidelines for semi structured interviews and focus group discussions</div>

A. CONFLICT

I.   Perception of conflict

If arrived in Luanda in between (1992-2002), explain how has the conflict situation changed your life in terms of:

- ❑ Finding housing
- ❑ Maintaining contacts with your relatives left behind
- ❑ Finding source of income
- ❑ Education for your children
- ❑ Being and feeling part of the community networks for support

What in your opinion has been the most dramatic (in relation to the above points) ?
Can you say something positive (positive change on a personal basis) what you went through?

Do you wish to go back to your area of origin and why?

If always lived in the community, explain how the military uncertainty that the country is going through is impacting of your life in terms of:

- ❑ Securing source of income
- ❑ Receiving/supporting relatives from the areas at war
- ❑ Educating your children
- ❑ Relying on wider networks for support
- ❑ Relying on your partner if any to make decision or to support your family

To what extent, can you say that the military crisis had forced you to make these changes in your household or do you feel that these changes were made out of your own choice rather than a constraint.

II.   Household arrangements

Explain the factors that led you to remain alone?

If the partner is away in the military or deceased, explain how the conflict has impacted on your household structure? in terms of:

- ❑ Relatives that came to live with you
- ❑ Distribution of expenditures
- ❑ Participation in the household tasks
- ❑ Numbers of earners in your household

III. Gender relations

In your opinion, do men treatment in regards to women changed over time due to the conflict situation?

What are the main changes felt at household level in terms of:

- ❏ Decision-making and contribution to household chores
- ❏ Decision-making and contribution to household budget

B. FEMALE HEADSHIP

I. Perceptions on headship and authority

What is your definition of headship and why?

Is it important for the running of the household to have a household head?

What are the responsibilities of a household head?

Who and what should determine who is the household head?

II. Perception of being a household head (<u>de Jure</u>)

How do you feel for not having a man around?

Do you wish it could be different and why?

Could you tell me what your are missing out the most for not having a man around?

Are you doing something to remarry or having a male partner?

If over 50 years old, what will you say to your youngest daughters of grand daughters about being a single mother?

III. Female headship and children

Do you feel that your children suffer from not having their father around?

Do you feel that they are being brought up differently because of that?

Do you feel that your children are worst-off than their counterpart in male-headed household in terms of:

- ❏ Emotional well-being
- ❏ Education

Do your children benefit from male bonding with other male relative in the household or outside of the household, if yes do you feel that it is enough?

How is the interaction of your children with other children?

- ❑ In school
- ❑ In the communities
- ❑ In Church

How is the interaction of your children with their father?

- ❑ How do your children react to their father?

- ❑ Do they ask questions about his whereabouts?

- ❑ How do they interact with other male relative?

Do you feel that your children are worst-off than their counterpart in male-headed household in terms of:

- ❑ Emotional well-being
- ❑ Education
- ❑ Having male references

IV.   Female-headed household and community stigmatisation

Do you consider yourself different for not having a man around?

Do you feel that your are being treated differently by the community at large for not having a man around?

Not having a man in your opinion constitute an impediment to be accepted in the community?

Not having a man in your opinion constitute an impediment to be regarded as a leader in the community?

Do you feel that other women in the community treat you differently?

Do you feel that other men in the community treat you differently?

V.   Children's perception towards female-headed households

Do you consider yourself differently for not having a father around?

Do you think that you are missing out something in particular for not having a father around?

Do other children treat you differently?

Do your teachers treat you differently?

Do the community at large treat you differently?

C. VULNERABILITY

I. Female-headed household and vulnerability

Do you consider yourself or your family type more vulnerable than other women in male-headed households?

How do you define vulnerability (economic/social)?

What other factors in your opinion besides men absence may constitute being vulnerable?

Do you know if there is help available (institutions) to whom women could get help/support to talk about or and/or to take actions?