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## **LUANDA PERI-URBAN GENDER & HOUSEHOLD PROFILE**



**Luanda - July 2002**

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### EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study presents quantitative and qualitative findings gathered in the peri-urban areas of Luanda from December 2001 to January 2002 by Development Workshop. The study aimed to trace the profile of households encountered in the area with a particular attention to female-headed households. The attention given to gender is due to the few existing studies in this area and the importance to assess households dynamics through a gender lens.

Thus, the study attempted to answer a set of questions regarding the living conditions of household heads and children in particular in female-headed and male-headed households in regards to education, nutrition and involvement in economic activities to assess whether there is a transmission of disadvantages to children.

The study revealed that the majority of people in the research area lived in precarious conditions. Housing was observed to constitute a major problem due to scarce resources to improve/repairs, unclear housing policies and few available land to build. It showed that people are faced with a daily struggle to access social services. These are mostly found in the informal sector and were described as being of poor quality.

Children's education was pointed out as the main concern by women interviewed in terms of the documents required to access primary level education; unclear and untransparent process to register; poor quality of teaching and heavy reliance of informal teaching '*explicações*', that offer few prospects to enter the formal education system for not being recognized by government. Children in female-headed households were more inclined to study in the informal schooling system than their counterparts in male-headed households

The main source of income for more the majority of women was found in the informal sector. It was observed that the sector constituted a source of profit for some and for others merely a survival mechanism. Men were more likely to have formal sector jobs.

Little difference in poverty was found in between male-headed households and female-headed households. However, the reliance on wider networks for survival showed to be clearly gendered as it was observed that female heads of household borrow for less purposes and have also less people from whom to borrow.

The specific situation of children did not seem to differ greatly between male- and female-

headed households. Food consumption and nutrition in female-headed households was found to be similar to that in male-headed households. Overall, it seemed difficult to assert that there is a transmission of disadvantages to children in female-headed households in comparison to their counterparts in male-headed households.

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## **ACRONYMS**

DW: Development Workshop  
FHH: Female-headed household  
FGD: Focus group discussion  
MHH: Male-headed household  
MPLA: Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola  
SSI: Semi-structured interviews  
UNDP: United Nations Development Programme  
UNICEF: United Nations Children's Fund

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## **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Background and objectives**

The research for this Gender and Household Profile was carried out by Development Workshop (DW) with financial assistance and methodological advice from UNICEF Angola. DW has been working in Angola since 1981 and has successfully implemented programmes in Luanda and Huambo peri-urban areas to improve access to basic services, build local partnerships and strengthen organisational skills of the communities by giving them experience in engaging with local government. The study provides DW and its partners (such as UNICEF) with a better understanding of gender issues in the peri-urban bairros of Luanda.

This profile aims to present findings from research on the living conditions of households, both those headed by women and by men, in Luanda peri-urban areas, paying particular attention to children's human development. Special attention in this profile is given to gender: there is a need to assess whether the impoverishment process is affecting women and men the same way, and if there is any association between female household headship and transmission of disadvantages to children.

The overall objective of this study was to generate empirical data on the situation of children in different household types, and to improve the understanding of the living conditions of households headed by women and men in Luanda peri-urban area. The findings presented in this profile should provide DW (and local and international partners such as UNICEF) with insights for addressing gender issues in their existing and future development interventions in peri-urban areas.

The specific objectives of the study were to:

- ❑ Make a profile of different households types;
- ❑ Assess the responses to adversity of female-headed and male-headed households;
- ❑ Assess the reliance on wider networks for survival of female-headed and male-headed households;
- ❑ Assess the effects of changes in household arrangements on household members, and on children in particular.

### **1.2 Methodology**

The research combined various research methods, both quantitative and qualitative.

The quantitative data collection was done through a household questionnaire. The purpose of the questionnaire was to make a profile of the different household types encountered in the research area, with the objective of assessing differences in children's welfare between household types.

The structure of the questionnaire was adapted from the Willingness and Capacity to pay for Social Service Study (IDPC, 1998) carried out by the National Statistics Institute with UNICEF

funding. However, the questionnaire used different questions in contents and terms. The design of the questions was framed in such a way to assess the internal dynamics of the household members and to fit the research objectives. The questionnaire is divided into seven sections.

The data base was tested prior the main data collection, to ensure that it was suitable for the questionnaire format. The data was developed using IMPS (Integrated Micro Processing System) software developed by the US Bureau of Census. The cleaning of the data used two processes, namely cold deck and hot deck. Cold deck involves the proportional division of unanswered responses, while the hot deck involves the attribution of unanswered questions to other respondents of the same characteristics such as members of the same household and/or resident of the same area. The analysis involved classifying/categorising, coding the responses and processing them in a Statistical Package for Social Sciences programme (SPSS). Frequencies and cross tabulations were used to display relationships between variables and to inductively develop explanations.

The purpose of the qualitative part of the study was to enable women and children to talk freely and in turn check some of the findings drawn from the questionnaire. The process of selecting women and children's group to be part of the qualitative exercise consisted in identifying during the conduct of the questionnaire those who were willing to be part of the exercise. However, criteria such as age group; household structure (nuclear; extended); headship (male-headed; female-headed household); marital status (married; co-residence; separated; single and widow and year of residence in the area were taken into consideration.

The techniques used are as follows:

#### (A) Focus Group Discussion

The focus group discussion technique was used as a starting point to help structure the open-ended questions to be used in the semi-structured interviews. The questions in the focus group were not predetermined in a sense that it was left for the women themselves to chose the topics to be discussed.

Four groups of five women were divided according to age groups. Age groups were (19-25; 26-35; 36-45 and 46+). The purpose for separating women was to provide greater insights and to identify what issues were of relevance to the different age group . Topics chosen did not vary among the different age group. They revolved around women's difficulties in accessing social services in the area and their concern about the future of their children.

#### (B) Semi-structured Interviews

20 semi-structured interviews were conducted. The questions were drawn from the results of the focus group discussion. This permitted exploration of issues in more depth on an individual basis, and an open-ended dialogue with the interviewers.

10 children were also interviewed. These were selected in the households where women took part in the semi-structured interviews. Very little information was extracted from the children interviews, as it appeared that they felt inhibited to talk for not being used to express themselves in front of strangers. However, the interviews helped to gather information around

their day-to-day activities; their role in supplementing income and their perception for not having a father in the household.

### (C) Life-history

The life history exercise was conducted with 10 women selected from the focus group discussion 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 also to examine in more depth if significant changes happened across generation in terms of gender relations and perception of relationship, marriage, female headship and children's welfare.

Variables such as socio-economic characteristics were recorded and cross-checked with the objective of legitimising some of the findings and to establish when possible inter relationship of cause and effect. Last, the findings of the qualitative analysis were used to complement the quantitative findings.

The sample size was estimated using the formula below resulting in a final number of 300 households:

$$n = \frac{T^2 pq Deff}{2}$$

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;
- is the sampling error.
- is the level of confidence set at 95%
- T is 1.96 at the Normal Table.

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

The sampling design followed the steps of a stratified random sample. Nine bairros were chosen, 3 each in 3 communes (Cuca in Cazenga Municipality, Ngola Kiluanje in Sambizanga Municipality and Kikolo in Cacuaco Municipality). (Luanda has a total of 9 municipalities, each in turn sub-divided in 2 to 5 communes.). The choice of the research areas was motivated by a numbers of factors. The peri-urban areas of Luanda is very dense and the home of more than 2,000,000 habitants. The make-up of the peri-urban areas may appear to an outsider to have similarities yet each area has its own characteristics and differ from one another due to the year of existence, type of housing, the ethnic groups residing there, the provision of social services and the somehow marked presence of the main political party.

In addition, Development Workshop has intervened for some years in these communes, and has mapped them fully and has reasonable population estimates. They contain areas that have



been occupied for more than 10 years as well areas occupied much more recently. It was also assumed that a high number of female-headed households could be found in these areas.

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 different levels of access to the city centre and main transport routes.

**Table 1: Field work area**

Number per order	Comuna	Bairro	Estimated number Of households <sup>1</sup>	Number of interviews <sup>2</sup>
1.	<b>Cuca</b>			
1.1		S João sector 15	2374	51
1.2		Ilha da Madeira sector 12	986	21
1.3		Mabor sector 11	1036	22
2.	<b>Ngola Kiluanje</b>			
2.1		Farol das Lagostas	749	16
2.2		Ossos	3373	73
2.3		Val Saroca	3217	69
3.	<b>Kikolo</b>			
3.1		Augusto Ngangula sector 8	227	5
3.2		Compão sector 1	595	13
3.3		Boa Esperança sector 4	1456	30
			<b>Total.....</b>	<b>300</b>

### 1.3 The field team

Field work was carried out during the months of December 2001 and January 2002. The field team consisted of 8 students, 2 women and 6 men from the Faculty of Law of the Catholic and Luso Universities. A ninth person was appointed by DW to supervise the field team and check the questionnaires as these came back from the field. The questionnaires were in turn handed over to a specialist to be coded, and for the codes to be entered in the computer data base. The project coordinator (the eleventh member of the study team) supervised the field work, trained the field team and took overall responsibility for the facilitation of the qualitative part of the study.

Two training sessions were held prior to the field work. The objective of the first training session was to familiarize the field team with key concepts for carrying out interviews using the questionnaire. The objective of the second training session was testing of the questionnaire and the facilitation of focus group discussion.

<sup>1</sup>From a survey of the three Communes by INE and DW in January 2000, that mapped the Communes and their boundaries, mapped the bairros and their boundaries and counted the number of habitations in each bairro.

<sup>2</sup> One interview was carried out for each 46.7 households in each bairro (cf formula).

All members of the field team got involved in the qualitative exercise. Members were divided into 4 sub-teams of 2 persons each to conduct the quantitative interviews. In the qualitative part of the study there were 3 sub-teams of 3 persons each under the overall supervision of the project coordinator. In each sub-team, 2 members carried out the semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions or life-history collection, while the third member observed and took notes.

#### **1.4 Constraints and opportunities in the conduct of field work**

The field team experienced some difficulties to talk to people at random without being referred by a third party. In order to counter these impediments, an official letter highlighting the objectives of the study was handed over to local authorities in the research area. The involvement of fourth-year university students proved to be positive, in comparison with previous field research using community development workers. The academic level and interest of the students facilitated the work of the project coordinator and the analysis.

### **2.0 Main characteristics of the research area**

This section provides an overview of the main characteristics of the research area. The description of the area is not exhaustive, as DW and others NGOs have produced numerous reports on the make-up of the research area and in particular on the access to social services.

At the time of writing this study, millions of Angolans live in precarious conditions. Their basic human rights are also denied. The lack of human security has become an everyday reality, and women and children comprise the most vulnerable groups.

The violence of war has affected women differently from men. It is women who suffer most from landmines accidents, who have lost their husbands and sons through war, and whose children have suffered from a lack of social services. Infant mortality for children under five years old is among the highest in the world (150 per 100,000 births) (MICS, 2001). Supplies of food (nationally produced and imported) fall short of meeting international norms for minimum calorie intake requirements. More than one million people continue to rely on food distributions to survive, and an estimated 3.9 millions people have been displaced by the fighting (OXFAM, 2001).

Those displaced by fighting often settle in peri-urban areas of large cities where another fight starts, the search for housing, employment and networks to survive in an environment of high population density, unemployment and precarious living conditions. This study aims to identify how these people and women in particular adapt to the living environment of the peri-urban areas.

The province of Luanda comprises 9 municipalities that are in turn divided into 29 Communes. Communes are in turn divided into bairros, which are sub-divided in sectors, which are sub-divided in housing blocks. Communes, bairros and sectors vary widely in number and size. The municipalities and communes are headed by an administrator, who is supported by a technical staff and municipal directors of ministerial delegations. All respond to the administrative bodies of the provincial government of Luanda.

The research area is located about 7 kilometres from the central business district of the capital city of Luanda. The main characteristics of the area is that it host a great number of the refugees coming from various provinces of Angola and yet a sizeable proportion of its residents come from around Luanda. It provides ample enough basis to compare changes in the displaced community and resident population. Informal commercial activities is the main source of employment for the majority of residents. Formal sector employment is scarce and mostly performed by men. Four in every five women work in the informal urban economy (Save the Children, 2000). Five broad economic typologies can be found in the community. There are home-based business, petty trade in the neighbourhood markets, door to door retail trade, large businesses in larger market place such the Roque Santeiro and the Kwanza, wage employment in government offices and self-employed small scale industries operating in the community.

Local government in the three communes suffers from lack of financial means for public investment, qualified technical staff and administrative equipment. The majority of interviewees described local authorities as being remote and not reliable.

Quantitative results reveal that when asking household heads if they felt a sense of belonging in their community, more than the majority felt that they belong to their community with 59.8% for male heads of households and 53.2% for female heads. This may suggest that there is no correlation between weak governance and a feeling of belonging in the community.

**Table 2: Perception of belonging to the community by household type**

Responses	Male heads of household	Female heads of household
<b>Yes</b>	<b>59.8</b>	<b>53.2</b>
No	36.0	42.6
Undeclared	4.2	4.3
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

No further questions were asked to assess why people may not feel part of their community. However, one may suggest that when examining the type of activities in which male and female heads of households have taken part in the last month as table 3 shows, there are activities in which both heads of households take part equally such as cleaning campaign. Voluntary activities organised by the church were the most often mentioned community activities. It seems important to point out that male heads of households were more active in the water commission with 8.4 % in comparison with 2.1% of female heads. Although women and girl children are mainly responsible for fetching water, men are in general more active in the water commission as they are more vocal and have more time to participate.

**Table 3: Participation in community activities in the last month by household type**

Activities	Male heads of household	Female heads of household
Vaccination campaign	20.1	12.8
<b>Cleaning campaign</b>	<b>23.4</b>	<b>23.4</b>
Information campaign	6.3	4.3
March of protest	0.4	----
Social/cultural activities	2.5	2.1
<b>Voluntary activities</b>	<b>41.8</b>	<b>40.4</b>

<b>(Church)</b>		
Water commission	8.4	2.1
Parents association	1.3	-----
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

## 2.2 Housing

In the mid sixties to the early seventies the research area was inhabited by very few people. The land was occupied by Portuguese farmers and was for the wealthy to build weekend retreats and farmhouses. A few Angolan farm workers and guards were housed in wooden structures nearby but never allowed to become tenants.

Three types of housing are easily identifiable in the research area. Colonial houses made of bricks. These houses are found along the main roads and in adjacent sectors. Some of these houses have been abandoned and are in poor condition, without doors, windows and sanitation facilities. The very poor occupy some of these houses. The second type of housing are made of cement with a roofing materials made of corrugated iron sheets. The third type is made of wood and a combination of mud and logs, locally known as *pau-a-pique*. The roofing material is plastic sheets or cardboard. Most of these housing are in precarious conditions with very poor appearance and maintenance.

The majority of people live in houses made of unpainted cement blocks. Roofing materials are tin sheets or cardboard. Most houses are without bathrooms and without piped water. As table 4 shows, 58.4% of people in the three communes interviewed live in tin roof cement block houses.



**Table 4: Type of housing in the three communes**

Type of housing	In the 3 communes in %	N'Gola Kiluange in %	Cuca in %	Kikolo In %
Private brick residence <sup>1</sup>	7.0	8.8	4.9	4.4
<b>Cement block house<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>58.4</b>	<b>53.5</b>	<b>54.9</b>	<b>82.2</b>
Mud house <sup>3</sup>	16.8	22.6	14.6	----
Annexe <sup>4</sup>	10.8	7.5	17.1	11.1
Mud hut	6.3	6.9	8.5	----
Other	0.7	0.6	----	2.2
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

1 These were generally built during the colonial era

2 Tin roof cement block house

3 Tin roof mud house (*pau-a-pique*)

4 Tin roof cement house on property of a private brick residence

It was observed that most houses are poorly repaired. Households have few resources available for improvement or repair. Table 5 shows that households have limited resources to invest in housing, whether headed by men or women. Only 31.4 % of men and 38.3 % of women report housing in their first four most important categories of expenditure.

**Table 5: Reported household expenditure on housing by household type(%)**

Household types	Most important expenditure in last month	2 <sup>nd</sup> most important expenditure in last month	3 <sup>rd</sup> most important expenditure in last month	4 <sup>th</sup> most important expenditure in last month	Total
Men headed	6.7	7.5	11.7	5.4	31.4
Women headed	10.6	6.4	14.9	6.4	38.3

58.1% of people have lived in their present commune of residence for more than 10 years. As table 6 shows, the main reasons for settling in the area is firstly the war (with 38.3% of responses) and second the search for better opportunities (with 30.8% of responses).

Over 35 percent of the residents are from and around Luanda. Residents originating in northern provinces of Bengo, Malange, Uige and Zaire

**Table 6 : Years of residence**

Years of residence	In the 3 communes in %	N'Gola Kiluange in %	Cuca in %	Kikolo in %
Less than 1 year	2.8	3.8	2.0	----
From 1 to 5 years	22.9	27.9	13.7	20.8
From 5 to 10 years	16.2	15.4	21.6	8.3
<b>More than 10 years</b>	<b>58.1</b>	<b>52.9</b>	<b>62.7</b>	<b>70.8</b>
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 7: Main reasons for settling in the present area of residence**

Main reasons for settling	In the 3 communes in %	N'Gola Kiluange in %	Cuca in %	Kikolo in %
<b>War</b>	<b>38.3</b>	<b>49.1</b>	<b>22.6</b>	<b>33.3</b>
Marital union (partner)	2.8	3.6	3.2	---
<b>Search for better opportunities</b>	<b>30.8</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>45.2</b>	<b>38.1</b>
Request of a family member	20.6	20	19.4	23.8
Other	7.5	7.3	9.7	4.8
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

### 2.3 Water and sanitation

According to the MICS statistics for 2001, 11,3 % of people have access to canalised water in Luanda. Access to water is a major problems that people face in the peri-urban areas of large cities. Focus group discussions revealed that the responsibility to fetch water rests with women and girl children. Women and girl children interviewed reported that they spend between 2 and 3 hours a day in fetching water.

People interviewed in the focus group discussions referred to two means of accessing water. People who have financial means have built their own water tanks that are in turn supplied by water trucks. These also sell water by the bucket to their neighbours and use this as an income-generating activity. At the time of the study, prices varied between 8 Kz and 15 kz (0.27-0.51 USD) for 30 litres of water. Table 8 shows that only 14.7% of residents have a private water tank.





**Table 8: Percentage of households who own a water tank**

Household with water tank	Percent
<b>Yes</b>	<b>14.7</b>
No	83.9
Undeclared	1.4
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>100</b>

Owing a water tank may suggest a sign of wealth as the activity of fetching water in addition to the cost involved constitute an heavy burden for women and children in particular in the bairro as water does not have a substitute. The second alternative is to fetch water from a standpost (*chafariz*) that has been built by NGOs, such as DW. The use of standposts is very popular yet the supply of water is irregular due to the disrepair of main water pipes and the low capacity of the water company to invest in repairs.

In addition, the demand for water is high making the work of NGOs rather difficult to respond to the needs of the population (see, Robson et al, 2001 for full discussion). In areas where NGOs have not intervened in the water sector with the construction of stand posts, people often rely to cistern trucks that bring water to the bairros from the River Bengo and/or from piped water from houses in the bairros that are benefiting from canalised water. Although the later is not the most common use, it seems important to point out that most sources of water are untreated and unsafe to drink which further compound the increase of morbidity and mortality rates, particularly among children.

Sanitation is also a crucial problem and little is done by the municipal authorities to improve the collection of rubbish. As such, it was observed that people dispose of their rubbish in dispersed ways and mountains of rubbish are often found by the main roads, where these can remain



untouched for months.

At the household level, the use of private latrines is more common than shared ones as table 9 shows. This may be due in part to the fact that more of the majority of residents in the three communes have settled in the area for more than 10 years, and of the impact of the work of DW and other NGOs in motivating people to take advantage of their latrines construction programmes.

**Table 9: Percentage of households who use a private or shared latrine**

Households with private latrine	Percent	Households with shared latrine	Percent
<b>Yes</b>	<b>57</b>	Yes	28.7
No	32.2	<b>No</b>	<b>44.4</b>
Undeclared	10.8	Undeclared	26.9
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>Total.....</b>	<b>100</b>

## 2.1 Children's education

According to UNDP data for Angola for the year 2000, 34% of the population aged between 5-18 years have never been to school and the adult illiteracy rate is 58%, which is above the average for Sub-Saharan Africa (41.5%).

Gender disparities are more acute at the secondary level. Female enrolment declined from 35 per cent at primary level to seven per cent at the secondary level and to three per cent at post secondary and 0.1 per cent in the universities (see Ceita, 1999:59). The ratio of boys to girls in school is 110 boys for every 100 girls (see Ceita, 1999:13). The rate of dropouts is generally high and it is estimated that only 34 per cent of primary school entrants reach grade 5, in comparison with an average of 67 per cent in Sub-Saharan Africa (see UNDP, 1999:20).



Qualitative data through the focus group discussion and semi-structured interviews revealed that the main difficulties that the women interviewees experience with respect to access to education stem from three major problems.

First, the school registration process for entering the official primary level education system was described by the majority of interviewees as being tedious, opaque and expensive. Parents are required to submit a copy of their children's birth certificate and a copy of the parents' identification card (*bilhete de identidade*), in order to register their children in public school.

The majority of interviewees said that they still have difficulties in getting their children registered to get a *cedula* (birth certificate) although the efforts of the Ministry of Justice, UNICEF and the Catholic Church to create mechanisms to facilitate the access to registration posts. MICS statistics for 2001 show that only 29.3% of children have a birth certificate in the area of Luanda. Women interviewed complained that the registration post was always full and some indicated that '*I have been waiting in line at 4 in the morning and even like this could not get my children a birth certificate*'. Others said that they were required to pay a bribe to the officers in order to be granted a certificate '*Even by sleeping there, I had to pay 500 KZ (17 USD) per certificate*'.

Second, once parents have the necessary documents, they find that public schools are overcrowded and in poor physical conditions. '*Our children have to bring a can from home in order to seat because there are not enough chairs*'.

The quality of teaching was also often reported to be weak with little hope for improvement. *'Schools in the neighbourhood do not offer quality of teaching and our children do not learn much because teachers have a bad salary.'*

Last, women interviewees often reported that they have to pay to the teachers and/or schools directors a bribe (*gasosas*) that can vary from 500.000 KZ to 1.000.000 KZ (17 to 34 USD) to have their children registered in public schools.

Hence, those who cannot provide the necessary documents to register their children in the official schooling system and/or that do not have financial means to pay off bribes are left with the alternative of registering their children in the informal schooling system that are commonly called *'explicações'*. These are classes of 2 to 3 hours daily administered by untrained teachers. The amounts charged vary from 50 KZ (1.7 USD) per month up to the fourth class to 100 KZ (3.4 USD) per month from the 5th to the 8th class. *'This is our only solution to get our children a basic education'*. Classes given do not lead to a diploma and are not recognized by the Ministry of Education yet they serve as a means for children to be granted the opportunity to become functionally literate. Interviewees in general said that they were satisfied with the teaching as it constituted an alternative for their children not to remain uneducated. The deficiencies of the formal education system have led to private teaching becoming an income-generating activity. *'Explicacoes'* can be found in very informal structures such as in the backyard of the teachers' house and/or in churches.

There are no data available on the proportions of *'explicações'* in the bairro to assess correctly the magnitude of the problem and the number of children in the bairro that rely on this alternative to study. As such, the deficiencies in the schooling system, and personal circumstances, lead to children being many years behind in their schooling. The story of Cristina provides such example.

Cristina is a 40 year old petty trader, living in a polygamous situation as the second wife since the death of the father of her children. She has four children from her first relationship. Cristina explained that her children are very behind in school because of the war of 1992, as they had to stop studying. The 19 year old is in the 9<sup>th</sup> grade, the 17 year old in the 7<sup>th</sup> grade and the 14 year old is in 2<sup>nd</sup> grade. Her last child is sick and has not been able to study beyond 2<sup>nd</sup> grade and is not studying at the moment. Cristina went from doctor to doctor and now has stopped because no one can tell her why her son is sick.

Women interviewed during the semi-structured interviewees and focus group discussion in both household types mentioned their concerns for their children's education. All expressed the same worry that were assessed in describing the education sector in the research area that is the concern of having a low quality and corrupted education system. They also often commented that they saw a great value for their children in getting an education: this would provide a better life than the children and, later on in life, allow them to take care of their parents.

Fatima said that she wants her children to study so tomorrow they can have a life, a job and a car. She also commented that she knows that they will take care of her in her old age and would like to live with them in her old age and prays every day for them to remain interested in school.

Although, as it was observed that there exist various factors leading to the poor performance of children in school, it seems that as it was observed through semi-structured interviews that the main causes of children dropping-out of school is lack of financial means. In addition, it was observed that in female-headed households where men have an irregular presence in the household, children tend to suffer from paternal guidance and this leads to performing less in school. The following interview exemplifies this.

Bernardo is 15 years old and live with his mother and five sisters of which three are single mothers. He said that he is afraid of his father because he often beats him. He only talks to him when his father asks him. He wishes that his father could stay with them on a permanent basis. Bernardo ran away from home and became a street child for over one month. In the street, Bernardo was looking for food in the garbage and asking people for money. His father looked for him and brought him back home. In the street, Bernardo said that his friends were sniffing gas and he did not like it. Bernardo said that he no longer in school because he lost interest and also because his friends are no longer in school. He wishes to go back to school but feels ashamed because he does not read very well.

Quantitative data revealed that spending on education is the about the third most important category of expenditure in household expenditure in both male-headed and female-headed households (with similar levels of expenditure to housing and clothing, but behind food and health). Even in female-headed households this appears to be the case, perhaps indicating a wish to ensure a good future for their children even if reducing expenditure on clothing or other needs.

**Table 10: Reported household expenditures by order of importance in households headed by women**

<b>Expenses</b>	<b>Most important expenditure in the last month</b>	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> most important expenditure in the last month</b>	<b>3<sup>rd</sup> most important expenditure in the last month</b>
Food	<b>55.3</b>	36.2	8.5
Health	36.2	<b>40.4</b>	10.6
Education	6.4	23.4	<b>29.8</b>
Clothing	2.1	12.8	<b>14.9</b>
Social activities	6.4	4.3	<b>12.8</b>
Expenses on housing	4.3	8.5	<b>31.9</b>
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 11: Reported household expenditure on education by order of importance in households headed by men**

Items	Most important expenditure in the last month	2 <sup>nd</sup> most important expenditure in the last month	3 <sup>rd</sup> most important expenditure in the last month	4th most important expenditure in the last month
Schooling materials	17	10.6	2.1	29.8
Schooling fees	14.9	4.3	6.4	---
Teachers fees	4.3	10.6	14.9	---
Parents association fees	---	---	---	8.5

Costs of materials, school fees and teachers fees are the main forms of education expenditure. Female-headed households mention more often teachers' fees: this may be because female-headed households may use more often the informal schooling system. This may be why they mention less often fees for the parents' association.

### 3.0 FEMALE HEADSHIP AND GENDER ROLES

The aim of this section is to examine the demographic characteristics of the population in the three communes studied, by drawing a profile of different household types, and examine the differences in living conditions between different types of household, assessing the effects on household members and children in particular.

The variables used are:

- Household structure
- Headship
- Marital status
- Reasons for separation within households headed by women
- Gender roles across household types

Female-headed households have not been explicitly studied in Angola. A country gender analysis conducted in 1991 for the Swedish International Authority (SIDA) concluded that female-headed households are numerous and among the most disadvantaged and comprise the core of rural poverty (see Hurlich, 1991). However, the same study acknowledged the fact that there are no accurate statistics on the number of such households, nor any survey identifying the reasons for their frequency or for their impoverishment. The hypothetical reasons stated in that study for their constitution include war, abandonment and displacement (ibid).

A more recent study estimated that women head approximately 31.1 per cent of households in Angola, with female-headed households making up 28.6 per cent in the urban areas, and 32.6 per cent in rural areas (UNICEF, 1997). These estimates may have changed since the resumption of war in 1998, although there are no up to date surveys or studies that can verify these estimates.

#### 3.1 Household structure

Most households are extended households (that is parents and children and others relative ) with usually 8 household members, and with an average of 4 children per households. The Portuguese language is mainly spoken by all household members. Table 12 shows the structure of households, and table 13 shows that both male- and female-headed households are usually extended households.

**Table 12: Household structure**

Household structure	In the 3 communes in %	N'Gola Kiluange in %	Cuca in %	Kikolo in %
<b>Extended</b>	<b>66.8</b>	<b>66.7</b>	<b>67.1</b>	<b>66.7</b>
Nuclear	33.2	33.3	32.9	33.3
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 13 : Household structure by household type**

Household structure in the three communes	Households headed by men	Households headed by women
<b>Extended</b>	<b>66.1</b>	<b>70.2</b>
Nuclear	33.9	29.8
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

The reasons why households are mostly extended may derive from the fact that as seen as well in other DW studies (see Robson et al for full discussion) that family members coming from the provinces settle first with their relatives and then move further away where population density and land prices are lower as they cannot afford to rent and/or buy houses in the same communes than their relatives. In addition, the effects of war have led to the spreading of relatives between families already settled in peri-urban areas. As one interviewee said, *'there is nothing we can do but receive our family's members even if we cannot even afford a meal for our own children'*.

Household structure are often embedded comprising up to three generations share the same housing compound but from separate households, as they do not share consumptions activities. It was also observed that in some cases, a *quintal* (yard) is shared among different households where latrines can be found and/or cooking/washing take place.

### 3.2 Headship and demographics

This study used three criteria to define the head of the household and let the interviewees decide on who is the head of the household. These criteria were (i) authority, (ii) decision-making and (iii) economic provision.

The majority of women and men when living under the same roof gave greater importance to the criteria of authority and decision-making to define the household head, and less importance to the criteria of economic provision. Women were quick to point out their partner as the household head on the basis of their gender, the authority criteria and the perception by the community. For instance, the majority of women interviewed reported, *'my husband is the head of the household because he is the man of the house and the one who speaks on behalf of all of us'*. Others commented, *'a household should always be headed by a man and in case of his absence, the eldest son or male relative is the head'*. A woman that had an unemployed partner explained that *'to be the head of the household does not mean to bring money home but it means that the man cares for the household'*. Lastly, women often commented, *'a household headed by a man is regarded with more respect by others.'*

Esperança, a 52 years old petty trader, stressed that *'the head of household is automatically the man, he is the head because he is the father of the house. A household without an adult male receive less respect from the community for not having a man in the house. Children without a father do not show respect to their mother. I have the example of my sister that does not have a male partner in the house and her children misbehave all the time. In my case, I always tell my children wait and see when your father returns, he will tell you what to do'*.

The semi-structured interviews and focus group discussion revealed greater details of the meaning of the three criteria. Some women concluded that they were in fact the household head but it was better to say that their husband was the head in order not to have problems. These comments were mostly found in groups of women who had unemployed partners. As one of them 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 and makes all the decisions'*.

The explanations of women with no partner (*de jure* female heads such as widows, abandoned and single mothers) about how to determine the head of the household were that they were the head because they were solely in charge of the household, but their comments were similar to women with a partner. For example, a widow commented *'a head of household is automatically the husband or the man in the house. The head can also be a woman if there is no man around'*.

Cultural values thus seem to be important in determining headship. Hence, it seems that partnered women regardless of the fact that they may be the sole economic provider for the household consider their partner as the head based on gender and authority.

As table 14 shows, more than half of households are headed by men.

**Table 14: Headship by gender**

Household type	In the 3 communes in %	N'Gola Kiluange in %	Cuca in %	Kikolo in %
<b><i>Household headed by men</i></b>	<b><i>87.8</i></b>	<b><i>87.4</i></b>	<b><i>91.5</i></b>	<b><i>82.2</i></b>

Household headed by women	12.2	12.6	8.5	17.8
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Female heads of households comprise a heterogeneous group, and the reasons for formation of such households are varied. This study defines female-headed households in using Youssef and Helter classification (1983:20) as follows:

(1) divorced, separated, abandoned and widow who do not have an adult man in residence (*de jure*); (2) separated, single mothers and never married women who are in a polygamous or polygynous situation (fend for themselves) (*de jure*); (3) married or non-married women whose husband or partner is absent due to migration or war (*de facto*); (4) married or non-married women who have disabled or unemployed husbands/partners (*de facto*) and (5) married or non-married women whose male spouse or partner is absent, but one or more adults males or adults female are in residence (*de facto/de jure*).

It is thus also important to investigate the marital status of women when studying female-headed households.

**Table 15: Marital status**

Marital status	In the 3 communes in %	Household headed by men	Household headed by women
Married	8.4	9.2	4.3
<b>Co-residence</b>	<b>76.9</b>	<b>83.7</b>	<b>42.6</b>
Separated	7.0	2.1	31.9
Single	3.5	3.8	2.1
Widow	4.2	1.3	19.1
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 15 shows that more than half the interviewees are not formally married and live in co-residence. Furthermore, semi-structured interviews and life stories revealed that most births occurred outside of formal marriage, and this can lead to the formation of female-headed households, in a context where there are few mechanisms to enforce men's parental responsibilities towards their children.

The reasons why couples do not formally marry are that marriage involves bureaucratic procedures and a financial outlay. Some women also explained that their union to their partner was celebrated among family's members, and this entails a formal request among family members to celebrate a union (*pedido*). In case of separation, the family will get together to resolve the question or agree on the separation.

**Table 16: Reasons for separation of female heads of households.**

Reasons for separation	3 communes in %	N'Gola Kiluange	Cuca	Kikolo



Death	10	8.3	16.7	---
Domestic violence	5	8.3	----	---
Other women	25	16.7	50	---
Bad behaviour (drinking)	15	8.3	---	100
Family pressures	15	16.7	16.7	---
Other		8.3---	---	---
Un declared	25	33.3---	16.7---	---
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

A range of factors may lead to the constitution of female-headed households and as table 16 shows. The sensitivity of the question makes it difficult to explore a questionnaire, but in life stories extra-marital affairs and domestic violence were often mentioned as the lead factor for separation. The 100% in Kikolo for the bad behaviour is difficult to assess on its own as some women were often reluctant to provide details to this question and rather point out the answer that they felt more comfortable with. Moreover, the sensitivity of the question is difficult to be answered in a questionnaire. As such, life stories revealed that extra marital affairs and domestic violence were also often pointed out as the lead factor for separation.

### 3.3 Factors leading to the formation of female-headed households

Esperança never married the father of her children and has left him five years ago. She said that problems started after the birth of their third child. Her partner spent long period of time without coming home, and Esperança did not know of his whereabouts, But when she dared to ask he will become violent and beat her. Esperança said that she got tired of being abused and decided it was best to leave him because she was afraid for her children.

Her partner has since formed another household and has not helped her financially nor visited his children. Esperanca said that she does not want to have another man in her life because she already has three children and life is very difficult as it is.

There are various reasons that have been given in other studies for the formation of female-headed households in Angola. The 1993 study by the National Institute of Statistics refers to the high level of divorce and separation as primary factors: this was estimated to be 10 per cent per annum in 1992 (see INE, 1993). Another study stressed that the high male mortality rate, due to the war, has caused a demographic imbalance between men (49 per cent) and women (51 per cent) (see, Pehrsson *et al*, 2000). Pehrsson *et al* (2000:18) stress that there are ten times more widows than widowers in the age group 30 and above. Last, the practice of polygamy and polygyny are often given as reasons.

This study used the variables such as age at union and pregnancy out of wedlock as determining factors leading to the formation of female-headed households based on the assumption that they could explain in part the reasons why women may become female heads of households.

**Table 17: Women's and men's age at union (i.e marriage, co—residence)**

Age group of women and men	Men heads of household in %	Women heads of household in %
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12-18	12.1	<b>25.5</b>
19-25	<b>42.7</b>	<b>25.5</b>
26-35	<b>16.7</b>	10.6
36-45	3.8	2.1
46 +	0.8	2.1
Undeclared	23.8	34
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

For instance, table 17 suggests that men have a tendency to form a union with younger women. This appears to be rooted in cultural beliefs, which stress that younger women are a source of pride to older men. The high undeclared percentage to this question may suggest that the respondents in some cases did not know with exactitude the age of their partner at union.

Pregnancy out of wedlock is another demographic factor that can be largely explained by cultural factors and poverty. Table 18 shows that more than half of female heads of household do not use family planning. This may suggest that women who lack guidance or knowledge on reproductive rights and family planning run greater risk of becoming single mothers. The poor health services are not able to provide health guidance. In addition, it is a commonly-held belief in Angola that women should bear at least one child out of gratitude for each of their male partners. This facilitates the abandonment of men's parental responsibilities in cases where women have been having children with different men.

**Table 18: Use of family planning by women heads of household**

<b>Use of family planning</b>	<b>In the 3 communes in %</b>	<b>N'Gola Kiluange</b>	<b>Cuca</b>	<b>Kikolo</b>
Yes	8.5	12.5	----	10
No	<b>44.7</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>46.2</b>	<b>30</b>
Un declared	46.8	37.5	53.8	60
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

### **3.4 Gender roles in different types of household**

This study opted to study gender roles along traditional lines of division of labour at household level with the objective to assess differences in between household types. The following variables were taken into consideration:

- Help in domestic tasks
- Regularity of the household members in sharing domestic tasks
- The role of children in the domestic tasks

The semi-structured interviews and focus group discussion revealed that boys have a privileged position in the household in comparison with girl children, in all types of household. Mothers were quick to answer that the boys were not often asked to do household tasks, as they do not have the required skills to perform them well and are reluctant to do them. When questioned why there is such a distinct separation of gender roles, women often answered that it has been that way for ever and did not see how it could change.

Tabita, 39 years old explained that only her girl children do the household's tasks on a regular basis. Tabita only 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.

It was observed that girl children in all household types are regularly involved in sharing household tasks with their mother. Semi-structured interviews revealed that when a girl child turns 6 years old, she is expected to clean dishes and to take part on some of the cleaning. By 10 years old and sometimes younger, a girl child will fetch water or queue for water. These tasks take up two to three hours per day.

Hence, the role of children in household tasks is gendered and rooted in cultural belief. However, it was observed that in households headed by women, there was a greater sharing of responsibilities among household members in household tasks. The sharing of responsibilities may stem from the fact that in the absence of men, male children take on male roles at an earlier age for helping out their mothers on one hand and for being considered as household heads on the other.

#### 4.0 Economic activities

The aim of this section is to assess the participation in economic activities of household members and household heads in particular with the objective to examine how household types are responding to adversity. A particular attention is given to female heads of households. This section also examines the role of children in supplementing incomes with the objective with the objective to examine if there is a transmission of poverty to children in female-headed households.

The variables used are as follows:

- ❑ Main economic activities of household heads
- ❑ Remuneration in the last month
- ❑ Weekly work burden spent in the place of work
- ❑ Existence and use of savings
- ❑ Reliance on wider networks for survival

Table 19 shows the involvement in different types of economic activities according to household types in the three communes. It shows that in both household types, apart from the younger household members that are still studying, the others household members are mainly involved in informal economic activities. Households headed by women are more dependent on informal economic activities.

**Table 19: Type of economic activities of household members by household type**

Economic activities	Household members in male-headed households in %	Household members in female-headed households
---------------------	--	---

Public sector	5.7	2.8
Private sector	5.1	4.7
<b>Informal sector</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>30.2</b>
Domestic	1.6	3.8
Unemployed without looking for work	10.4	8.5
Unemployed looking for work	4.2	1.9
Retired	0.4	----
Only studying	49.4	48.1
Military in the reserve	0.2	----
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 20: Type of economic activities of heads of household by household type**

Type of economic activities	Male heads of household in %	Female heads of household in %
Public sector	26	15.2
Private sector	28.1	13
<b>Informal sector</b>	<b>31.6</b>	<b>58.7</b>
Domestic	1.7	4.3
Unemployed without looking for work	2.6	6.5
Unemployed looking for work	8.5	2.2
Retired	0.9	----
Military in the reserve	0.9	----
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 20 shows that female heads of household are more inclined to be involved in economic activities in the informal sector. Male heads of household are more likely to be employed formally, in either the private or public sector.

The lack of efficient employment policies and a fragile economy is thought to contribute to the entry of the majority of people in activities in the informal sector. Women and youths are thought to be more involved in the informal sector (UNDP, 1999). Although the informal economic sector may depend on a few powerful large scale operators, it employs a large number of people who depend on it for survival at a small scale level with very low rates of return.

#### **4.1 The role of the informal sector**

When there are no adult males in the households, women have developed multiple mechanisms to survive. These are informal economic activities, as they have difficulty accessing formal employment and need an income every day, however small.

The consequences of women's involvement in the informal sector on children's welfare were observed in the following ways. Mothers with young infants that are still breast feeding are usually not left behind at home and are carried by their mothers on their back in the place of work whether at the market place or at the door step. For the case of children that are not longer breast feeding and walk on their own, women tended to leave them behind at home

under the supervision of a older sibling or with relatives. It seemed difficult to assess the indirect negative impact of this practice on children as overall, it appeared that there were no difference in male and female-headed households of this phenomenon and that the main problem stem from the lack of pre-school in the bairro to integrate young children, thus leaving children most of the day alone at home without adults.

Luzia is 27 years old de facto heads of household. She has been involved in commercial activities in the informal sector since she was 15 years old. She commented that she never wanted to get a job in the formal sector because of her reluctance to wait until the end of the month to receive a salary. She stressed that she needs cash right away to take care of her family. Luzia rents a market stall at the market place, where she sells beverages. She has fixed clients, and has kept records of her spending since her involvement in a credit association sponsored by DW. She claimed that she is able to take care of her family even though her partner does not provide economically to the household.

However, it seems important to point out that not all women are successful in the informal sector. As such, the story of Maria reveals that economic activities in the sector can often be strenuous and not profit orientated.

Maria is a 30 years old de jure heads of household. She sells fresh fruits from outside the market place as she cannot afford to pay the monthly fee to rent a stall. She does not keep written records of her spending, so she 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 provide dinner to her children. She often swaps some of her fruits for a cup of rice and oil in order to provide a small dinner. Maria is also a member of DW managed credit association after being invited to by one of her friends.

Table 21 shows the number of weekly hours spent working by male heads of households, while table 22 shows the number of weekly hours spent working by female heads of households.

**Table 21: Weekly work burden of male heads of household**

Number of weekly hours	Male heads of households in N'Gola Kiluange	Male heads of households in Cuca	Male heads of households in Kikolo
Less than 12 hours	----	5.7	1.4
12 to 18 hours	2.9	3.8	4.1
19 to 24 hours	8.8	1.9	1.4
25 to 30 hours	2.9	3.8	1.4
31 to 36 hours	8.8	7.5	10.1
37 to 42 hours	8.8	5.7	18.2
43 to 48 hours	---	9.4	14.2
<b>More than 49 hours</b>	<b>67.6</b>	<b>62.3</b>	<b>49.3</b>
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 22: Weekly work burden of female heads of household in the three communes**

Number of weekly hours	Female heads of households in N'Gola Kiluange	Female heads of households in Cuca	Female heads of households in Kikolo
Less than 12 hours	---	11.1	---
12 to 18 hours	---	---	3.7
19 to 24 hours	---	---	3.7
25 to 30 hours	---	---	7.4
31 to 36 hours	---	---	7.4
37 to 42 hours	---	---	22.2
43 to 48 hours	20	11.1	11.1
<b>More than 49 hours</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>77.8</b>	<b>44.4</b>
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 21 and 22 show that more than half of household heads report spending more than 49 hours working every week. A higher proportion of female heads of household report spending more than 49 hours working every week.

**Table 23: Reported monthly remuneration of household heads**

Monthly remuneration	Male heads of household	Female heads of household
Less than de 500 KZ (17 USD)	13.3	20
500 to 1000 KZ (17-34 USD)	26.7	20
1001 to 1500 KZ (34-50 USD)	13.3	----
1501 to 2000 KZ (50—70)	13.3	----
<b>More than 2000 KZ (70 USD)</b>	<b>33.3</b>	<b>60</b>
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 23 shows that the monthly reported remuneration of female heads of household is greater than that reported by male heads of household. Although the data in the above table suggest that female heads of household may be better off than male heads of household when it comes to monthly remuneration, these findings may be analysed with caution due to the often inaccuracy of reporting . Moreover, other variables such as the number of earners contributing to the household should be taken into consideration. In addition, the existence and use of savings of household heads may be of help to cross check these findings.

#### **4.3 The role of children in supplementing income and transmission of disadvantage**

Semi-structured interviews revealed that children are often helping their mothers in their commercial activities if those are taking place from home, such as overlooking the merchandises being sold from a stall at the door step. During the conduct of the field work and through the focus group of children, no cases were reported in which children were engaged in their own economic activities.

It was however observed that, in both types of household, all younger working adults contribute to the household budget. However young women with their own children, but living

with their parents, may be out of work and not bring in an income. When asking whether unemployed, younger adults constitute an extra burden, mothers said that they wished their children could contribute but understood that the overall lack of employment and opportunities were not conducive for them to do so.

Working, younger adults were mainly involved in activities in the informal sector (about 14 % in both household types). Just over 60% of household members are children still in school.

The main cases of transmission of disadvantage found in the present study concerned younger adults rather than children. The following may illustrate this statement.

Augusta was born in Bie province and settled in Cuca commune with her parents when she was an infant. She stopped studying after completing the 4<sup>th</sup> class (elementary) for lacking financial means to remain in school. Augusta met the father of her children through her friends in the bairro, 9 years ago and lived together for 7 years. They did not get married, but her partner asked Augusta's mother for the permission to date Augusta. Augusta got pregnant with her first child at 17. They moved in a rental house in the bairro. At the time, her partner was working at the Luanda port. Augusta said that he never gave her money and was drinking all the time. After having two other children, the problems started. Her partner started to stay out all night and she found out that he was having affairs. Augusta decided to leave him, returned to live with her mother. Augusta's mother has been abandoned by her partner and is not working. She used to sell at the market place vegetables but since the father of her children left her she has not been able to accumulate the necessary capital to get back to work. At the time of the interview, the household was composed of 12 people of which three daughters who had returned to live with their mother for having left their partner. Since Augusta moved back with her mother, the father of her children visit her twice a week; "eu ja nao gosto dele". Augusta said that she does not feel anything for him anymore. When one of her children gets sick, she will ask him for help. She met another man . Augusta said that she wants to give him 2 children; "Devo fazer dois filhos para consolidar a nossa relação". Her new boyfriend is giving her money from time to time and said that he is willing to live with her. Augusta has heard of family planning but is not using it. When asking Augusta how she felt about returning living with her mother, knowing that her 2 other sisters had done the same, she said that it was not for a very long time and knew that she will soon live with her new boyfriend.

A way to assess the likely difference in terms of children's welfare across household types may be through the weight given across alimentary products.



**Table 24: Household expenditures on food by order of importance by households headed by men**

<b>Expenses</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
Wheat/potatoes	<b>75.3</b>	17.6	6.3	---	---	0.4
Cereals/beans	20.9	<b>44.8</b>	17.6	13.8	2.1	---
Oil	0.4	21.3	<b>56.5</b>	18.4	0.4	----
Fruits/vegetables	---	0.4	2.5	9.6	<b>42.3</b>	11.3
Fish/meat	3.3	15.1	16.3	<b>44.4</b>	5.4	1.3
Dairy products	----	---	0.4	2.9	12.1	<b>36</b>



**Table 25: Reported household expenditure on food by order of importance by households headed by women in the last month**

Expenses	1	2	3	4	5	6
Wheat/potatoes	<b>48.9</b>	34	8.5	4.3	---	2.1
Cereals/beans	34	<b>42.6</b>	14.9	8.5	---	---
Oil	4.3	10.6	<b>44.7</b>	25.5	10.6	---
Fruits/vegetables	2.1	4.3	4.3	4.3	<b>57.4</b>	4.3
Fish/meat	8.5	14.8	23.4	<b>40.4</b>	4.3	----
Dairy products	2.1	2.1	4.3	2.1	31.9	<b>42.6</b>

All households types report low expenditure on fish and meat and dairy products, though these are the most expensive products. Low levels of expenditure are reported on fruit and vegetables. Higher levels of expenditure are reported on main staples such as wheat and potatoes, cereals and beans.

Discussions (in the wider gender and development literature) about transmission of disadvantages to children, suggest that children in female-headed households may suffer from greater disadvantages due to the absence of a male household head. In this research, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions among female-headed households tended suggested that the factors of transmission of disadvantage to children were due to external factors (access and delivery of social services such as education and health, endemic poverty in the bairro) rather than household headship. In addition, the findings from the quantitative research on the distribution of household expenditures on food and education showed that they did not reveal major differences between household types.

This seems to be confirmed by other studies. The 1995 national poverty analysis was conducted by the National Institute of Statistics in six large cities (including their peri-urban areas) covering a total of 5783 households: it concludes that poverty in Angola is a generalised phenomenon that is affecting the majority of the country's population (see Gonzalez de la Rocha, 2000). In addition, it suggested that gender was not an important factor in the determination of poverty, and that there were no significant differences between households headed by women or men. Last, it concluded that households headed by women are often characterised by equal or even higher incomes and consumption levels than their male counterpart (see UNDP, 2000:28).

#### 4.4 Existence and use of savings

The existence and use of savings may be use as an indicator to assess if household tend to have an economic return on their activities. It may also reveal if credit association run by NGOs such as DW have an impact on the household economy. In addition it may help foresee if households use wider network for survival and if those differ according to household type.

**Table 26: Existence of savings by household type**

Existence of savings	Male heads of household	Female heads of household
<b>Yes</b>	<b>55.2</b>	45
<b>No</b>	44.8	<b>55</b>
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 26 shows that male heads of households report savings more frequently than female heads of household, though the difference between the two is not substantial. However, these findings may indicate that men in male-headed households may benefit from the fact that their spouse may also be working, which may allow them to retain some of their revenue for their savings.

**Table 27: Use of savings according by household heads**

Item	Male heads of household	Female heads of household
Health	44.7	11.1
<b>Education</b>	<b>15.8</b>	<b>33.3</b>
Food	2.6	22.2
Recreational activities	2.6	---
<b>Accumulation of capital</b>	<b>28.9</b>	<b>11.1</b>
Others	5.3	22.2
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 27 shows that the use of savings differs significantly between female heads of household and male heads of households. Male heads of household use their savings to accumulate capital and for health needs. It seems also important to point out that female heads of households do not use any of their savings for recreational activities in comparison to male heads of household who use 2.6%.

In addition, in examining more closely table 10 which indicated that food is the highest priority of monthly household expenditure in female-headed household with 55.5% followed by health with 40.4% and education with 29.8%, table 27 reinforced that female heads of household may have a higher concern for better nutrition than male heads of households if female heads of household use 22.2% of their savings on food. The fact that male heads of household use 44.7% on health and only 2.6% on food reveal that they have greater necessity for health needs leading to suggest children's welfare in male heads of household is worse off than in female-headed households.

#### **4.4 Reliance on wider networks for survival**

The reliance on wider networks for survival may indicate the extent in which household type use and /or create social capital. It may also indicate how and what people do to compensate the absence of functioning and reliable basic social services. The majority of heads of household report that they have nobody from whom to request financial help in times of need. Female heads of household are more likely to have nobody from who to request financial help in times of need. This may suggest that there is a general depletion of resources in the community or little trust among people. Female-headed households have less secure household economies, but fewer sources of outside help in times of difficulty. Table 28 also shows that relatives are the main source of loans and financial help. Friends are the next most important group of people, but much less frequently mentioned.

**Table 28: People and institutions from whom loans requested in times of need**

<b>People</b>	<b>Male heads of households</b>	<b>Female heads of households</b>
Partner	2.9	----
<b>Relatives</b>	<b>21.3</b>	<b>23.4</b>
Son/daughter	0.8	----
<b>Friends</b>	<b>12.6</b>	<b>12.8</b>
Neighbours	5.4	4.3
Church	1.3	----
Influent people in the community	1.7	----
Colleagues from the work place	8.4	----
<b>Nobody</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>61.7</b>
Others	4.2	----
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Other studies seem to reach the conclusion that people in the bairro have less and less network to rely on and that the church seem to occupy a larger place for support (see, Robson et al, 2001 for full discussion).

## 6.0 Conclusions and recommendations

### 6.1 Conclusions

This study set out to improve understanding on the living conditions of household in the research area in the peri-urban bairros of Luanda, with particular reference to female-headed households. It also aimed to examine if transmission of disadvantages to children are more likely to take place in households headed by women. In examining the objectives of the study the conclusions are as follows:

- Make a profile of different households types;

Households are large while houses are small. Low incomes leave few resources available for housing. The high ownership of private latrines may indicate some impact of work by DW and other NGOs. The living environment of the research area seems to lead residents of the bairros (irrespective of their household types) to suffer from external constraints such as a deficiency of access and delivery of social services and employment. Children's education is the main concern for women interviewed.

- Assess the responses to adversity of female-headed and male-headed households;

There is little difference in the way household type respond to adversity. Overall, both household types rely heavily on the informal sector as it is an everyday reality due to the lack of

a formal service. The acceptance of this situation as inevitable reduces pressure for policies to provide reliable services and formal employment. One immediate implication of this deficiency is the heavy reliance on 'a do-it-yourself response' by household members for access to services, based on individual abilities rather than on household headship.

- Assess the reliance on wider networks for survival of female-headed and male-headed households;

The reliance on wider networks for survival is slightly higher in male-headed households than in female-headed households. This may suggest that there is a general depletion of resources in the community or little trust among people on one hand and that female headed households have less secure household economies, but fewer sources of outside help in times of difficulty

- Assess the effects of changes in household arrangements on household members, and on children in particular.

Men head the majority of households. Even though women may be the main economic provider to the household, women do not perceive themselves as the household head for cultural reasons. It appears that there is social stigmatisation of female heads of household, which leads to women fearing to become vulnerable and so remaining with a partner. Children in female-headed households are not worse off than their counterparts in male-headed households. Children in both households contribute to household chores and help their mothers in their commercial activities if those are taking place from home. No cases were reported in which children were engaged in their own economic activities. The distribution of household expenditures on food and education showed that they did not reveal major differences between household types. The use of savings by household types however indicated that female-headed households use a good proportion of their savings on food whereas men use it in health needs suggesting that children's welfare in male heads of household is worse off than in female-headed households.

## 6.2 Recommendations

Micro development interventions could focus in the following:

### Children's education

Addressing the problem of the low number of registration posts and their deficient operation may be a way to tackle differences in education opportunities. Use of local intermediaries in the bairros could facilitate the registration process of children. These local intermediaries could be the local churches since both male and female heads of households in the bairros seem to be actively involved in activities organized by the churches.

Taking into consideration the importance given to education for children in an attempt to break the cycle of poverty, even by parents with very limited income, it may be worthwhile to invest in

the physical structures of both schooling systems and human capital of teachers. In addition, lobbying government to invest in the education sector in the bairros in a more systematic way could minimize the already existing disparities between the formal and informal education system.

#### Support of income-generation activities

Consideration should be given to how to support income-generation by men as well as by women, given the low contribution to household incomes by men and the tension this seems to cause within households. Non-governmental local partners already working in the bairro to build upon existing experiences and knowledge of the area could implement these.

#### Continuing research on gender issues

There is a crucial need for further research on gender issues, and on the demographic, social and economic factors in the formation of households. The little understanding provided in this study revealed that a gender analysis framework is of need to better address the needs of women, men and children. This in turn could enhance the re-adjust of gender relations to the needs of both women and men equally, in a process of sustainable development.



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