

# **Participatory Pedagogies, Educational Associativism & Knowledge Production in Angolan Schools: Exploring Institutional Spaces for Gender *Conscientisation***

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## **Abstract**

This research is a study about gender and participatory pedagogies in schools of the programme of formal education Onjila, run by the Angolan NGO ADRA in partnership with the Ministry of Education. Based on a *Social Relations* Approach (Kabeer, 1994), three different institutional locus are explored: the Household, the State and the Civil Society, the latter with a focus on ADRA, the programme Onjila, its participatory methodology CAT and its Zones of Pedagogical Influence ZIPs. Departing from these three interrelated spaces, some strategies for ADRA and Onjila are suggested. More concretely, Chapter 1 and 2 explore respectively the causes for gender educational inequalities within the Families and the State. Chapter 3 analyses the reciprocal influences between ADRA, the Household, the State and other organisations of the Civil Society in terms of gender educational inequalities as well as the integration of gender in the pedagogical and social components of Onjila and ADRA. Chapter 4 proposes strategies for action based on the preceding chapters.

*“Why am I compelled to write? Because the writing saves me from this complacency I fear. Because I have no choice. Because I must keep the spirit of my revolt and myself alive. Because the world I create in the writing compensates for what the real world does not give me. By writing I put order in the world, give it a handle so I can grasp it” – Speaking in Tongues: A Letter to Third World Women Writers, This Bridge Called My Back  
Gloria Andalzúa*

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‘O nené que não chora, não mama’  
[the baby that does not cry, does not suckle]

*Governmental Representative,  
Dombe Grande, Angola*

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## Introduction

This research took place in Angola during the summer of 2006 under the auspices of the DRC – Development Research Centre – Citizenship Internship Programme. The Angolan NGO *ADRA (Action for Rural Development and Environment)* entered the programme in 2006 within the research theme ‘Deepening Democracies in States and Localities’, joining the IDS – Institute of Development Studies and six more country partners from Bangladesh, Brazil, India, Nigeria, South Africa and the UK.

ADRA was created in 1990 with the objective of ‘helping people affected by the war to reconstruct their lives’ (ADRA, 2004: 1) and presently works in six of the eighteen Angolan provinces (Bengo, Benguela, Huambo, Huila, Luanda and Malanje). Committed to the autonomy and self-development of communities, ADRA aims to reinforce organisational capacity and to dialogue with local authorities. The *Strategic Action Plan (SAP) 2004-2008* targets to move from emergency, infrastructures, rehabilitation and urban areas towards the development of associations, networks and forums, particularly in rural areas. The plan fosters the enhancement of culture, democracy, gender equity and the environment (ibid: 2-5) and searches to transform ADRA into a ‘learning organisation’ (ibid: 31), through organisational decentralisation and investment in human capital.

Three main areas constitute ADRA’s mission (Ibid: 24), the programme of *Organisational Development* dealing with the structural and attitudinal changes described above; the programme of *Rural Development*, which includes citizenship education, credit, food security, land and local power and finally, the programme of *Formal Education* in schools. The latter, called Onjila is the focus of this study, of which a gender analysis is carried out.

Onjila means ‘path’ in Umbundu. The programme aims to be a ‘path to development departing from children’ (Ibid: 30) by creating sustainable interactions between the school and the community (community meaning here families of students and school neighbourhoods). Extra-curricular activities are enhanced as a privileged form of content transmission and parents asked to get involved in the management and maintenance of schools, in co-programming the formal education of their children and in evaluating the teachers’ work. Onjila introduces research about the local reality as a priority in the curriculum of students. This is achieved through Onjila’s heart *CAT*, a constructivist method inspired in the work of the Brazilian pedagogue Paulo Freire (1970).

CAT stands for *Conhecer, Analisar, Transformar* - to know, to analyse, to transform -. Following the Freirean concept of *generative word*, students are encouraged to research (to know) asking parents and acquaintances about the local reality of a certain word/topic. For example, the word/topic 'water'/'water for human consumption' questions about who has access to water in the area, where is the drinkable water located or how is water treated. Then, the teacher synthesises and reflects with the children about the students' research (to analyse). Curricular contents are inserted at this stage in an inductive way, that is, from 'who has access to water in the area' to social sciences; from 'where is water located' to geography or from 'how is water treated' to chemistry or environmental sciences. The last step (to transform) seeks to define activities stemming from the previous steps so that children, schools and communities modify the problems found in the local reality; for instance, a hygiene campaign in the neighbourhood or a public meeting with the local government to demand a water tank.

CAT methodology originated in the Brazilian regions of Bahia and Pernambuco, fruit of a joint initiative of the NGO MOC (Movement of Community Organisation) and several Social Movements. Like ADRA, MOC seeks to catalyse groups and their own actions through discussion and reflection with an explicit avoidance of 'giving' or 'doing' for them. The successful implementation in those areas translated into a UNESCO award in 1998 as an example of educational good practice. CAT was introduced in Angola by Idaci Ferreira, a Brazilian pedagogue who successively worked for MOC and ADRA.

Within eleven years of existence, Onjila has evolved from constructing schools (1995) to training teachers on participatory pedagogies (1998) and recently, to creating *Zonas de Influência Pedagógica (ZIPs)* or Zones of Pedagogical Influence (2005). The ZIPs are nets of schools lead by a senior Onjila school that transmits CAT and other Onjila components to the rest of the satellite schools. The ZIPs constitute spaces for teachers, directors and administrative staff to share experiences, programme activities and receive varied training. The zones are still in early stages of evaluation although they seem to represent a revitalising shift for Onjila, which now sees its dynamics go more in line with ADRA's goals of network civil formation and auto-regulation.

All these Onjila elements do not encounter an easy context in Angola, which ranks 164 out of 175 countries on the Human Development Index. Unlike Brazil, whose independence arrived in 1822, the Sub-Saharan country experienced five centuries of Portuguese colonialism (1575-1975) in some of its areas, which only finished after fourteen years of anti-colonial armed struggle. As any other colonial empire, Portugal denied citizenship rights to the majority of the colonised, being the Angolan particularity the fact of this discrimination

persist until 1961 (Neto, 2002). By the year of independence, 85% of the population was illiterate (UN: 2002) while at the same time, the radical exit of the Portuguese meant a lack of teachers.

Education became the main national priority for the new communist-oriented national government. A national programme of education was adopted in 1977, abolishing school tuition and introducing four compulsory years of schooling. At the same time, literacy centres were linked to factories, markets and other working places where the adult population concentrated. In 1978, Angola won an award for its combat against literacy (UN: 2002). However, this literacy boom progressively faded away with the arrival of 27 years of civil war. The violent junction of colonial and war legacies left educational infrastructures devastated, a teachers' deficit, many children out of school and a weak state capacity to face all those problems.

Primary school enrolment slightly increased after the end of the war, but still many children remain out of the system after four years of peace (2002-2006). Only 66% of boys and 57% of girls accessed school in 2000-2004 (UNICEF, net ratio) decreasing to percentages of 21% and 17% respectively for secondary school (ibid, gross ratio). The present government, democratically elected in 1992, maintains a low investment in education and a marked centralised political structure that complicates processes of implementation.

In reality, combating poverty and illiteracy should not be difficult for Angola, whose lands are extremely rich in petrol, diamonds and wood, with agriculture and fishery potentials and a very young, growing population (UNDP: 2005). 8.2 of the 15.4 million Angolans are under the age of 18 and 2.8 million under 5 (UNICEF: 2004). The total fertility rate per woman is 6.7 (ibid: 2004) and the annual population growth rate 2.8% (ibid: 1990-2004). In short, the country faces not only the challenge of raising the number of children in primary school and maintaining them within the system, but also of achieving it in a context of rapid school-age population growth.

This paper now passes to introduce methodological and conceptual aspects. Then, four chapters are presented. The first three analyse the different causes of the abovementioned educational characteristics with a gender perspective. Based on a Social Relations Approach, three different institutional locus are explored, the Household (chapter 1), the State (chapter 2) and the Civil Society, with a focus on ADRA and the Onjila Programme (chapter 3).

Departing from these three institutional spaces, gender strategies for ADRA and Onjila are suggested in chapter 4. Conclusions follow.

## **Methodology**

The fieldwork in Benguela (Angola) took place in the month of August 2006. The study used qualitative and quantitative secondary data (literature review and national statistics), qualitative and participatory primary data (interviews, informal group discussions, community meetings, participant observation, comparative analysis, a ranking exercise and a workshop with ADRA members) and a reflective journal. The research holds, therefore, an exploratory character and conclusions cannot be but provisional.

Primary data and national statistics were eventually prioritised to the detriment of the literature review. The review had covered gender relations' theory and feminist critiques to Freirean methodologies, Socialist epistemologies influential in the field of education (young Marx, Gramsci) and to participatory methodologies, particularly participatory action research. Another set of readings focused on the contemporary history of Angola, with its post-colonial, post-communist and post-conflict characteristics. A third area of study completed once in Benguela comprised a bibliography of ADRA and Onjila, including CAT, ZIPs and school books (Maths, Portuguese and Sciences, level 1 to 4).

Secondary statistical data for 2004/2005 was gathered from the Provincial Department of Education and the Onjila Programme in Benguela. Both governmental and non-governmental sources were often inaccurate and differently framed from one year to another, which narrowed down possibilities of statistical comparison. Many Angolans are still lacking identification cards while others are registered several times with various names and figures on the number of children outside school or literacy rates are all estimates.

Primary data collection started with a first week of informal interviews in Luanda. It involved ADRA's national coordination, two representatives – the gender and the programme officers of *GAS*, a Swedish NGO funding some of ADRA's programmes; two coordinators from *Save the Children - Angola* –, NGO also functioning within the field of education and finally, a former Onjila technician in the province of Huila, who kindly provided me with some bibliography on gender, ADRA and Onjila.

A two-week exploratory visit to the programmes of ADRA – Benguela followed. This permitted a contextualisation of the Onjila programme, of the areas where it exists and where it does not and its relationship with other ADRA programmes such as credit or citizenship.

The 18 *Provinces* of Angola are divided into *Municipalities*, formed in turn by *Communes*, that is, a gathering of more rural scattered villages called *aldeias, povoações* (which are unions of large families or *kimbos*). Accompanied by ADRA community technicians and the DRC country programme convenor, the exploratory visit covered the Communes of Benguela, Catumbela, Dombe Grande and Kalohanga in the seacoast Municipalities of Baia Farta, Benguela and Lobito; and the Communes of Tumbulu, Kapupa, Ebanga and Chicuma in the inland Municipalities of Cubal and Ganda.

Country	Provinces	Municipalities	Communes	Villages
Angola	Luanda			
	Benguela	Baia Farta	Dombe Grande	Luacho
			Kalohanga	
		Benguela	Benguela	
		Cubal	Tumbulu	Jamba de Baixo
			Kapupa	Caviva Sul
		Ganda	Ebanga	Kalukele
			Chicuma	Kasenge Epalanga
		Lobito	Catumbela	

We equally called on some villages within the Communes of Tumbulu (Jamba de Baixo), Kapupa (Caviva Sul), Ebanga (Kalukele) and Chicuma (Kasenge Epalanga). We met traditional leaders (*sobas* and *seculos*), members of grassroots associations and their recently created (2001/2006) *forums* (union of associations) in Catumbela, Cubal, Dombe Grande and Ebanga. Interviews were conducted with several Municipal and Communal administrators, with particular interest in three female vice-administrators (of a total of ten in the Province) in the Communes of Catumbela, Kapupa and Tumbulu.

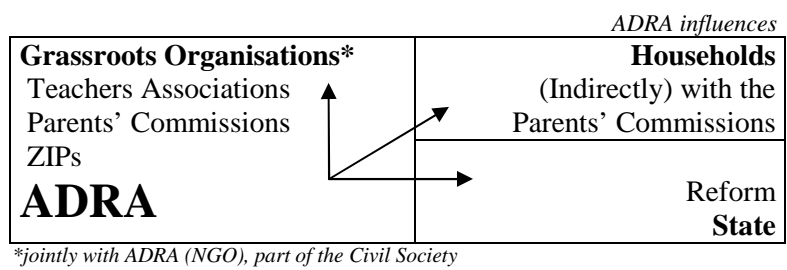
During a last week of focused research on Onjila, four school environments were selected for comparison. Provincial statistics had showed significant geographical differences affecting the enrolment of girls and boys, particularly girls after the 4<sup>th</sup> grade, which prompted the introduction of rural areas in the analysis. Schools with and without intervention of the Onjila programme, that is, with and without co-management of State and Civil Society, were thus compared in both rural and more urban contexts (although distinctions are not clear-cut: there is two distinct urbanised areas: Benguela and Lobito, with peri-urban Catumbela close to both; Luacho and Kalohanga are clear isolated rural areas whereas Dombe Grande presents characteristics of a *rural centre*).

	<b>Schools with Onjila Intervention</b> (ADRA + Ministry of Education)	<b>Schools without Onjila Intervention</b> (Ministry of Education)
<b>Peri-urban/Semi-urban</b>	Catumbela	Dombe Grande
<b>Rural</b>	Luacho	Kalohanga

In Catumbela, the school Gika, representatives of its parents' commission and the teachers' association of the Commune were visited twice, carrying out informal group discussions, a ranking exercise with the teachers and participant observation in the school. In Dombe Grande, a score of teachers from several primary and secondary schools gathered for informal discussion. In Luacho, the teachers' association equally met for informal discussion. In Kalohanga, school infrastructures were visited and the Communal administrator interviewed.

Governmental and non-governmental institutions were also contacted and interviewed: the Provincial Director of Education in Benguela Mr José Sessa Dias; various Municipal and Communal educational administrators; the coordinator of Onjila – Benguela; the coordinators of *MINFAMU* – Benguela (Ministry of the Family and the Promotion of Women), *Rede Mulher* – Benguela (women's network), *Promaica* – Benguela (Catholic women's association) and *Omunga* (local NGO).

Both secondary and primary data was shared during the visits. Conversations were left open except for two focal points: a) gendered school problems (*see chapters 1 and 2*); and b) ADRA influences in families, community organisations and the State (*see chapter 3 and 4*) departing from the assumptions hereunder.



For the rest, the dissertation will be translated into Portuguese and left to the gender officer in ADRA - Benguela, to GAS gender officer, to the Onjila coordinator in Benguela and to the coordination teams in Benguela and Luanda. A copy has equally been delivered to the DRC Citizenship coordination with the hope that CAT ideals and the Angolan experience will be useful material for other partner countries and the comments and suggestions pointed here helpful and realisable for ADRA.

## Theoretical Framework

A framework was searched that permitted: a) an internal and external institutional analysis of Onjila, both as an NGO programme with its own dynamics and as a part of a broader institutional reality (here, the Household and the State) that affects it directly as a programme and indirectly as part of an Institution (for ADRA, the Civil Society). While institutions may operate in relative autonomy, they also share common norms with the dynamics of one institution influencing others; b) an analysis not only of visible gender inequalities (such as early pregnancies or scarce women's participation in associations) but also their deep-rooted, institutionalised characteristics; and c) a framework from which policy recommendations can be made.

The *Social Relations Approach* (SRA)<sup>1</sup> met those demands. The approach integrates an institutional analysis and integrates how gender and other inequalities are bonded both visibly and discreetly through the interactions of the different institutions. Finally, SRA represents a framework that leads to action.

The SRA presents four standard institutional locus: the *Household*, the *State*, the *Market* and the *Community* or Civil Society), with other ones that can gain relevance in certain contexts such as the *Media*, the *Religion* or the *International Community*. The Institutions (or distinctive frames of rules that define how to do things) represent then an added element to the dimensions traditionally studied in other frames of analysis such as *roles*, *resources* and *activities* (Leach, 2003).

*Institutions Categorized in the SRA*

Family	State
Market	Community (Civil Society) <sup>2</sup>

While Civil Society may include local governments, local markets and formations directly related to households, here it comprises NGOs, formal/informal networks, grassroots organisations and other groupings as *explicitly different* from family ('Household'), governmental ('State') and economic structures.

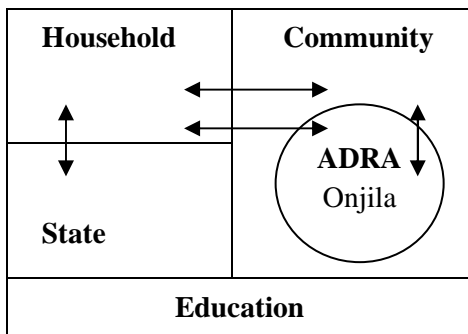
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<sup>1</sup> For a detailed explanation, see Whitehead, 1979; Kabeer, 1994; Kabeer & Subrahmanian, 1999 and Leach, 2003 for educational contexts

<sup>2</sup> In the SRA, 'Civil Society' is called 'Community'. The first naming was selected here to avoid confusion with other meaning given to the word 'communities'. For contextualised examples of community or civil society institutions in Angola, see Robson (2001)

The following is an adaptation of the policy-oriented SRA presented by Kabeer & Subrahmanian (1999). Departing from a core problem (*with a gender perspective in italics*), both the immediate and the more structural causes are analysed within what are considered the main key institutional locus, here, the Household, the State and ADRA/Civil Society. The problem analysis is then transformed into a strategy for action – that is ‘the causes of the problem now become the potential means for addressing it’ (ibid: 215).

The present work only follows this scheme partially. The part of the ‘effects’ and ‘intermediate causes’ of the original framework were omitted to the advantage of simplicity. The division between immediate and structural causes was only followed in the two first chapters where the analysis of each institution is isolated (Family and State) while Chapter 3 focused more on an inter-institutional analysis. Short-term and long-term strategies were not separated out in Chapter 4 of suggestions, as much more knowledge about the context would be required for that. Finally, not all the causes were taken as potential solutions.



In short, Chapter 1 and 2 explore successively the familial and governmental factors influencing the present condition of the educational context where ADRA works. Chapter 3 examines the reciprocal influences between ADRA, the Civil Society, the Families and the State. Chapter 4 proposes strategies for action based on the preceding chapters.

<b>Core problem</b>	<b>Lack of access and completion in primary schools</b> <b>Gender inequalities in access and completion in primary schools</b>
<b>Immediate Causes</b>	
Households	Lack of material (to pay school), human (illiteracy) and social resources (displacement and broken social nets); productive workload for girls and boys; language; distances and lack of transport <i>Pregnancy in girls; drugs in boys; pregnancies in teachers; added reproductive workload for girls; girl's time and mobility constraints.</i>
State	False gratuity; bureaucratisation; low budget allocations to education; high external debt; lack of teachers. <i>Scarce budget allocation to Gender and the Social Sector; lack of female teachers and directors, particularly in rural areas.</i>
ADRA	Lack of human resources and brain drain; weak material and human resources in schools and associations. <i>Lack of gendered methodologies and its training; lack of gender systematisation (i.e. qualitative indicators, training...).</i>
<b>Structural Causes</b>	
Households	Poverty; rural-urban differences; state responsibilities transfer to the household. <i>Gender division of labour; control of bodies and sexuality; sexual violence; ideology of male breadwinner; female housification of state responsibilities (water, health); intra-household power relations; rural-gender links.</i>
State	State centralisation; urban-based state; monolingual state; post-conflict situation & lack of basic public infrastructures. <i>Vertical discrimination in politics; indirect children-house selection, female household over-charge.</i>
ADRA	Weak and emergent civil society; weak governmental support; weak direct influence in families. <i>Lack of tradition, (human and financial) resources and sustainability for gender efforts.</i>
<b>Means</b>	
ADRA	Promoting ADRA's advocacy; strengthen ZIPs & partnerships, teachers' associations and forums of associations; link projects. <i>Promoting women's participation in associations (and men's participation at home); promoting rural children and girls retention &amp; completion; qualitative gender indicators in Onjila evaluations; using ZIPs and teachers' associations to work on gender, systematise gender methodologies.</i>

## The Household

### Immediate Causes

What are the most perceptible, pressing constraints for families to take children to school? What differences may this make for boys and girls? When asked, the visited groups unanimously highlighted: **lack of schools, material and teachers; lack of money for school expenses; poverty and children's work** at home, the field or/and the market place. Concerning gender differences, the most observable problems were: **girls' hold-up in schools, early pregnancies and sexual harassment**. A ranking exercise carried out in peri-urban Catumbela with four members of the teachers' association graded school problems as follows:

- 4 lack of resources (books, teachers material)
- 2 lack of (definitive) schools
- 2 poverty in the population ('mostly farmers') and weak school follow up from parents ('mothers are all day working')
- 1 lack of teachers (meaning large classes)
- 1 lack of assimilation and low return
- 1 lack of information in schools (about sexuality - pregnancies, about hygiene - cholera)
- 1 lack of identification cards and cost of having them

Both the collective of teachers in Dombe Grande and the teachers' association in Luacho stressed similar points: lack of books, children out of the primary school level with no school buildings or teachers, poor parents, children's workload with no time for homework and with no vitality once at school, absenteeism and finally, early pregnancies.

As one of the teachers in Catumbela summarised: **'drugs is the problem in boys and pregnancies in girls'**. Drugs at school and attached violent behaviours were raised in Benguela and Catumbela, initially seeming a male, urban phenomenon, although more research would be needed to know its geographical scope and its direct links to issues of masculinities. Early pregnancy were mentioned in the four areas. Different causes were reported such as early sexual relations, adults' harassment and as another teacher in Catumbela noted, 'children that offer themselves to the old, particularly street children and orphans'. A governmental representative explained that pregnant girls are normally redirected to the school adult's shift at night while young women can continue their higher education

while pregnant. Pregnancies easily lead to abandonment, together with house workloads. As a teacher in Dombe Grande put it, ‘the older the girls are, the quicker they abandon’. Pregnancy does not only affect students. **Many female teachers become pregnant** during the academic year, representing managerial headaches for school directors. The response that a Municipal administrator received when he tried to discuss the issue with female teachers was: ‘go and talk to our husbands’. More research is needed to know the scope of this phenomenon.

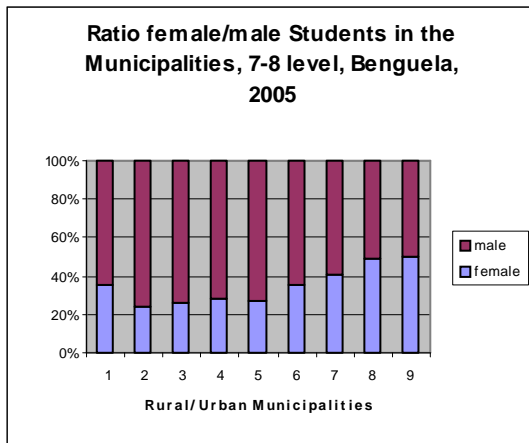
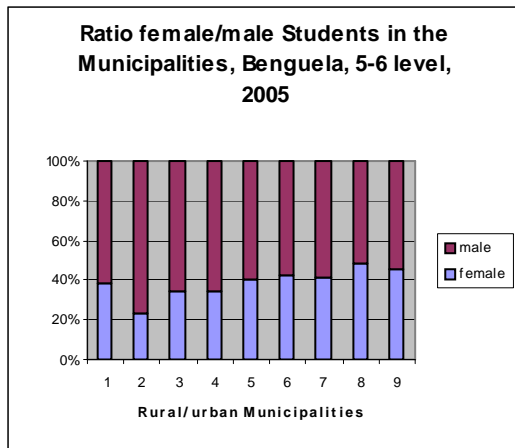
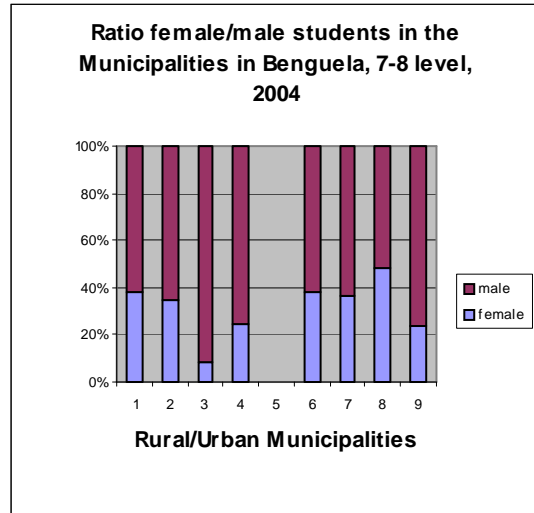
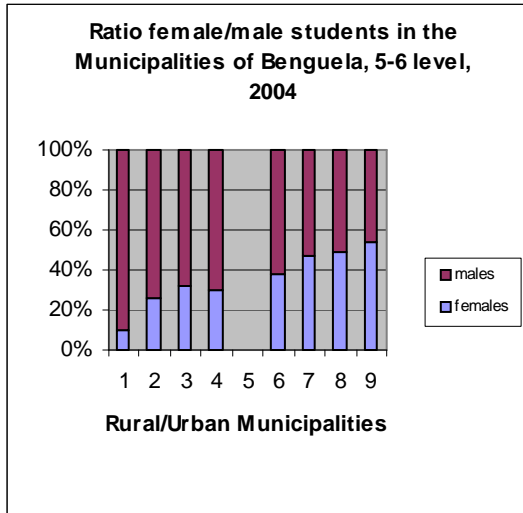
**Rural specificities such as isolation, distances, harsh life conditions and language** were raised both in Dombe Grande, Kalohanga and Luacho, **some with visible gendered effects**. The lack of informational resources was deeply felt by the teachers in Dombe Grande. One of them commented that: ‘we need conferences, debates... there is no radio, no library, no information for the youngsters. They only receive information from the school and the churches, particularly in rural areas’. This concern was shared in Luacho where ‘young people only listen to music’.

Rural women in Luacho were reported to have **desisted going to literacy lessons because of the ‘assaults’** they suffered during their night-walks to school. Additionally, the lack of generators complicated studying at night, their only free time for lessons. The same situation was confirmed in Chicuma, Ganda.

Regarding the **attendance of girls in rural areas**, the teachers’ association in Luacho gave local statistics of 142 girls and 257 boys enrolled for level 1 (1<sup>st</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> grades) in 2006. According to its director, the high school (*ensino médio*, after levels 1, 2 and 3) in Dombe Grande was lacking girls because of distances, family male preferences and women’s responsibilities at home. A Municipal administrator of education added that: ‘few girls go to the city to continue their studies’. This trend was corroborated by Municipal-disaggregated statistics.

Both National and Provincial statistics for 2004 and 2005 do not show significant gender differences in school enrolment or attendance (although they register higher dropout and lower completion rates for girls). It is a more detailed Municipal analysis within the region that identifies sex enrolment discrepancies between the highly populated urban littoral centres (Benguela and Lobito, number 8 and 9 in the graphics) and the more rural, both littoral and interior areas, where girls remain at the back in enrolment after the 4th grade, as ratio comparisons show:

1: Baia Farta (semi-urban) 3: Bocoio (rural) 5: Chongoroi (rural) 6: Cubal (semi-urban) 8: Benguela (urban)  
 2: Balombo (rural) 4: Caimbambo (rural) 7: Ganda (semi-urban) 9: Lobito (urban)



Ministry of Education, Angola 2004/ 2005

The various visits also reflected an **urban concentration for the majority of female teachers**. In Luacho, teachers affirmed that the government would send mostly men because of the harsh conditions, the long family separations and the isolation during the rain period. The six teachers in Kalohanga plus the director are male. In Ebanga, local statistics were of 18 female teachers versus 64 males. In Chicuma, the ratio raised to 12 females out of a total

	Female Teachers	Male Teachers	% Female Teachers
Peri-urban Catumbela	695	507	<b>57.82</b>
Rural Luacho	10	60	<b>14.28</b>

Onjila Programme – Benguela, 2004

of 164 (Municipal administrators of Kalohanga, Ebanga and Chicuma, personal communications). Onjila data for Catumbela and Luacho in 2004 seems to confirm that tendency,

with patent differences in peri-urban and rural areas, although there is no other governmental statistics in this respect or other sex-disaggregated statistics for Onjila 2005 or previous years. The lack of female teachers in rural areas may be reinforcing family preference for the boys, since girls are not expected to have an education and find a job, but rather to marry. As the Municipal administrator of Kalohanga opined, female teachers can ‘talk to the girls about *women’s issues* (hygiene, sexuality and illnesses) without supposing an offence to the community’. In the same line, a Communal educational administrator was convinced that more female directors would facilitate communication and visibilise sexual harassment in schools.

Visits to Cubal and Ganda reported with no exception the **difficulty of urban teachers coming from Lobito and Benguela in adapting to rural conditions** and in speaking the local language. As a villager commented: ‘They arrive, see the conditions and then run away; they are used to the TV satellite and all this’. Communities complained that teachers from their own areas attended the open competitions, passed them but were not selected. This happens because some are officially considered too old. Still others do not have the minimal required preparation (8<sup>th</sup> degree). When asked if special measures were taken for rural areas, a Municipal administrator of education cautioned of the danger of creating two educational ghettos independent one of another, a urbanised one, with more prepared teachers and another for rural areas with less quality because of the teachers’ background and opportunities. Promoting high education in rural areas, as a school director in Dombe Grande suggested, would compensate for these inequalities. So could it be a way of attracting female, rural women. All in all, this was a subject deeply felt by the visited communities in Cubal, Ganda and Dombe Grande, and could represent an important focus of research/future action for ADRA.

Regarding level of teaching, **female teachers are mostly concentrated in levels 1** (1<sup>st</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> grade) **and 2** (5-6 grade) while their number progressively decreases for higher courses. There seems to be a tendency for a feminisation of the first three levels, although this has to be further explored.

Benguela Province 2004	Women	Men	% Women	Benguela Province 2005	Women	Men	% Women
1 level	4668	6129	<b>43.23</b>	1 level	4228	2740	<b>60.67</b>
2 level	712	1173	<b>37.77</b>	2 level	800	909	<b>46.81</b>
3 level	341	888	<b>27.74</b>	3 level	433	912	<b>32.19</b>
High school	69	268	<b>20.47</b>	High School	91	424	<b>17.66</b>

[High school: *Ensino Médio*]

Ministry of Education, Angola 2004/05

**Portuguese** continues to be the only official school language, although governmental movements have been made towards the integration of other national languages (MED, 2001: 28, 32). The present mono-linguistic system implies an **added constraint for rural children**, whose mother tongues differ from Portuguese, in comparison to their urban counterparts. In the communities visited, women tended to be less fluent in Portuguese, perhaps due to the representative, spokesperson role of men and their major mobility and contact with Portuguese-speakers.

**Language interplays with gender inequality** both as its consequence and its cause. Less access to school and Portuguese speaking environments stemming from their gendered positions means less knowledge of the language. This lack of fluency in the national working-language tends in turn to exclude them from access to other material and social resources (i.e. NGO information...).

### **Structural Causes**

**Rural-urban inequalities** imply intensified and specific disadvantages for rural inhabitants, interplaying with gender in the case of distances, language or school attendance. Structural factors such as **gender violence** at home and in streets or **gender stereotypes** on who should go to school and who should stay at home underline previous cases. Kalohanga portrays a clear example of the **ideology of the breadwinner** (men as the only winners of 'bread' for the family). Both boys and girls have (productive) work to do, boys as shepherders; girls at home. But as the administrator affirmed, it was only boys that attended school after work as it was deemed that only them would take advantage of it. Another possible reason may be that girls, as their mothers, do both productive (at the market, at the field) and reproductive work (at home), leaving them little or no time for attending school hours.

**Poverty** shows different faces, not only that of material resources (lack of money for school materials), but also human (illiteracy, illnesses) and social resources (disempowerment or difficulty in leadership and in self-organising; broken familial and social nets due to war casualties, displacements and poverty) and finally, geographical (rain isolation, distances and lack of transports).

The **household seems to be the last space of human security** when the rest of institutions fail. As for those who do not have families, their **bodies become their last resource**, be it for cheap labour force or for sexual services, as reported for street children or orphans.

According to the SRA, material, human and social resources can be produced in a variety of institutional locations: in households as unpaid family labour, in communities through associations; in the market as sellable products or/and in the state as public services. In the Angolan context, **many of them get sorted out at the level of the Household: water, wood, food production/processing and health services** (see chapter 2 for the meagre State budget allocation that health receives in a country with the second highest under-five mortality rates in the world and with one of the highest maternal mortality ratios; UNICEF: 2004). These are all scarce or expensive resources in the State or the Market institutions, which eventually has obliged to transfer (or leave) responsibilities to/in the Household.

As for **educational resources** (literacy, schools), the market provision is expensive and concentrated on the higher levels of education. State provision is equally scarce and costly from primary schools to university courses. Unlike water or food, literacy skills (and time to teach) are not a regular resource in Angolan households or communities. Nor is it easily found elsewhere. Traditional family and community systems have seen their relations and functions tightened and broken. Due to war, displacement and present economic hardship in peri-urban areas, only short-term familial solidarity applies (Robson & Roque: 2001 for peri-urban areas). Within the Community, churches head the supply of literacy lessons, but these are insufficient. As stated by a literacy teacher volunteer of Promaica, ‘the economies of people do not let too much time for long-term voluntary work’.

When a look is given not only to **what resources are produced or where they are produced, but who produces them, the gender alert goes off**. The **gender division of labour** dictates that all reproductive (home and caring) work belongs to women and girls. **Transgressions of these unofficial rules**, whether by men or by women **are paid with opprobrium**. As a member of the Forum of Associations in Dombe Grande highlighted: ‘I try to help at home, but even my wife stops me. She worries about what people say, particularly my mother-in-law’. Female members of the forum added that men who help at home are said to be ‘bewitched and slaves of his wives’ orders. This was confirmed in Chicuma, with men that cook or baby-sit being harassed by their colleagues and with women being accused of ‘taking advantage of the situation and gossiping all about it among female friends when they go to the river’.

More violent methods are also used by some men when they deem that ‘their wives spend too much time in the association and are starting to forget their obligations’. As a matter of fact, it is **common practice to ask permission to the husband in order to join associations**. The

response of female teachers about their pregnancies ('go and talk to our husbands') also seems to grow from the same roots: **intra-household power relations** that debunk the ideology of cooperative households. **Inequalities in the Household influence in turn the way women enter the labour market**: lower positions of female teachers or the fewer number of female directors (although no statistics on directors were found) **and the Civil Society** (low female associativism, few female leaders).

It has to be highlighted that visits suggested a **significant number of female lone-parents** as a result of the war (widows, soldiers' companions, separated) plus added common practices of polygamy. It is possible that ADRA may have interest in raising statistics of the monoparental families in their areas of intervention and analyse whether they affect or not the processes of associativism.

## **The State**

### **Immediate Causes**

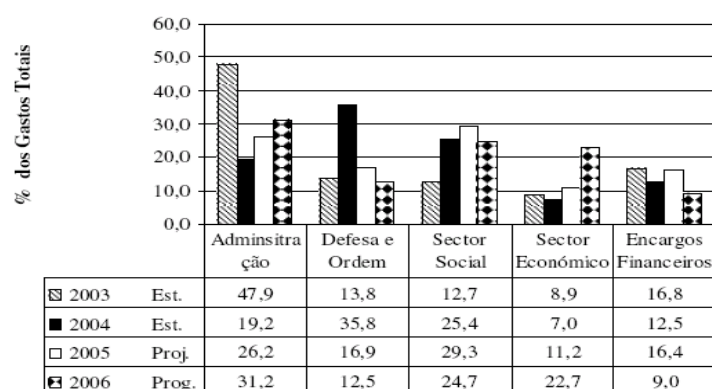
The Angolan State defends **Primary School gratuity and access** for all children. This **official discourse does not become a reality for reasons of both little governmental interest and little governmental capacity**: first, the scarce budget backing up the implementation of educational policies; second, the high degree of state centralisation that causes informational and logistic gaps; third, the payment of bureaucratic services (stamps, ID cards), which provokes, together with centralisation, an incomplete, unequal and regressive distribution of resources.

An NGO activist warned about the price of the *carimbos*, official stamps in the exam sheets. Teachers in Catumbela complained about the payment of the *cédula* (ID card), which was said to round about 2000/3000 kwanzas (approximately £15) and is compulsory for students passing from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 5<sup>th</sup> grade. These costs leave little choice for families of urban dwellers, 68% of which live below the poverty line, let alone for rural families, whose economy is estimated to be almost entirely at subsistence level (UNICEF, 2004). A primary teacher remembered a gifted student that ‘drew much better than myself and had to drop school because of the costs’. This is how ‘future doctors are left out and end up going to Luanda to make businesses’. In Catumbela, the *merenda* (light afternoon meal), which is meant to be a government responsibility and whose role in attracting and keeping poor, malnourished children within the school is paramount, is carried out by a local NGO. Another interesting research would be to find to what extent this fact is generalisable. Families in rural Ebanga found it difficult to pay for the notebook, the pencils, the shoes and the *batas* (school gowns), particularly after the 4<sup>th</sup> grade.

All these numerous shortcomings are not surprising when one observes the **distribution of the national budget**. State funds traverse various filters (or political and bureaucratic obstacles) during their distribution to primary schools.

**The first filter concerns the lesser importance given to the Social Sector** (covering education, health, social security, housing, culture and religious services) compared to categories such as *Administration* in the years 2003 and 2006 and to *Defence and Public Order* in the years 2003 and 2004. The Economic Sector (communications, transports, energy, agriculture, industry and services) has been the sector with the scarcest allocations

(except for 2006). In what concerns the payment of external debt (within ‘financial assignments’, *encargos financeiros*). Angola pays annually more debt than the total amount of aid received. According to the Human Development Report 2005 (HDR), **Angola must be the only country in the world coming out of a long war, still in political transition and with serious structural problems, that pays such high external debt** (UNDP, 2005: 55)



Ministry of Finances, Angola (2006)

**The second filter corresponds to the maintenance of a low budget in education regardless the increases in the Social Sector** from 2004 onwards. Figures in 1995 situated Angola well below the average of Sub-Saharan countries’ investment in education: Madagascar, 17.2%; Kenya, 18.8%; Ghana, 22%; Lesotho, 21.9%; Angola, 6.8%; Cameroon, 18%; Namibia, 22.6%; Botswana, 20.4% and Mauritius 15% (UN, 2002: 23). This tendency has changed little, being 2004 the only year surpassing 10%. The reduction to 3.8% in 2006 is striking (\*although the budget is in revision).

	Social Sector	Education	Health	National Defence	of which Military Defence
2001	18.34	5.06	5.03	<b>5.25</b>	joint
2002	16.07	5.19	4.57	<b>9.07</b>	joint
2003	12.7	6.24	5.82	<b>7.60</b>	7.51
2004	25.4	10.47	5.69	<b>12.03</b>	11.15
2005	29.3	7.14	4.97	<b>10.83</b>	10.14
2006	24.7	3.8	4.41	<b>5.85</b>	-

Ministry of Finances, Angola (2001-06)

Comparisons with the sub-category of National Defence within Defence and Public Order manifest that whether before or after the end of the war (2002), **resources for Education or Health have never exceeded those of Defence**. A closer look at the budget reveals that ‘National Defence’ means literary ‘Military Defence’, with the other two sub-categories ‘Civil Defence’ and ‘Peace Process Consolidation’ obtaining no more than 1% of the total. As

it was pointed out in the workshop, more research is needed to confirm whether ‘National Defence’ covers demobilization of ancient combatants and other measures for the reinforcement of peace.

**A third filter explores what percentages of Education are destined to Primary Education.** In fact, budgets are mostly spent for administrative management and salaries (Pereira, 2004: 13). For the rest, **Tertiary Education receives similar (2001/02/03) or more resources (2004/05) than Primary Education** (UNDP, 2005: 56). The dance of percentages in Primary and Professional Education as well as Tertiary Education preferences raise doubts about the coherence of educational strategies in the Angolan government towards its youngest population. As for the adults, the National Programme of Literacy, active since 1997, asks for a vast collaboration of civic and religious associations while the government aims to maintain the role of ‘coordination and facilitation’ (MED, 2001: 33). This is not surprising given the meaningless amount of budget that the Programme receives. In this sense, attention must be given to the fact of co-participation turning out to be community work without attached State responsibility.

	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Professional	Adults	Administration & others	Total
2001	1.14	0.51	0.96	0.08*	0.08*	<b>2.29</b>	5.06
2002	0.38	0.47	0.24	0.04*	-	<b>4.07</b>	5.19
2003	0.78	0.14	0.74	0.44	0.15	<b>3.99</b>	6.24
2004	<b>0.49</b>	0.42	<b>0.68</b>	0.36	0.00	<b>8.52</b>	10.47
2005	<b>0.59</b>	0.55	<b>0.66</b>	1.59	0.00	<b>3.76</b>	7.14

*\*Classified as sub-categories within ‘education not identifiable by levels’ Ministry of Finances, Angola (2001-05)*

The last filter observes how much of those projected quantities are in reality *effective*. According to some schools, **from the little left to Primary Education, materials arrive ‘late in the year and not all what was expected’**. The HDR 2005 devotes an entire chapter to the analysis of the budget, covering not only percentage allocations but also their variability and continuity within the governmental programmes. **Budget implementation implies changes through sub-allocations and over-allocations** (more and less budget destined to one sector than that initially programmed). Ironically, the average of over-allocation for the years 2000/2003 go to the most financed sector, Administration (PNUD, 2005: 57).

The modest preoccupation for education and social issues becomes more significant when the GNP per capita is considered. **Angola holds one of the major GNP of all Sub-Saharan countries** and concerns exist that the GNP may be larger, given the weak quality of Angolan

statistics but particularly given the exclusion of the weighty informal sector in the national accounts (UNDP, 2005: 53). Estimates speak of 25.9% for Sub-Saharan countries and 38.9% for Mozambique, a country profile similar to Angola, that is, with conflict, displacement and fast urbanisation characteristics (Ibid: 54).

	HDI value	Life expectancy at birth	Adults illiterate rate	School enrolment ratio	GNP per capita (\$ PPP)
Angola	0,403	45,2	58,0	23,0	2.187
Sub Saharan Africa	0,471	48,7	38,5	42,0	1.890
Developing countries	0,445	51,9	47,2	38,0	1.218

Sources: UNDP (2002).

### Structural Causes

In terms of education, as in the law, there is no formal regulation that discriminates girls or women. Nonetheless, inequalities are quite manifest behind the discourse, both directly in the State and indirectly in other institutional locus.

According to the HDR 2005, Angola is one of the few African countries where women are legally protected and hold equal rights with men. This is already a step. But a quick reality check shows how the official discourse is little sustained in practice. **National Budget allocations for the Ministry of the Family & the Promotion of Women (MINFAMU) range within the smallest of all**, being the lowest in 2004 with 0.02%. Consider the contrast with the most privileged Ministries: Internal Affairs, 6.83% or Defence, 14.13% (Pereira, 2004: 9).

**Vertical discrimination in political positions** (few female decision-making positions) is also meaningful. There is a large range of qualified, female candidates with years of experience in the anti-colonial and communist periods (Pehrsoon, 2000: 28). OMA (Angolan Women's Organisation), wing of the ruling party MPLA, symbolised a privileged space for the formation of those female leaders. OMA reached 1.8 million members in 1989 (Ibid: 31), although it functioned conditioned by the party lines and within the boundaries of traditional female roles. Regardless all, women represented in 1999 between 12-16% in the various Parliamentary positions (Ministers, Vice-Ministers, Magistrates...; Greenberg, 2000: 6). This situation of gender inequality in politics suggests that it is not enough with having prepared leaders and organisational spaces (resources), but that it will be **necessary to directly confront structural gender subordination within the state structure** (power relations) in

order to reach positions of power (see in this sense the suggestion for ADRA regarding female associativism).

As for the **indirect effects of State politics**, the question raises of who bears the national burden, in a post-conflict situation, of both the budget scarcity for the Social and of the high State centralisation of decision and resources. On the one hand, the Household chapter analysed **how transferred State social and economic responsibilities passed onto the poorest families, and secondarily, to their female side**. With the same rationale, **the scarce rights to education that the government is effectively distributing ends up by indirectly prioritising the male part of the poorest families**.

Coherence between discourses and finances are a starting point, although not sufficient for the goal of public education for all. The exiguous State educational provision, main focus of this chapter, connects with other dimensions that will have to be equally studied, such as its **monolingual, centralised and urban-based structure** that negatively influences the Provinces and the rural areas. This go hand in hand with the reality of early pregnancies, early marriages and family ideologies about girls' reproductive roles as well as historical and demographic factors seen at the introduction. In the present situation, all these combined factors reduce sustainable educational chances for girls, rural children and children with scarce resources (orphans, street children and children from lone-parent families) to the minimum.

## **ADRA & Onjila**

How have the described dynamics of the Household and the State influenced ADRA, Onjila and more in general, the space of the Community? Have ADRA and Onjila, in turn, acted upon the Household and the State? And upon other organisation within the Civil Society such as grassroots associations? How? Have these channels been canalised for gender issues? Are Onjila components themselves gender-aware (CAT research, extra-curricular activities, parents-community relations, educational associativism, ZIPs)? If not, how can they be? These are the questions treated in the next two chapters.

To start with the State influence, **the high centralisation of its institutions strongly shapes the dynamics of the Civil Society**. Local organisations, schools and teachers' associations may have good relations with the Communal and Municipal governments, but that leads to an infra-optimisation of results when these governmental spaces lack independent resources or decision-making capacity. As a Commune vice-administrator declared, 'the will to do things exists, what lacks is the material'. In fact, there are institutionalised civil-state spaces (created along with the emergence of the Forums of Associations) and an autonomous use of the citizen's voice in them, but the key point becomes *to whom* within the State the associative voice has to be directed to. In the case of a local NGO based in the Municipality of Lobito, housing and work opportunities ended up being articulated together with a partner NGO in Luanda.

In tune with the State, international organisations complicate the emergence and sustainability of national NGO associativism. The payment of high salaries and better work conditions to national and international staff by international bodies creates **a brain drain from national NGOs**, as in ADRA's case. While this can be positive in the sense of transferring democratic and national-based ideas into governmental and international positions, it conveys long-lasting consequences for the internal work of ADRA and the overall growth and sustainability of NGOs in general. The reposition of key staff consumes time and energy that influences in the quality of work. In the workshop, it was cited that this fact also happens at the level of Onjila, with teacher trained in participatory methodologies passing to work outside the programme.

Another dimension of the State influence in the Community institutions, particularly concerning Onjila, is the **State delivery of textbooks to all schools** (with and without Onjila intervention). Many of the textbooks circulating are those written back in 1995, still with a strong socialist component. For instance, literacy readings and mathematic problems reiterate

laden imaginaries such as *farm, produce, workers, productive work, allotment, harvest, cooperative, factory, camps, voluntary work, warehouse, construction or brigades* (INIDE: 1995; 1998). The chapter of ‘work’ in the Sciences presents a variety of ‘productive jobs’: agriculture, cattle, industry, trade, fishing and hunting (INIDE: 1995), omitting any mention to domestic work. Besides, the *hidden curriculum* (indirect or not spoken norms learnt at school) becomes evident: while women appear depicted both in their roles of caregivers and ‘productively’ - although only as farmers and industry workers, male images cover all the cited productive activities but are neglected as fathers or housekeepers (Ibid: 22, 26, 31).

**Socialist equality discourses about women and men find numerous epistemological contradictions** as this school reading example shows:

‘Kassessa is a very tidy and hard-worker pionera [communist party junior groups]. After school, she aids her mother at home with sweeping, ironing and even doing the washing. For that, she goes to the river where she dips, scrubs and squeezes the clothes... after the clothes are dry, Kassessa irons them but with a lot of care, not to forget the shirt, underpants and trousers of his brother Malamba, whom she loves so much’. (Fichas de Iniciação; INIDE, ~1995: 147)

In what concerns ADRA and Onjila’s influence on State policies, the National Plan of Educational Reform (2001-2015) includes principles of constructivist pedagogy adapted to the context, active methodologies and attention to the community-school relationship (p. 29, 31 and 32), all of them very familiar to professionals in Onjila schools. While this point merits a research on its own to discern between the weight of international agencies (i.e. Unicef) and that originated in the Angolan Civil Society. A preliminary hypothesis is that the close partnership established by ADRA and the Angolan government in **Onjila has had an impact in public educational discourses**, although resources to systematically implement those ideas are lacking, as seen in chapter 2.

**Interviews with various governmental members pointed to an interest in the programme, particularly the ZIPs.** The Provincial administrator of education commented the difficulties in arriving at all schools and the fact of ZIPs being a centralised solution to better deliver resources. The Onjila evaluation in 1998 already indicated an expectation by the Ministry of Education in what concerns new pedagogic proposals, teachers’ training, parents’ commissions and their participation in school management, production and distribution of didactic material (ADRA, 1998: 25). The danger exists though, that community involvement and co-participation may be read as a means for lowering public costs with voluntary work and transferring responsibilities in the provision of material resources from the State to the Household and/or the Community. State demands for collaboration should go hand in hand

with its own implication and the unconditional supply of basic school material (tables, chairs, blackboards, books).

The relationship between ADRA and the Household has been perhaps a bit less direct. According to the visits, the organisations that hold the honour of influencing families are the Churches. A teacher in Dombe Grande summarised it clearly when talking about rural isolation: ‘the students only receive information from the school and the churches, there is no other ideas’. The fact of **ADRA not influencing the families, at least in a direct way** (working relations of power *within the* families), could be precisely read as an effect of ADRA not having thoroughly analysed how families influence its community work. For instance, those women in Dombe Grande who have to ask for permission to their husbands in order to associate; or that female teacher, which would like to be director but lacks the time.

At home, adversities are not less numerous for ADRA, whose own **internal constraints** (within the Civil Society), linked to historical and demographic ones, complicate the implementation of CAT and other Onjila components. For 26 schools in Benguela, Onjila counts with 3 technicians, who often take administrative duties in addition to (or in substitution of) their technical and pedagogical roles within the schools (Furtado: 2005). In the workshop, nonetheless, it was pointed out that the number of technicians could have been a ‘problem’ in the initial stages of the programme with a more assistencialist character, but not now. On the school side, most educators teaching grades 1<sup>st</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> only hold grade 8<sup>th</sup> themselves, which complicates the pedagogical work, particularly the inventive role that CAT demands for the position of the teacher. Additionally, the bulk of students makes group dynamics and movement out of the classroom complicated, with teachers often opting for easier methods such as static exercises, unidirectional speeches, dictations or choral repetitions.

According to some teachers, the lack of infrastructures and of school material accentuates the difficulty in the work, although various members of ADRA mentioned in the workshop that Onjila was precisely designed for those situations. While it rests to see the extent to which CAT methodologies have been understood as a tool for situations of educational scarcity and systematically implemented in Onjila schools, what throws no doubt is that ADRA implements an exemplary work in the formation of civic tissue, in what it represents perhaps, its best credential, with the embryonic but promising creation of **ZIPs and of the already existent teachers’ associations** (parents’ commissions could not receive all the attention deserved in this study, although it seems and rests to analyse the hypothesis of whether they

act more individually in each school than together as a network of parents and if so, the reasons for this).

In short, the concatenation of all these factors complicates the emergence of a national civic space: the lack of human, social and material resources within the Civil Society; the weak governmental support and the high State centralisation of resources and decision-making; the competitive strength of the international community and the added difficulty of women to enter associativism due mainly to gender power relations and household demands. And yet, by reason of the present weakness of opposition parties in Angola, community institutions symbolize the strongest interlocutors with the government.

The inclusion of gender in the work of ADRA, in the Onjila components and through its institutional bonds seen above is on the way. Gender however is a foggy word that easily gets dissolved in the daily work of associativism and community action. As an ADRA member put it, 'A gente sente, mas não consegue pegar' (People feel about it [gender] but we don't see the how).

Having the will as ADRA has, the following step is to **systematise a line of work**. Why is this important? Because it does make a difference in work of an association, because it changes the perspectives from which one looks. Gender helps raise that personal dimension of development, it helps see the communities (and ADRA) from within. This means researching inequalities not only 'outside' in the families, communities and schools, but also within them. The advantage of gender inequalities is that it inaugurates an analysis of inequalities within the internal skeleton of the institutions (i.e. of gender and its interrelation of age between the students, of the hierarchies senior-junior in the association, of relation of power *among them...*), but most of all, within the people that form these institutions, of their personal, private dimension, that starts at home, in the daily life.

For instance, the Onjila programme does not have gender indicators. In what regards CAT, a methodology based on a Freirean, Marxist epistemology, it has not yet been explored with gender issues

These ideas have been commented in the book '*The Myth of Community*' (Guijt & Shah: 1998) that challenges the NGOs working with communities to question what is, at the end of the day, the 'Community'? Who makes the 'Community'? What power games are inscribed within it? Not taking gender into account means leaving specific groups of the population outside the community actions. Gender equality will not come as an effect of other

development practices; it is a development practice in itself. The lack of gender tradition plus the cited deficiency in resources will make the sustainability of gender efforts difficult. Nonetheless, ADRA has started the way with the appointment of gender officials, which opens up the doors for a more sustainable work. The next and last chapter presents thus some gender and associative suggestions.

## **ADRA, Strategies for Action**

**1. Systematise the work in gender: human resources** (gender officer that coordinates activities and feed-backs/briefing about results and with each technician facilitating that feedback); **financial resources** (preferably reserve a specific budget that allows a work line on gender). Equally important, the training in gender methodologies (for instance, Harward framework of access and control of resources and of separation of productive, reproductive and community roles; Longwe framework for the measurement of empowerment; gender participatory methodologies with the communities, gender analysis of schoolbooks, i.e. stereotypes...). GAS has already started to work in this sense (i.e. training in Zambia) and some methodological help can be asked to the gender officer of GAS, trained in these issues. Another long-term possibility is to carry out a **DC training on gender**. [DCs are annual trainings about issues related to community development given to all members of ADRA]

**2. Promote more partnerships** with associations that have a gender tradition such as MINFAMU, Rede Mulher, Promaica or other confessional associations and the Communal Administration. **Take advantage of their strengths** (MINFAMU, credits with agricultural inputs and trainings, particularly those directed to parents and other people responsible for children's education; Rede Mulher, literacy and gender training on electoral participation; Promaica, literacy and training, wide Municipal and Communal scope; administration, existence of 10 female vice-administrators in the Province).

**3. Possibilities of participatory research and gender research with Onjila:** a) The long way already walked by Onjila deserves more study at the level of research (beside the studies of evaluation), particularly the impact it has had on public policies; b) equally, a research in the line of the project action-research of ADRA (as with the NRA) could be done with the ZIPs, accompanying their recent emergence and evolution; c) regarding gender, the gender problems identified in this research by the schools and association can be used for research and work them within the ZIPs. A suggestion would be to create a group with the gender officer, members of the pilot ZIP, a teacher and his/her students. First step could be to design some CAT *cards* dealing with the problems identified in this research. Second step could consist of trying out the methodological cards with the selected teacher and students.

**4. In the Onjila Components:** a) create more CAT cards on gender (see point 3); b) introduce qualitative indicators in the evaluations of Onjila (together with the existent sex-disaggregated statistics for students and teachers); c) use the ZIPs for trainings with the partnerships and reserve and space in the senior/resource school for gender material; work

gender stereotypes (i.e. who cooks or cleans), girls' schooling and AIDS/pregnancies through trainings and extra-curricular activities. Here, some ideas for the indicators although they need to be systematised:

Area	Indicators
<b>Programmes better adapted to reality</b>	
Rates of pass and failed students; Rates of abandonment	Sex-disaggregated statistics? (already exists)
Number of students	Sex and age disaggregated statistics? (already exists)
Numbers de teachers	Sex-disaggregated and level of studies statistics?
Number of (vice) directors	Sex-disaggregated statistics?
CAT	Cards on Gender?
Extracurricular activities	Have stereotypes been tackled? Have the girls' voices been worked on?
Text books	Has there been work on critically analysing Gender Stereotypes in books? Is there collaboration with/lobbying to the INIDE (Ministry of Education) in the non-stereotyped formulation of new books?
<b>Community/School Relation</b>	
Parents' Commissions	Sex-disaggregated statistics? Who is in positions of decision/implementation? Has there been work on gender (i.e. HIV/AIDS, girls abandonment) with parents?
Teachers' Associations	Sex-disaggregated statistics? Who is in positions of decision/implementation? Has there been work on gender (i.e. girls' voice, power relations in the classroom) with teachers?
ZIPs	Sex-disaggregated statistics? Has there been training on gender? Are there resources on gender in the centre?
<b>Partnerships</b>	
Partnership with MEC	Has there been contact with the Gender Commission in the MED?
Other Partnerships	Has there been joint work with association working gender? (MINFAM, Rede Mulher, Promaica...)
<b>ADRA team better trained</b>	
ADRA staff training	Were there sessions on gender? Was gender integrated in sessions that are not gender-specific? (i.e. how AIDS affects women and men differently)

**5. Fortify associativism and female participation:** Introduce long-term action for the change of mentalities together with the short-term strategies of credits for women. That is, formalise a line of work in the *distribution of power* together with the work on the *distribution of resources*.

Opting for indirect strategies such as inputs of material resources (i.e. credit) in isolation may lead to: **a)** an over-charge in women's time; **b)** a transfer of domestic work from women to girls/children or other female members of the family; **c)** an inertia to keep roles as they are to prevent extra-work and new responsibilities; **d)** a superficial access to resources without further control; **e)** a creation of void functions rather than substantial ones, as has been reported to be the case with female treasurers in Ganda.

It is not thus by chance that women have entered associative, educative and state spaces through the rear door: as primary teachers, as vice-, as sub- or in implementation functions rather than decision-making ones (i.e. secretary).

*For women to associate as teachers, in the ZIPs or in positions of responsibility as directors or staff of associations under the same conditions as men:*

- Power relations and responsibilities both in the households and the associations **have to be directly tackled**. The power boxes of power *within the* ‘communities’, ‘classrooms’ or ‘associations’ have to be opened. Gender demands *will* as much as *capacities*.
- Working female participation in the association means working **male participation at home**. This is not easy task with the older generation, it is for this reason that it becomes very important to work gender stereotypes at schools.
- Work on **public voice, representation and self-esteem**, in which particularly women were little trained about. *Visibilise privileges and power* is the first step for a conscious change. Women-only groups working on leadership could be one strategy until they start feeling confident enough in mixed groups. Men-only groups working on power relations into the household, the communities and the school could be another strategy until they start recognising their privilege and ceding space (As Spivak and the subaltern studies note, ‘voice’ is not only the capacity, the will to talk; it is also the situation in which one is heard in a space where all voices are deemed equally legitimate).
- Work **participatory methodologies on gender** with the communities (see point 1).

**6. Advocacy in ADRA.** A strong civil society can hardly exist without a strong, responsible and decentralised state. While the Angolan political context still demands a lot of precaution and diplomacy, the strategies of collaboration do not have to be necessarily incompatible with more direct ones of advocacy to mobilise the public opinion, particularly in issues of budget, decentralisation and facilitation of associativism (i.e. high taxes for the legalization of associations, low allocations for education).

At least **three windows are open** in this sense: a) the fact of ADRA and Onjila possessing a solid reputation within the governmental and civil structures; b) the fact of having individualities and groups within the government that are sympathizers with ADRA's ideas and open to change (i.e. particularly the staff coming from the civil society); c) the support and weight of the international bodies. Some demands for **public debate** could be:

- Of the government to accomplish what was subscribed in the Millennium Development Goals through the National Plan for Action on Education for All (2000-2015). The HDR 2005 suggests at least two political (not technical) moves:
  - a) to maintain the **annual budget for education at 20%** (average of Sub-Saharan countries) for the next 10 years;
  - b) to **re-balance budget allocations** between Primary school and the other levels.
  - c) to introduce **soft loans for university students and professional schools** rather than grants.
  
- Of the government compromising to provide **basic resources** to schools. Within Onjila, the community groups seem to be ready to take off (teachers' associations, parents' committees, ZIPs, familiarity with CAT ideals). What can complicate further stages of co-management and self-management is the weak involvement of the government, primarily with material resources) and infrastructures, indispensable for the sustainability of Onjila.
  
- Of the government to guarantee an **improvement in the socio-economic conditions in rural areas** to facilitate that both male and female teachers work there; and in general, demands for development: public investment in the economic sector/employment, in infrastructures, public services, human capital as expected in a situation of post-conflict

**7. Pay particular attention to the school retention and completion of children in rural areas**, particularly girls:

- Continuing the work with the **parents' commissions** and **intensifying the partnership with the Churches**, known for their work of gender equality and for being the ones that best arrive at the heart of families (strategy followed in Luacho).

- Organising **discussions on HIV/AIDS/pregnancies** with children, parents and teachers. According to the high school director in Dombe Grande, the programme of Unicef/government following this goal reduced the number of pregnant girls from five to one during the last year.
- Bringing **professional women and women in leadership positions** (vice-administrators, school directors, teachers, nurses, seamstresses, traders, farmers...) to debates in schools – this could show to parents that also women can earn a living (and help in the economies of the family) as well as offer girls examples on which to lean.

**8. Define a joint line of work linking the educative and economic work (agriculture) of ADRA.** For instance:

- In Luacho, both the **teachers' association and the two peasants' associations showed interests in working together**: the teachers to get advice on the creation and maintenance of their lots of land; the peasants to be helped in the reading and comprehension of documents, in issues of literacy; and in general, to get united as associations with common interest in the area. At the time of the visits, the reciprocal knowledge between the associations was weak and the chance for the associations to meet had not happened.
- In the ninth Meeting of the Communities, it was highlighted how the demand of **merenda escolar** (light afternoon meal) in Brazil had boosted the agricultural development in the different areas through the local purchase of products.

## **A last note on Onjila and the International Community**

*Previous chapters have explored various institutions such as the Household, the State and the Community through a focus on how they interact in the formation of educational inequalities and on the influences that they have on the work of ADRA/Onjila. But this study could not finish without citing an institution missing in the analysis. Previous chapters have depicted a national perspective of Angola and I myself as researcher was out of the analysis. But there are many flows of information and knowledge that directly define the country and that cannot be ignored. Sometimes generalising, other times reductionist, these flows need to be counterbalanced by those who know best the reality of the country. And what way could be better than a methodology such as CAT, a programme such as Onjila to do so.*

*There is a gap in the transmission of information, in the creation of knowledge. An issue of power, but also of equality and justice; of knowledge equality and cognitive justice as different from material equality and justice. When I started reading on Angola back in the university, the bulk of bibliography was focused on conflict, mines, diamonds, oil, corruption, war and on 'big-boys' politics solving the destiny of a nation. Added to this were the often-stereotyped comments about Angola as a dangerous, exciting, or traumatised country.*

*About those readings decomposing diamonds and petrol and corruption and war one can only say yes, this reality exists. But that reality, alone, becomes a distorted one. Because it portrays a vision of the country that is incomplete. It forgets people. When I have talked to people in Angola, I have not seen those words. I have seen hope, future, and projects. What else can there be, now that colonialism, totalitarianism and war are over? How far are people's lives from unilateral, monochromatic 'danger', 'excitement' or 'trauma'. At least this is what my eyes felt. It is that hope, that future, those projects that have to be academised, written about.*

*Consider this statement: "Knowledge is like light. Weightless and intangible, it can easily travel the world, enlightening the lives of people everywhere... Poor countries – and poor people – differ from rich ones not only because they have less capital but because they have less knowledge" (World Bank, 1999: 1)*

*Looking at the affirmation, the question is: which knowledge is prioritised? Where is it coming from and from whom? Under which conceptual, biographical framework? Who is talking for whom?*

*This is the reason why Onjila/CAT deserves and needs an international perspective. If the International Community as an institution was not integrated into the analysis, the reader could be leaving assuming that Onjila/CAT is one of those 'local knowledges'. Local, as if antonym with global, scientific. Here the trick. But the games of power that nourish these dichotomies, the dictatorships in defining who knows and who does not, have already been well unpacked (Agrawal: 1995).*

*The potential of Onjila/CAT is much bigger than 'local'. Because it defies the way we know and what we consider knowledgeable, global, international. Because it is a space for subaltern knowledges, for new conceptualisations of the reality. Because it creates knowledge in a participatory way and with an accessible, non-technicalised, self-owned methodology. Because it accepts not only conceptual knowledge, but insists in prioritising experiential data, stemming from daily life, in a melting of scientific and popular knowledge, if ever those knowledges existed as separated beings. Because it is a provocation for self-fulfilling academic ideologies; a challenge for knowledge hierarchies, for their production, because it strongly claims for informational democracy between teachers, students and parents, where all are considered to have the right and capacity to produce knowledge. Because it is a project that expands the notion of citizenship from voters and consumers to citizens as knowers, as free thinkers since early childhood – with no need to wait for universities to dictate who are the descriptors of reality. Because it searches to represent a voice for the often forgotten but greatly original children's ideas.*

*Another chapter would still be needed to explore institutional connections in the international sphere. Where is CAT implemented apart from Brazil and Angola? Apart from local life, how can it influence the national and international level? What conditions does it require to become a social movement and challenge globalising, academising conceptions of knowledge? To debunk myths about poverty and to explain that it is often not only a 'lack of information' what brings poverty, but also a lack of social conditions. How can the DRC be a platform for subaltern knowledges?*

*Naming the many contradictions that I have felt writing this dissertation becomes difficult. A post-graduate student, which has enjoyed all and each of the educational opportunities: libraries, schools, books, ideas and ideals; and Angola, where half the children do not have schools and where many people continue without chances of literacy. Do by chance Angolan students have the opportunity to grab a one-month grant to give their opinion about a European country and bring it back home? How to solve those contradictions and defy this self-hierarchical position within these Trojan lines?*

*In what concerns my own bit of knowledge transmission, of what precisely Angola represents, it cannot be packed in a conclusion, in an anecdote, in a dissertation. It has to be discovered, felt. It is exactly in this sense that knowledge cannot be 'possessed' or 'banked' or 'enlightened' in the sense of the World Bank; it difficultly can be transmitted that easily. When I am asked on the phone about how Angola is, I cannot describe, because I know my friends will grasp it in that de-contextualised way, looking through the European monocle.*

*Knowledge will have to be experienced, self-digested to really catch all of its polychromy: the beauty of colours in the Angolan funerals, the chaotic but perfect synchronicity of the informal market place; the decreasing tonality of an 'aha' in the Umbundu language; the complexity of a final sigh after a chat on national politics, the friendly reddish sun that lets itself being stared at directly. Simplified realities of Christmas Africa or reified readings of war, corruption and immobility make little sense, have little use. Because they are all banked knowledges. They do not teach, nor do they transform the learner. Freire knew that well.*

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