



# Citizenship and Services for the Urban Poor

*Impact Assessment Synthesis Report*



Lucy Earle

*With a Foreword by Andy Rutherford*

Luanda Urban Poverty  
Programme Angola



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## UK's Department for International Development support of the LUPP

The Luanda Urban Poverty Programme was supported in three phases from 1999 to 2010 by the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID). DFID provided 100% of the finance for the Luanda Urban Poverty Programme. DFID was instrumental in encouraging the four organisations – Development Workshop Angola, One World Action, CARE UK and Save the Children to develop and strengthening a collaborative partnership which has been the foundation of the Luanda Urban Poverty Programme. DFID has worked in partnership with the four LUPP agencies and their positive approach to this partnership has been central to the success of the now award winning programme.



**UKaid**  
from the Department for  
International Development

**DFID** Department for  
International  
Development

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## Lucy Earle

Lucy Earle is a researcher and consultant who specialises in the governance and social development aspects of urbanization. She has a PhD from the London School of Economics and, at the time of publication, was a postdoctoral fellow at the African Centre for Cities, University of Cape Town.

## Tim Hetherington

Tim Hetherington was born in Liverpool, UK. He studied literature at Oxford University and later returned to college to study photojournalism. He lives in New York and is a contributing photographer for *Vanity Fair* magazine.

His interest lies in creating diverse forms of visual communication and his work has ranged from multi-screen installations, to fly-poster exhibitions, to handheld device downloads. Known for his long-term documentary work, Tim lived and worked in West Africa for eight years and has reported on social and political issues worldwide.

His project *Healing Sport* was published by Thames and Hudson as part of group project *Tales of a Globalizing World* (Thames & Hudson 2003). *Long Story Bit By Bit: Liberia Retold* (Umbrage Editions 2009) narrates recent Liberian history by drawing on images and interviews made over a five year period. A new book, *Infidel* (Chris Boot Ltd 2010), about a group of US soldiers in Afghanistan, continues the examination of young men and conflict.

As a film maker, he has worked as both a cameraman and director/producer. He was a cameraman on *Liberia: an Uncivil War* (2004) and *The Devil Came on Horseback* (2007), and his directorial debut film *Restrepo* about a platoon of soldiers in Afghanistan, was awarded the Grand Jury Prize at the 2010 Sundance Film Festival. His most recent film *Diary* is a highly personal experimental short currently playing at film festivals.

He is the recipient of numerous awards including a Fellowship from the National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts (2000–4), a Hasselblad Foundation grant (2002), four World Press Photo prizes including the World Press Photo of the Year 2007, the Rory Peck Award for Features (2008), and an Alfred I. duPont award (2009).

You can see more of his work at [www.mentalpicture.org](http://www.mentalpicture.org)

*All photos by Tim Hetherington with the exception of:*

pp18–21, 24 (bottom left and right), 27, 40, 44 (left), 52 (top right), 57 (bottom left and right), 58, 65, 68, 70, 75 (right), 76 (bottom right) by Andy Rutherford

p49 by Lucy Earle

p76 (left) by Kate Ashton



## Foreword

In late 1990s Angola the Civil War was still omnipresent and the population of Luanda, its capital city, was growing significantly. The majority of women, men and children were living in the *musseques*, the peri-urban settlements which surround the 'concrete city' which had practically no access to services such as health, water and sanitation. Water in the *musseques* was largely untreated river water, brought in by trucks and sold by vendors at very high prices. It was not uncommon for families to spend a quarter of their income on this water, meaning less for food, health needs and schooling. The health statistics of Angola were among the worst in the world. A quarter of children died before their fifth birthday, water-related diseases being a major cause.

National and local government budgets were focussing on the war. There were also very limited opportunities and spaces for citizens to have a voice in decisions that affected their lives and livelihoods. There were few community-based organisations and limited and weak local governance and government structures. This is the context in which the Luanda Urban Poverty Programme was developed and eventually begun in 1999. Its purpose of establishing replicable strategies for sustainable access of the urban poor to services and livelihoods was ambitious, very ambitious and the context it was working in extremely challenging on many levels. From the outset its outputs focused on developing and testing people centred and participatory approaches to some key services as well as enhancing the capacity of emergent community based organisations and other organisations to influence local and national decision makers.

*Citizenship and Services for the Urban Poor* by Lucy Earle shares the remarkable achievements of the Luanda Urban Poverty Programme. We have also brought the programme to life through the images of the internationally acclaimed photographer Tim Hetherington and of Andy Rutherford.

LUPP has been implemented by a path breaking partnership between One World Action, Development Workshop, CARE International and Save the Children in Angola. One World Action has coordinated the third phase of the partnership which began in 2007. The Luanda Urban Poverty Programme has been supported from 1999 to 2010 by the British Government's Department for International Development (DFID). Development Workshop Angola was the first NGO established in the country and has been working in a comprehensive, participatory and innovative way on Human Settlement issues for nearly 30 years in both conflict, and now, post-conflict Angola.

LUPP has been implemented in four municipalities of Luanda – Cazenga, Sambizanga, Kilamba Kiayi, and Cacuaco and has worked to influence pro-poor policies and best practices for Angola for poverty reduction in urban Luanda. The programme has demonstrated and promoted effective, sustainable, inclusive and replicable strategies (models, messages and approaches) for basic service delivery, livelihood support and poverty reduction more generally.

One World Action has had the privilege of working in partnership with Development Workshop throughout the LUPP and we would like to deeply thank Allan Cain and all the Development Workshop staff over the last eleven years who have contributed to this success. As Africa Programme Officer at One World Action, Kate Ashton was a key person in developing the initial proposals which became the foundation of the LUPP in the first phase. She became head of the LUPP Coordination Unit in Luanda for the second phase. Her contribution has been enormous. I have had the privilege as Head of International Partnerships at One World Action since 1990 of overall responsibility

for the LUPP within One World Action and specifically in the third phase.

The Luanda Urban Poverty Programme has been internationally recognised for its achievements. In 2009, LUPP received the top Southern Africa Drivers of Change Award for civil society organisations from the Southern Africa Trust. The citation below is a fitting summary of the programme

*"The Luanda Urban Poverty Programme (LUPP) in Angola, for driving systemic change in the way poverty reduction programmes are run in Angola, through a fresh approach that others have struggled to achieve. It is building participatory governance and more effective delivery of housing and basic services such as water. Benefitting over 400,000 of Luanda's poorest, LUPP has successfully laid the foundation for poor citizens to become active in shaping their futures."*

### Citation of 2009 Drivers for Change Award for the LUPP

Then in Dubai on 4th November 2010, LUPP received the top UN Habitat Best Practice and Local Leadership Award. The Luanda Urban Poverty Programme was one of only ten winners. The Awards are announced every two years. This is the highest international award possible for such work. The United Nations Human Settlements Programme, UN-HABITAT, is the United Nations agency for human settlements. It is mandated by the UN General Assembly to promote socially and environmentally sustainable towns and cities with the goal of providing adequate shelter for all. The Best Practices and Local Leadership Programme is a global network of institutions dedicated to the identification and exchange of successful solutions for sustainable development. The UN Habitat Best Practice and Local Leadership Award is testimony to the significant impact and results achieved by the Luanda Urban Poverty Programme and that it is "a concrete solution to the problems faced by communities".

*"LUPP has become a catalyst of policy change and change of practice in participatory*

*urban planning on the ground, with people insisting on their rights as citizens to speak up on issues of importance to their lives and livelihoods and to influence urban planning and management. LUPP has been successfully laying the foundations for active citizens to become part of shaping their futures at Municipal, Provincial and National level in post-conflict Angola."*

**Summary of LUPP's achievements –  
UN Habitat Best Practice 2010**

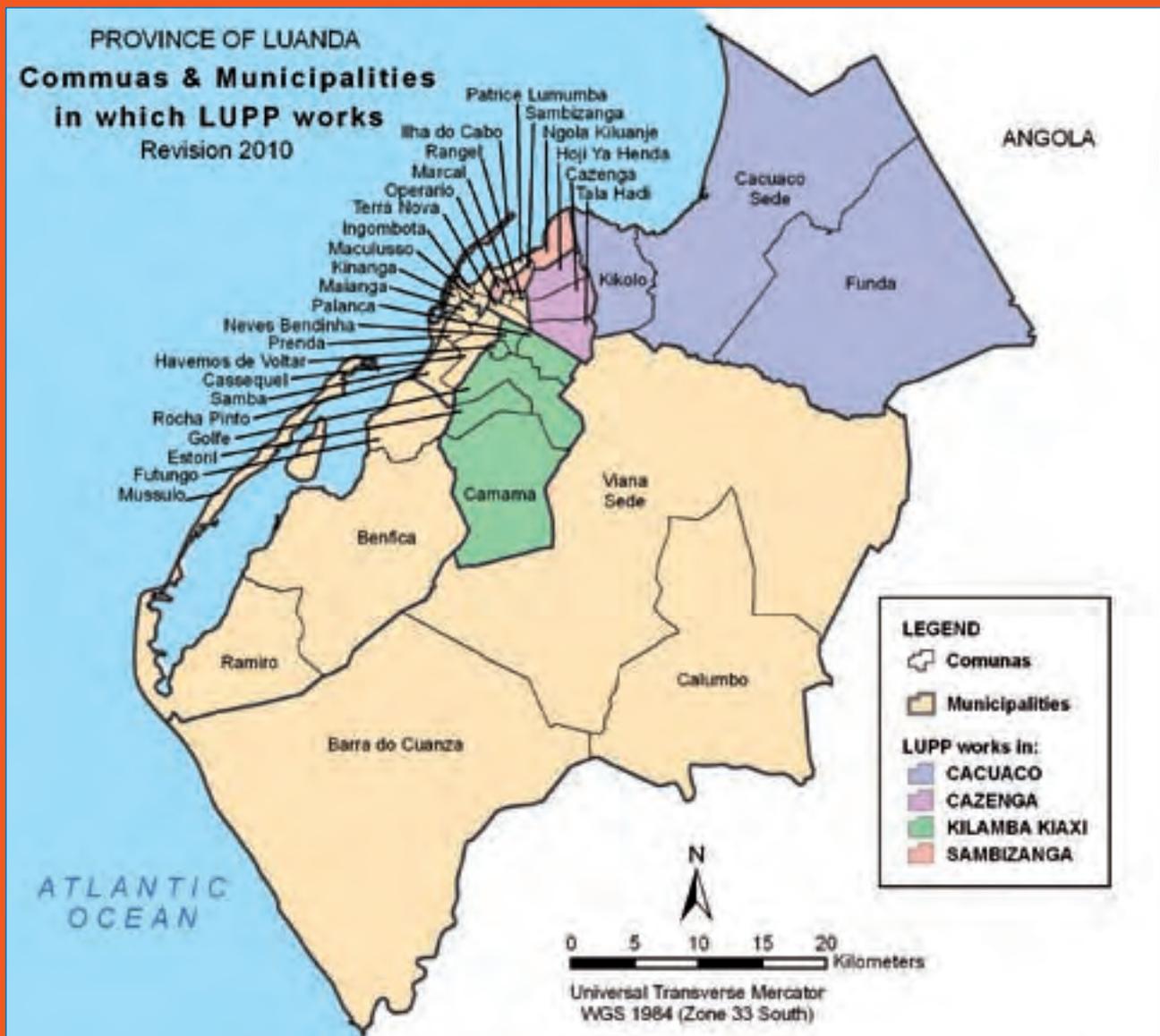
There have been many remarkable achievements but one of the most inspiring is the now irreversible expectation that citizens can be active, join organisations and networks and expect government and service providers to be accountable. This is all ahead of the opening

up of formal democratic spaces as local government elections are yet to be held in post-war Angola. The key lesson for post-conflict/ democratic deficit settings is do not wait – you can create the expectation of engagement and accountability within a time of conflict and in the post-conflict period, seize the opportunity.

**Andy Rutherford**  
March 2011

Andy Rutherford has been Head of International Partnerships at One World Action since 1990 and has had overall responsibility for the LUPP within One World Action





Map of Luanda showing *comunas*<sup>1</sup> where LUPP has been operational

<sup>1</sup> The lowest administrative level of governance in Luanda

# Acronyms

ACAs	Associations of Water Committees
ACAPC	Association of Water Committees for Community Progress
ASDC	Social Action for Community Development
ADBCA	Angolan Association for Community Development Et Well-Being
ATREINE	Support and Training Agency for Small Business
BDS	Business Development Services
CACS	Councils for Communication and Cooperation
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DFID	Department for International Development
DW	Development Workshop
EPAL	Luanda Public Water Company
GIS	Geographic Information Systems
IDC	International Development Committee
INE	National Statistics Institute
INOTU	National Institute for Spatial Planning and Urban Development
KKDF	Kilamba Kiaxi Development Forum
LUPP	Luanda Urban Poverty Programme
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MAAs	Municipal Administrations
MAT	Ministry of Territorial Administration
MINARS	Ministry of Social Assistance and Reintegration
MINPLAN	Ministry of Planning
MINUC	Ministry of Urbanism and Construction
MPLA	Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
ODAs	Area Development Organizations
OWA	One World Action
PICs	Community Children's Programmes (crèches)
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SCF	Save the Children Fund
SLP	Sustainable Livelihoods Programme
SCSP	Sustainable Community Services Programme
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola



# Overview



## Introduction to the report

This report sets out to synthesise the findings of impact assessments and evaluations carried out over the course of the Luanda Urban Poverty Programme (LUPP) financed in three phases by DFID from 1999 to 2010. LUPP interventions focused primarily on microfinance, water and sanitation, early childhood development and participatory governance. It was implemented by four international NGOs, three of which undertook project activities from offices in Luanda – Save the Children (SCF), CARE and Development Workshop (DW). The fourth, One World Action (OWA), provided support from London and undertook dissemination work and international policy advocacy. The first phase, from 1999–2002 was mainly focused on service delivery. LUPP 2 began the transition to policy influencing and ran from 2003 to 2006. LUPP 3, operating with reduced levels of funding, continued the focus on advocacy work, while also providing support to participatory municipal governance activities. LUPP 3 ended in December 2010.

The report is divided into three parts. Part One introduces the programme context, setting out the social, economic and political challenges faced by the implementing partners at the start

of LUPP. It then traces developments in Angolan politics and economics over the past decade, and examines how the programme responded to these, before discussing the underlying theory driving programme interventions. Part Two is organised thematically, and explores impacts resulting from the core focus areas of LUPP. It also contains a section on partnerships and advocacy as well as a brief exploration of the impacts of media and dissemination work. Part Three discusses the potential replication of LUPP approaches as a way of responding to the critical need for greater engagement of the international development community with the issue of urbanization in Africa. The report concludes with a section on lessons drawn from the LUPP experience.

## Methodology

This report is based on an initial review and analysis of programme documentation – programme documents and logframes, progress reports, external evaluations, end of project reports for each phase, OPRs, academic publications and communications products. The preliminary findings from this review were complemented by the consultant's attendance at an end of programme meeting held amongst key stakeholders in Pretoria

on October 22nd 2010.<sup>2</sup> These findings were then tested and further data gathered during fieldwork in Luanda from October 24th to November 3rd, during which the consultant held meetings and conducted interviews with programme staff, representatives of partner organisations, and members of civil society associations (*see Annex 1 for a full list*).

In line with the TORs for this assignment, the synthesis report aims to answer the following questions:

- (i) How have LUPP outcomes affected levels of poverty in Luanda? Who has benefitted?
- (ii) What is the contribution of the programme to delivering these outcomes?
- (iii) How were the results achieved?
- (iv) To what extent has policy influencing work been relevant for poverty reduction?

In general, quantitative data on the impact of LUPP is in short supply. Whilst the programme partners are currently gathering and analysing socio-economic data on the municipalities where LUPP has operated, and have undertaken GIS mapping of the entire city, this data is being collated for participatory planning and future monitoring of urban poverty indicators in order to hold government to account, not to track the impacts of LUPP. Furthermore, although thematic reports were produced at the start or prior to LUPP 1 by SCF and DW, these were not comprehensive baseline surveys of geographical areas where the programme has operated. The extent to which these two types of data can be compared to assess programme impact is therefore extremely limited. Nevertheless, quantitative data on numbers of people benefiting from the water and sanitation component of the programme, and on early childhood development, is available. Monitoring and end of programme reports provide some qualitative data on impact from the other LUPP focus areas. Most data on impact

is, however, derived from interviews carried out by the consultant, and from previous impact assessments prepared over the course of the programme.

Lucy Earle would like to thank LUPP partner staff for their support during this assignment. Special thanks go to Willy Piassa, Allan Cain and Andy Rutherford; also to LUPP consultant Samuel Pinocas Castro.

## Summary of achievements

The Luanda Urban Poverty Programme (LUPP) has, over more than a decade and in three phases, evolved from a loosely grouped series of activities focusing mainly on service delivery, to a sophisticated advocacy and participatory governance initiative that deserves to stand as a reference for development work at the urban scale in Africa and in post-conflict societies. It is as a result of long-term investment from DFID – the programme ran from 1999 to 2010 – that the implementing organisations were able to build up a strong record in pro-poor, community-managed service delivery, with which they could then lobby government and public service providers for replication at scale. LUPP has achieved considerable successes in the areas of water and sanitation, early childhood development, micro-finance and participatory governance. The programme has been able to capitalise on changes in the broader political environment, notably with Angola's first steps towards electoral democracy, decentralisation and a growing awareness at national level of the need to address poverty. LUPP has gradually formed a wide range of partnerships, working at the most local level with area-based organisations and committees of water users, to municipal administrations, provincial government, public/private service providers and selected national ministries. It has also impacted upon the work of other development agencies, including the World Bank, UNDP, USAID and the EU, with replication of LUPP initiatives in other areas of the country. LUPP has won a number of awards, including, most recently, the 2010 UN-Habitat Dubai Best Practice Award.

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2 Lucy Earle is a postdoctoral fellow at the University of Cape Town, affiliated to the African Centre for Cities. <http://www.africancentreforcities.net>

Intervention	Impacts			
	Residents of LUPP Musseques	Civil Society	Government	Other actors
Microfinance	Programme has provided credit to 100,300 clients with indirect impacts on the lives of 500,000 people. US\$ 100 million disbursed. Renewal of savings culture.	Increased ability to support microcredit and savings groups	Paragraph on microfinance included in finance bill	Autonomous micro-credit facility created. Other banks are offering loans to small and micro enterprises, and have reached 150,000 people.
Water and sanitation	Standpipes providing cleaner and cheaper water for up to 150,700 people. Cost of water 4 to 8 times cheaper. Distance to standpipes halved. Per capita water consumption tripled. Women and girls spend less time fetching water.	Water committees formed and managing standpipes. Community development associations formed. Successful lobbying of President's office for standpipe construction benefiting up to 84,000 people.	Replication of community water management committees across the country by Ministry of Water and Energy in 'Water for everyone' programme. Due to reach 80% of the population by 2012.	Public water company better able to work with communities and to supply water to musseques. USAID and UNICEF implementing LUPP approach in Luanda and Moxico provinces potentially reaching a further 678,400 people.
Early Childhood development	24 crèches built in Kilamba Kiaxi and Viana municipalities that have so far benefited 1900 children and provided employment for 64 women. Improved child safety, development and socialisation. Parents can work longer hours.	Women's network has replicated LUPP model and built 34 crèches in Cazenga and Sambizanga. 2400 children have benefited to date. 170 women employed. Network engaging with municipal authorities over child registration and immunisation.	Replication of crèche model across the country. 200 crèches built by Ministry of Social Assistance, benefitting more than 12,000 children and employing approx. 1200 women.	Other donors have built 18 crèches following LUPP models in 7 other provinces, benefitting approximately 1085 children and employing 100 women.
Municipal development forums	Greater empowerment and voice. Improvements to neighbourhood infrastructure.	Equipped to engage with <i>comuna</i> and municipal authorities over community development issues and to undertake participatory diagnostics	Municipal authorities have greater awareness of local problems. Municipal development funds created. National Legislation has established Consultative Committees.	Other donors influenced by LUPP approaches and replicating model across the country.



**Part one:**  
**An Introduction to  
the Luanda Urban  
Poverty Programme**



## Understanding the programme context

Angola has undergone rapid change since LUPP began. At the start of LUPP 1 (1999–2002) the country had been at war, on and off, for nearly forty years. The liberation struggle had begun in the early 1960s, culminating in independence after a shift in power structures in Portugal in the mid-1970s. Independence was proclaimed by the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) in 1975. However, after a brief moment of peace, a new civil conflict evolved between the MPLA and UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), that had its power-base in the centre-south of the country. This conflict was exacerbated by cold war tensions, and involved incursions by South Africa onto Angolan soil in support of UNITA, the arrival of thousands of Cuban troops in support of the MPLA, and at various times also drew in Namibia and Zaire. Peace was finally agreed between the main warring factions after the death of Jonas Savimbi, leader of UNITA, in 2002. Although the conflict

had been mainly concentrated in rural areas and in the cities of the south of the country, the impacts of the war on Luanda were considerable, and created a particularly complex environment for the work of the programme.

The war left its mark on Luanda in physical terms. Massive in-migration from rural areas as people fled the fighting contributed to a swelling of the city's population from less than 500,000 in 1973 to around 3.2 million by 2000. The different times and ways in which people migrated – some fleeing fighting as it happened, others moving from the countryside during periods of relative calm – meant that different ethnic populations were scattered across the city. As Robson and Roque (2001) note, people often migrated in small family groups; the movement of whole villages at one time was much less common, and once in the city, migrants' different ability to settle led to further residential heterogeneity. People settled where they could in the '*musseques*'<sup>3</sup> – informal

3 *Musseques* is the term used to refer to informal settlements in the city of Luanda. The name comes from the red sandy soil typical in these areas.



peri-urban settlements on the peripheries, so-called because of their red sandy soil.<sup>4</sup> These areas had very limited basic services, and conditions were described in the original proposal for LUPP as nearing 'emergency level', with 'insufficient and contaminated water, lack of drainage, and inadequate sanitation [resulting] in high and steadily increasing rates of water and excreta related disease' (LUPP 1999: 13).

The war also left a considerable social and psychological legacy that LUPP partners have had to overcome. The patterns of displacement from rural areas meant that society within the *musseques* was fragmented, with few ties binding neighbourhoods where families came from very diverse geographical origins. Forms of mutual aid and support found in rural areas were not apparent in most of these new urban settlements. As recorded by Robson and Roque (2001:3), reports in the 1990s on the possibilities for rehabilitation and reconciliation in the country noted that 'the country's social fabric has been destroyed', and that 'the exodus to the cities has corroded the traditional cohesion of rural society.' Expecting, nevertheless, to find incipient social capital in the city's poorer neighbourhoods, the authors were forced to conclude that,

*Trusting social relations are not necessarily established with neighbours; relationships with neighbours are often loose, with the result that local social cohesion is weak and social networks are few and fragile (ibid: 161)*

In general the only social networks that they discovered were structured around church attendance and the extended family, although stronger bonds were found in some more densely populated areas that had been occupied for several decades and where people had

remained neighbours, and in communities with greater levels of ethno-linguistic homogeneity. They conclude that 'peri-urban residents do not organise themselves spontaneously to resolve common problems' (ibid: 164) and that households prefer to seek individual solutions.

A general culture of fear and mistrust generated by the war and experiences of migration amongst the poor population in Luanda was exacerbated after the violence that erupted following national elections in 1992. The war touched Luanda directly for the first time, as UNITA cells were hunted down in the city, and it is estimated that at least a thousand people were killed. UNITA's disputing of the outcome of the elections had followed a few years of uneasy peace, and the country returned to war in a more violent way than before, reaching urban populations in the south and dividing families. Over the following decade, until the peace accords, Luanda was the most sought after refuge, considered the country's only safe haven.

A further factor behind the lack of social cohesion found in the *musseques* at the start of the programme was the extremely high levels of poverty experienced by peri-urban residents. When LUPP began, the attention and resources of the government were channelled towards fighting the war. Human development indicators in the *musseques* of Luanda were extremely low, with very limited access to piped water and sanitation, and no solid waste collection. Without access to latrines, open defecation was common. This was contributing to the spread of diseases, including childhood diarrhoea. Data published by the Angolan government in 2001 showed that more than 1 in 4 children died before reaching the age of 5, with 260 deaths per 1000 live births, and that the country had an infant mortality rate of 151 per thousand live births (Save the Children 2009). Both these figures were far above the averages for sub-Saharan African. Maternal mortality rates were also some of the highest in the world. In 2004, Angola ranked 166th out of 177 countries on the human development index, and the country was declared the worst place in the world to be a child.

4 The *musseques* are frequently referred to as 'peri-urban' areas in LUPP documentation. This appears to follow Roque and Robson's (2001) definition of the peri-urban as an area characterised by the absence of communal public services and the proliferation of informal construction, rather than the more common understanding that relates to low density and mixed land use. This report mirrors LUPP's usage.



Exacerbating the problem of poverty in the peri-urban areas of Luanda and proving an obstacle to the aims of the programme was the attitude of the authorities towards the *musseques*. These were regarded as akin to refugee camps, rather than settlements where Angolans were consolidating their lives, establishing families, finding work and emerging as urban citizens. The authorities thus believed that people would return to their places of origin, and were not willing to consider the needs of residents for infrastructure and basic service provision. As noted during LUPP 1's second annual report, from December 2001, the programme was 'operating in a poor policy environment, with a government that is not pro-poor.'

Angola's political culture has also had a strong influence on the programme context. Even with a move towards greater democracy over the past decade (discussed below) the legacy of a long-standing centralised and undemocratic state remains. Scholars have traced back a culture of authoritarianism in Angola to Portuguese colonial rule, noting that Portugal itself suffered

a fifty-year dictatorship starting from 1924 (Robson and Roque 2001). Elevated levels of social control continued with the country's experiments with socialism after independence (ibid). The need for a strong state was justified during the years of the war by the Angolan government with reference to both internal and external threats to security (Roque and Shankland 2007). Although legislation that allowed for a multi-party political system was introduced in 1991, since the military defeat of UNITA in 2002, there has been little opposition to the ruling MPLA. It remains the dominant force in Angolan politics. A further characteristic of political culture is the large gulf between state and society. According to Roque (2004:2) Angola is a country 'where the state has never seriously perceived civil society as being part of the policy making process'. At the time that LUPP began, this relationship was mirrored in a general lack of interaction between poor urban residents and the government and public service providers. There were no formal structures in place to engage with government,



and little expectation of these. Robson and Roque's research found that people living in the *musseques* had very limited knowledge of the work of Residents Committees, established locally by the party, nor how they might be held accountable. There was also considerable ignorance on the part of the authorities: as noted by Cosgrove (2002) many senior officials had almost no contact with or understanding of life in the *musseques*. Similar problems affected the service providers:

*The institutions and firms which supply services are remote from their neighbourhoods, in the real and figurative senses. It is rare to find relationships of trust, reciprocity and transparency between residents and these institutions (Robson and Roque 2001: 147).*

These authors also noted that public service providers had minimal experience of direct contact with users, apart from occasional collection of fees, and 'even less experience

of working in a participative way that requires dialogue and negotiation' (ibid:153).

## A decade of change

The three phases of LUPP coincided with a period of rapid change. With the end of the war the economy grew rapidly, and Angola is now considered a middle-income country. It is a major exporter of oil and diamonds, and although the economy is vulnerable to fluctuations in international prices for these goods, and suffered the impact of the global financial crisis particularly acutely in 2009, it is forecast to grow by 7.2% in 2010 (EIU 2010). Oil wealth is not being used to provide a social safety net, however, and trickle-down theory has been espoused, whereby poverty will in theory be indirectly addressed through investments to catalyse the private sector such as spending on infrastructure, training and subsidies etc. (Shaxson et al. 2008). There is very low government allocation to social sectors: 'execution rates for these sectoral ministries,



notably health and education, are low. This is primarily due to the fact that the most skilled and capable officials are not appointed to these ministries, and that the dysfunction flows, essentially, from there' (ibid: 55).

Of particular importance for the work of LUPP, is the fact that Luanda has continued to grow since 2002. Although some out-migration did probably occur after the end of the war, assumptions on the part of government that the majority of *musseque* residents would return to rural areas have thus been proven unfounded. No census has been held in the country since 1973, but DW estimates that Luanda's population today stands at approximately 7 million, with 76% of this total living in the *musseques*. Basing its calculations on remote sensing, and cross-checking this data with mathematical projections, DW estimates that the city has been growing an average of 7% per year since 2000, a rate well above that of natural increase (Development Workshop 2010). As a result, Angola is one of Africa's most urbanized countries, with around 60% of the population living in urban areas. The formal, or 'cement' city,

of Luanda is undergoing a construction boom of staggering proportions, financed through Chinese credit. A mega infrastructure project will transform the bay area, and new cities of gated condominiums and high-rise office blocks have grown up to the south of the capital. These areas stand in sharp contrast to the unpaved roads of the *musseques*, that can become impassable after rains. The elevated cost of land has led to a series of large-scale evictions and bulldozing of informal settlements that are closer to the centre, some of them violent. Negative attitudes towards informality have not, therefore, disappeared. The year 2010 saw the closure of Roque Santeiro, reputed to have been the second largest market in Africa, that was key to the livelihoods of many informal traders (notably women) from the *musseques*. In this regard, Shaxson et al. (2008) note an ongoing criminalisation of the poor who are sometimes posited as obstacles to development.

Recent government figures put the percentage of Angolans living below the poverty line at 36.6% (INE 2010). How this figure has been



arrived at is the subject of some debate, however, given that according to the Angolan National Bank in 2005, 68% of the population was living below the poverty line, with 15% in extreme poverty (Domingos 2008). Observers interviewed for this impact assessment queried the adjustment of the poverty line: the use, by the national government, of the figure of \$1.50 per day is entirely inappropriate for Luanda, where an average musseque resident will spend \$0.80–\$1.60 per day travelling to places of employment, and where the cost of living is extremely high.<sup>5</sup> Human development indicators have improved over the past decade, but, as noted above, were starting from a very low base. Government statistics from 2010 show infant mortality at 115 per 1000 live births, and child mortality at 193.5 /1000 (INE 2010). In the 2010 Human Development Report, Angola ranked 146th out of 169 countries. Despite high

5 Interview with Andy Rutherford, Head of International Partnerships, One World Action, 23.10.10. The issue of transportation highlights the difference between urban and rural poverty, and the complexity surrounding consumption based poverty lines.

levels of poverty, 'this has almost never created a serious challenge to the president's grip on power; this is even more so today than in the war' (Shaxson et al. 2008: 4).

Given the country's wealth, the issue of poverty alleviation is considered to be one of political will. Although limited capacity within core government ministries, as noted above, is also a factor contributing to persistent poverty. However, while very high levels of poverty persist along with low human development indicators, significant changes in the policy environment at national level have occurred over the past decade. Under pressure from North American and European donor institutions, Angola developed a Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) in 2002–3. Although the power of Western donors to influence the government has since waned with the influx of Chinese credit, changes have been noted in the rhetoric of the executive. Given the power concentrated in the figure of the president, considerable attention is paid to his public speeches and increasing references to the need to deal with poverty



levels in the country have been noted over recent years, particularly since 2008. Indeed, poverty alleviation was one of the key messages of the MPLA in the 2008 elections.

The elections themselves were an important marker of change, and can be seen as marking the end of the post-war period for Angola. The elections were parliamentary and were the first to be held since 1992. Although preceded by fears that they would be accompanied by violence, they were largely peaceful. The elections did result, however, in a landslide victory for the MPLA, that took 191 out of 2002 seats. Some commentators believe that the emphasis on poverty alleviation made by the MPLA during the campaign mean that they will have to make some concessions to the poor before the next round of elections in 2012.<sup>6</sup> But despite this move towards electoral politics, considerable power remains concentrated in the president and a small number of elite families.

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<sup>6</sup> Interview with Allan Cain, Director of Development Workshop, 30.10.10

Eduardo dos Santos has served as president since 1979, and he and his family retain control over a large number of public/private enterprises. The new Constitution, promulgated in early 2010, has altered the electoral system, effectively abolishing presidential elections. The president is now automatically the head of the party that wins a majority in parliament. This effectively means that Dos Santos will never stand for election and could potentially be in power until 2022 (LUPP 2010). He has stood for president just once, in 1992, and failed to get an outright majority. Elections for municipal authorities have been mooted numerous times over the past decade, but have yet to be held. It has been suggested that they may be held after the next parliamentary elections in 2012.

While progress towards elections at the municipal level has been very slow (and the provincial level is not even under discussion), Angola is making progress towards decentralisation/deconcentration of power to the municipal government. Of note was the move in 2008 to grant the status of

'autonomous financial unit' to 68 out of a total of 164 municipalities across the country, rising to 96 in 2009. Accompanying these changes is a gradual move towards a more open style of politics at the municipal level, with the introduction of CACS – Councils for Communication and Cooperation (discussed below). Shankland and Figueiredo (2010:16) argue that engagement at local level between state and society is increasingly positive, and likely to improve, providing opportunities for civil society to have some practical influence. However, they are less positive about the potential for policy influencing through increased engagement at higher levels of the state, even though the elections of 2012 will provide an opening for this. 'At the national level, although engagement exists, there is no clear guarantee that real pro-poor policies will result from it'. Other commentators are more optimistic about the potential for pro-poor change, citing recent national government initiatives such as the 'Water for Everyone' programme and the 'Programme for rural development and combating poverty'. The former is a commitment by the government to provide water to all of its citizens, including those in peri-urban and rural areas, whilst the latter is a new initiative whereby municipalities will design and be funded to implement local development projects.<sup>7</sup>

## LUPP responses to external change and opportunities

Whilst it is hard to arrive at definite conclusions as to the pro-poor stance of the Angolan government, as noted above, attitudes within the government towards its poorer citizens have changed over the past decade, and LUPP interventions, in a number of areas, have managed to capitalise on these shifts. It should be noted that alongside its responsiveness to opportunities, LUPP has also itself been a catalyst for change at the local and national levels.

One example of LUPP response to external opportunities was the process surrounding the PRSP, which LUPP partners took as an entry point to raise awareness of socioeconomic conditions in the country's cities. They lobbied to contribute a chapter on urban poverty to the PRSP and this request was eventually accepted. With the change in external landscape – notably the rise in influence of the Chinese and a concomitant decline in western donor leverage over the country – the implementation of the PRSP has not been a key priority. However, in the intervening years since the approval of the PRSP, LUPP has taken steps to monitor urban poverty, carving out space for joint activities with INOTU, the national institute responsible for spatial planning and urban development which is part of the Ministry for Urbanism and Construction (MINUC). Engaging with technical staff of INOTU to build their capacity, LUPP has supported the establishment of an 'urban observatory', which has mapped the entire city with geo-referencing tools, and includes a database of key basic services and infrastructure.

Angola has demonstrated progress since the end of the war with regards to the introduction of national elections and greater levels of engagement between state and society at the local level. This has in part been aided by the introduction of legislation in 2000 allowing for decentralisation. However, strong social hierarchies and deference for those in positions of power remain entrenched, as does fear of repression for being perceived as a member of the opposition. Despite this, and the fact that municipal elections have yet to be held in the country, LUPP has responded to a gradual opening of political culture, and has had a concentrated focus on participatory governance initiatives with municipal authorities. Of particular note in this regard is the Kilamba Kiaxi Development Forum, a model of state-society interaction on local development issues that has since been spread by LUPP partners across a number of municipalities in Luanda and the rest of the country. It has also influenced the introduction of national legislation on Councils for Communication and Cooperation, that calls for municipal and provincial

<sup>7</sup> Interview with Allan Cain, Director of Development Workshop, 30.10.10



governments to engage with civil society organisations over local development priorities. This shift in attitude towards civil society is noted by Shaxson et al. (2008: 56).

*President dos Santos, in a speech on December 27th, 2007, underlined the changing dynamic with explicit support for consultative approaches, which suggests a somewhat more humble approach than before towards the sector.*

This is one example where LUPP's response to shifts in the political context has helped to bring about further change, including at national level. LUPP's successes with municipal development forums also demonstrate that it is not necessary to wait until the institutions and processes of electoral democracy are all in place to begin work on introducing a more participatory democratic culture at lower levels of government.

Although LUPP has responded to increased opportunities for democratic interaction at the local level, programme partners took a step

back from active engagement in the processes surrounding the run-up to the parliamentary elections in 2008. This could be seen as a missed opportunity, particularly given the fact that poverty became one of the key areas of debate.<sup>8</sup> However, LUPP partners' reluctance to increase advocacy and lobbying initiatives at this time is understandable, given the somewhat tense atmosphere in which elections were held, with memories of the post-election violence that reignited the civil war in 1992. DW staff members also noted that increased visibility of their work at that time might have led it to be associated with one particular political party. A perception that LUPP was working with the opposition could have been problematic and ultimately damaging to the partners' ability to carry out their activities, while overly close interaction with the MPLA might have engendered accusations of cooptation.

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<sup>8</sup> Interview with Carlos Figueiredo, LUPP consultant, 02.11.10

Over the years of LUPP, levels of public debate on poverty have increased, as has the extent of recognition of the issue at the highest levels. LUPP has responded to and contributed to these ongoing debates through media and advocacy campaigns, most notably through the distribution of a DVD and accompanying materials, that demonstrated how organised communities are able to work with municipal authorities to bring about pro-poor change at the local level. Interestingly, recent speeches by the President on the issue of poverty echo some of LUPP's own phraseology – Dos Santos has referred to 'combating poverty', mirroring LUPP's tagline, in Portuguese, of 'the fight against poverty'. Whilst it is clearly difficult to attribute these shifts in attitude at the highest level to the work of LUPP alone, programme partners are now considered a 'credible source' of comment and analysis on the issue of urban poverty.<sup>9</sup>

It can also be argued that there has been a change in attitude amongst the municipal authorities and public service providers towards the *musseques* over the past ten years. Again, LUPP has both contributed to, and responded to these changes. It is now acknowledged, among some government actors, that the *musseques* are not temporary camps for the displaced, but dynamic urban neighbourhoods in their own right, where citizens are contributing to the economy, have ideas on how their neighbourhoods should develop and wish to be involved in the decisions that affect them and their surroundings. LUPP has responded to a willingness, demonstrated by some public service providers and municipal authorities, to engage in joint initiatives to increase basic service provision to the *musseques*.

The programme has achieved a more conducive environment for state-society interaction through the development and testing of community-based management approaches and by demonstrating the urban poor's willingness and ability to pay for services. These

methodologies will be discussed in detail in the thematic sections below.

In brief, LUPP has demonstrated an ability to respond to the changing political environment so as to alter attitudes of the Angolan authorities towards the urban poor. This shift in perception can be conceptualised as gradual progress from beneficiary to client and, ultimately, to citizen.

## Objectives, underlying 'theory' and assumptions

Although the overriding goal of LUPP remained largely unchanged across the life of the programme and its three phases, strategies for how it was to be achieved have evolved to become more sophisticated as implementing partners sought impact at scale. The goal of LUPP 1 is articulated in the first logframe as: 'Standard of living of the urban poor in Luanda sustainably improved'. In the second and third phases of the programme it is expressed as the reduction of poverty in Luanda. More change is visible in the purpose, which shifts from the development and implementation of 'replicable strategies for sustainable improvements in the access of the urban poor to basic services and livelihood opportunities', to influencing 'equitable, inclusive, pro-poor policies and best practices for poverty reduction in Luanda' in LUPP 2 and the promotion of 'inclusive government policies, practice and service delivery that benefit the poor in urban areas' in LUPP 3.

### LUPP theory of poverty

Although LUPP set out to reduce poverty amongst women and men in peri-urban settlements of Luanda, no overarching definition of poverty was ever explicitly presented in programme documents. Nor was a comprehensive baseline survey produced for the geographical areas of the city reached by the programme. There is thus no detailed overall justification of why the programme focused on particular issues or neighbourhoods. This is due to the fact that the original programme brought together four NGOs with discrete projects and areas of expertise that

<sup>9</sup> Interview with Guido Siolengue, former LUPP communications officer, 03.11.10



had not submitted a joint proposal: LUPP was designed by DFID, not the implementing partners. However, the three organisations based in Angola had already built up a portfolio of work in Luanda in their specific areas of expertise. Development Workshop was Angola's first NGO, established in 1980, that had already implemented urban development projects on water and sanitation in the capital. Save the Children had been involved in tracing and reuniting children who had been separated from family members during the civil war, and CARE had also undertaken emergency interventions during the conflict. However, each organisation did undertake thematic studies, either before or just after the start of LUPP 1, setting out a rationale for work in their chosen geographical and thematic area.

Despite the lack of an overarching explicit discussion of poverty and poverty-reduction, it is possible to draw conclusions on the implicit theory of change underlying LUPP's initiatives, through a reading of programme documents from each phase.

The first phase of LUPP included (i) a water and sanitation component – provision of stand-pipes and latrines in the *musseques* (ii) a micro-

finance component, based on rotating savings groups, micro-credit and business development support (iii) a solid waste collection and disposal component and (iv) infrastructure improvements, particularly road repair. The second phase of LUPP retained most of the above focus (shedding the work on road repair) and added (i) early childhood development and (ii) participatory governance. The third phase increased the emphasis on participatory governance by supporting the development of municipal profiles, urban poverty networks and municipal development forums.

It can thus be argued that LUPP was based on an understanding of poverty that encompassed both income and non-income aspects of deprivation. LUPP 1 involved initiatives to improve levels of income poverty amongst residents of *musseques* through savings groups for the poorest residents, and micro-credit and business skills development for micro and small entrepreneurs. Alongside this the programme promoted improved water and sanitation provision – attempting to provide cheaper and cleaner water for *musseques* residents so as to reduce both disease and household expenditure on water. Initiatives to improve sanitation and reduce open-air defecation were



also implemented, with impacts on public health. Attempts to improve solid waste collection were a further public health component to the programme. LUPP 2 incorporated an education initiative through the provision of crèche facilities that sought to intervene at a critical age to facilitate children's healthy physical, mental and social development. The increased availability of affordable childcare in poor areas also had an important (although less documented) impact on women's economic empowerment, as did the provision of microcredit, which principally targeted women. The issue of empowerment was given more specific attention in LUPP 3, as the programme built on a pilot municipal development forum in the municipality of Kilamba Kiayi, and sought to increase the influence of *musseques* residents over how their communities are managed, and which issues should be prioritised. Essentially creating spaces for democracy in a non-democratic environment, the programme's final phase incorporated elements of a freedom-based view of development, in which lack of voice and opportunity to participate in governance mechanisms are viewed as an indicator of poverty.<sup>10</sup>

### Choice of beneficiary population

It should be noted that a number of LUPP interventions were not able to reach the poorest of the poor. In particular, the charge for attendance at community crèches meant that, for the most part, only children of 'middle poor' families were able to benefit. In the case of microfinance, recipients of credit needed to have some kind of viable business already established, thus excluding those with no regular income from commerce. Over the course of the programme, LUPP partners discussed this approach and the potential for LUPP to target its focus on the poorest residents of the *musseques*. However, the programme's geographical focus was maintained throughout the three phases. It could be argued that this has been key to the success of the programme. LUPP was able to demonstrate approaches and models, based on

cost recovery, that could help the authorities and service providers to fulfil their own mandates more efficiently, across their geographical areas of responsibility. These proved attractive to the authorities and service providers, and have since been replicated at scale. The broad focus of LUPP's approaches has also meant that partners were able to engage in municipal-wide initiatives, such as the development of municipal profiles. However, this approach could have been complemented by lobbying work at local and national level for the creation of a social safety net. At present, there is little state provision for the poorest families and individuals who work outside the formal sector.

### Programme assumptions

Although only explicitly stated in the logframe for LUPP 1, the assumption that 'the government of Angola will implement pro-poor policy' underpins all three phases of the programme, and is implicit in the purpose for LUPP 2 and 3, which refers to the influencing and promotion of pro-poor policies. Achieving influence over policy at the national level has proven a challenge for LUPP partners, and, as noted above, some observers doubt the extent to which pro-poor policies will result from civil society and NGO engagement with government. However, the replication and adaptation, by national ministries, of LUPP models for community managed water systems and crèches will have an impact on improved access to basic services for the poor, and are testament to the fact that elements of the Angolan government are responsive to pro-poor advocacy. Although progress is slow, further evidence that LUPP partners were correct to assume that the Government of Angola would implement programmes that improve standards of living for the poor can be seen in the recent 'Water for Everyone' initiative, and the gradual move towards providing financing for municipal authorities to respond to local development priorities.<sup>11</sup>

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10 c.f. Sen, A. (1999)

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11 Interview with Allan Cain, Director, Development Workshop. 30.10.10



## Part two: Luanda Urban Poverty Programme Impacts

*The following section discusses the main interventions of LUPP by theme, and demonstrates how the programme has built on initial experiments in service delivery to scale up provision through engagement with local authorities, public service providers and national ministries.*

*Although included as separate sections, the themes of participatory governance and partnerships/advocacy are cross-cutting approaches to the work of the programme. As should become apparent, LUPP has based its interventions on the broad goals of citizen empowerment, and on progress towards more participatory, democratic governance at the local level.*



## Microfinance

### Key Achievements

- Establishment of an autonomous and financially sustainable microcredit enterprise focused on pro-poor lending.
- More than 100,000 economically active men and women have received credit, leading to indirect impacts on a further 500,000 people.
- Disbursal of approximately US\$1.5 million in loans per month in 2010
- Total loan disbursement to date approximately US\$100 million
- Influence on legislation for microfinance sector
- Commercial banks following LUPP's lead and providing microcredit products to micro and small enterprises. Approximately 150,000 people have benefitted across the country.

## Policy impacts

LUPP has been a pioneering force in the introduction of micro-credit in Angola. Although DW had undertaken a credit and savings scheme for poor women in the *musseques* during the 1990s, at the start of LUPP 1, the concept was relatively unknown in the country. A study of potential partners to work with LUPP on this element of the programme revealed that none had the capacity to do so. As such, these initiatives started from a very low base in terms of awareness, understanding of and ability to implement micro-finance programmes (Development Workshop 2000). Despite this, the provision of microcredit has come to be one of the most sustainable and successful legacies of LUPP. The Sustainable Livelihoods Programme (SLP), a component of LUPP 1, sought to strengthen the capacity of local NGOs to provide micro-finance (including through an 'attachment' programme, where DW supervised credit programmes over a number of months), improve the skills of beneficiaries, disseminate lessons learned and improve awareness of the informal sector and of rights issues. CARE's programme also had a micro-finance component, but was



more focused on rotating savings groups for poorer women. Although a lack of collaboration between the two organisations during the first phase has been seen as a weakness, the distinct nature of the initiatives did allow for testing of different approaches to savings and credit. CARE scaled down its microcredit work in LUPP 2 and focused on business development, while DW made significant progress during this phase, culminating, by 2006, in the establishment of an autonomous and financially sustainable microcredit enterprise, named KixiCrédito. By 2010, KixiCrédito was employing over 200 staff in six provinces across Angola, and was disbursing an average of US\$1.5 million per month in loans. In 2009, it disbursed approximately US\$24 million in total. Total loans to date amount to approximately US\$100 million.

KixiCrédito takes its name from a traditional Angolan savings mechanism, kixikila. Drawing on the familiarity of the idea, DW adapted Grameen Bank methodologies for solidarity group lending. This methodology has since been replicated in other provinces of the country by LUPP partners and other NGOs (Krugmann 2006). Without collateral for loans, the system is based

on trust within the group. Given low levels of social capital in the *musseques* at the start of the programme, that this methodology was successful is itself remarkable. DW staff note that they made a conscious effort to challenge the generally held perception that poor women and men were not suitable recipients of loans, by referring to them as clients, rather than beneficiaries. In the early phases of the initiative, LUPP also began to work with government partners to (a) convince them that micro-finance programmes could be both commercially viable and focused on poorer members of society, and (b) emphasise the importance of an enabling legislative environment for micro-finance operators.<sup>12</sup> As noted by LUPP's annual report from 2001, 'DW and CARE were pivotal to the establishment of the first forum for microfinance in Angola (FADDAME) that includes interested NGOs and participation of the Central Bank of Angola.' This network was able to comment on draft legislation for the microfinance sector, and the recognition of the

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12 Interview with Rolando Villanueva, Programme Manager, Sustainable Livelihoods Programme, 25.10.11



sector in a law governing financial institutions passed in 2001 is an important impact of the programme. This has helped to improve the operating environment for informal sector micro-enterprises in Luanda, and beyond. Attribution to LUPP is possible, given the virtual non-existence of the sector, prior to DW and CARE's initiatives. Commercial banks have since followed LUPP's lead and there are now a number of different credit options for micro and small entrepreneurs from one government-owned and two privately owned banks. These have benefitted approximately 150,000 people.

### Household impacts

While LUPP's impact on the sector is clearly visible and attributable, impact of microfinance on household expenditure of clients, and its contribution to increased income and improved human development indicators in terms of food consumption and children's education, for example, is less easy to gauge. No systematic monitoring of these types of indicator was undertaken during the programme, despite

the fact that this issue was raised in a series of evaluations. Some client testimonies of successful business growth are available, and LUPP 2 reports refer to anecdotal evidence that increased profits have reduced vulnerability. The end of project report for the SLP noted the following:

*Testimonies gathered during the 2nd client annual meeting at the beginning of 2002 demonstrated that some clients have improved their quality of life through an increased number of meals per day, greater financial capacity to pay school fees or build a more suitable house (Development Workshop/ One World Action 2003).*

Case study material gathered later in the programme gives evidence of small business development, leading to employment opportunities within local communities as a result of the increased availability of credit (LUPP 2007).

Independent research undertaken by Jose Domingos (2008) on 130 KixiCrédito clients in



Luanda suggested that recipient households are able to reduce their vulnerability to risk and increase food consumption.<sup>13</sup> Domingos argues that joining KixiCrédito had made it easier for these clients to buy food in bulk, which helps households to economise. The study also found that despite not having a savings component, receipt of KixiCrédito credit had enhanced clients' ability to save. This research would suggest that microcredit is having a positive income on poverty levels in Luanda, in terms of household consumption and expenditure. A more in-depth study using data from client records could potentially have provided more robust evidence of the impact of microcredit activities, as noted by Gardener (2006). This type of impact monitoring could also have afforded some key insights into the gendered aspects of microfinance, including issues surrounding women's economic empowerment, and how

increased income is disbursed throughout the household.

LUPP partners have demonstrated awareness of the current debates on the potential negative impacts of microcredit, including female indebtedness. One World Action held a seminar in London in 2002 entitled: *Women's Empowerment or the Feminisation of Debt? Towards a New Agenda in African Microfinance*. In Luanda, one of the reported activities of the micro-finance forum was to discuss how micro-finance could be used as a poverty reduction strategy (LUPP 2001). The fact that KixiCrédito has an extremely low 'at risk' portfolio, currently between 2 to 3% would suggest that this type of negative impact is largely being avoided. Further, KixiCrédito has maintained an emphasis on working with lower income groups, and particularly with women, who represent more than 60% of workers in the informal sector. KixiCrédito trains its staff specifically to mobilise groups of micro-entrepreneurs, with targets in each branch to reach those in lower-income brackets. Clients are required to attend four

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13 It should be noted that the potential to generalise from research findings is limited by the small sample, and the size and nature of the control group.





two-hour training sessions on the concept of solidarity before loans are disbursed, all members must contribute to an emergency fund, and groups meet weekly with a credit officer. There is anecdotal evidence to suggest that the emphasis on group repayment of debts has led to informal mentoring, and market strategising within groups. In order to ensure KixiCrédito maintains its focus on the poor, DW has recently established a poverty scorecard that will be used to collect socio-economic data from each new client.

### **Business Development**

Alongside KixiCrédito, a second small-scale but sustainable business-focused enterprise has been established by LUPP. CARE has supported the creation of ATREINE – an independent association of micro and small entrepreneurs offering business development training courses

to micro-enterprises for a fee, on a cost recovery basis. ATREINE uses micro-entrepreneurs as trainers and focuses on economic management and business strategy. The aim is to improve the status and competitiveness of small businesses, and facilitate access to markets by establishing connections between business people and service providers. It is now fully sustainable and functioning independently of LUPP in the municipality of Kilamba Kiáxi. A number of case studies demonstrating impact on family businesses have been documented by CARE.<sup>14</sup> By 2006, 400 micro-entrepreneurs had attended and paid for Business Development Services (BDS) training. The availability of affordable training for micro-entrepreneurs represents a further improvement to the environment for informal traders in one municipality of Luanda.

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<sup>14</sup> See LUPP Good Practice Series, *Sustainable Business Development Services, Microcredit Linking Model*.

## Box 1: Case Study of BDS impact

Vemba Gabriel, 50 years of age and head of a family of 6 people, has been a resident of Kilamba Kiaxi municipality for over 10 years. In 1998, Vemba lost the ability to walk due to an injury that he suffered during the Angolan war of independence. Since his disability, the family has been sustained by his wife, who sells goods in a market in Luanda.

In 1999, at his mother's funeral, Vemba went to a local church close to his house to borrow chairs and benches to accommodate those present. The pastor handed over the chairs and benches after the payment of a rental charge. After the funeral service, Vemba realised that his area was characterised by a large number of churches (some without the items such as chairs), and a culture of funerals and parties attracting a lot of people, which created a demand for chairs. This encouraged Vemba to start a business for loaning chairs, tables and canvas sheets for a fee. In this way in 2000, having received his medical pension, he bought 86 chairs for US\$430 and started renting them for a fee.

As time passed, the number of clients increased, demanding more and more chairs. However the system Vemba was using became complicated, as transportation was now required. In December 2002, Vemba was able to purchase 300 additional chairs and employ three family members, including his wife. Despite this purchase, the business was unable to meet the growing demand for the service. His limited capital base prevented further expansion of his business, as did his knowledge for organising and managing the business. This presented him with the challenge of where he should go for assistance.

Vemba and two members of his family enrolled on a BDS training program organised by ATREINE. Vemba learnt the basic knowledge of creating, organising and managing a business, including the elaboration of a business plan, market analysis, property management, cost-benefit analysis, production, dealing with clients, etc. The total cost for participating in the training was US\$230. After the training, the profile of the business changed. Vemba's business became a family business called VGKA, comprised of 5 partners: him, his wife and three sons, all of whom signed a social pact. After elaborating his business plan, Vemba asked for credit from Banco Sol to increase his activities to meet the growing demand of his service. Credit amounting to US\$1,500 was acquired for the business, which enabled the purchase of 300 additional chairs, 10 tables and 5 canvas sheets. This resulted in an increase in monthly profit from US\$150 to US\$1,200 during the last month of loan repayment.

Before the BDS intervention, the business was considered an activity that generated income to meet the basic needs of the family but was not structured, organised or well managed. The increasing activities forced the business to learn about and adopt an appropriate organisational and management structure. The increase in the number and type of clients, as well as greater income, resulted in the creation of two further permanent jobs for non-family members, each with a salary of US\$150 per month, whilst family members, who are business partners, earn according to the terms of the social pact related to dividends.

*Source: LUPP Good Practice Series, Sustainable Business Development Services*



## Savings groups and consumer cooperatives

In separate initiatives, not linked to the micro-credit component, LUPP partners also introduced a range of group saving and loan methodologies. There is evidence to suggest that these have had some impact on revitalising a culture of saving within the *musseques* where LUPP works (LUPP n.d.). These initiatives were introduced so as to reach the poorest households, who did not have income levels sufficient to take part in microcredit initiatives. Consumer cooperatives have been another such intervention, in which groups of very poor women buy food in bulk to save money. According to one observer, these were more critical and successful in

the earlier years of the programme, when financial difficulties were most acute in the *musseques*.<sup>15</sup> Some have since developed into viable businesses, through which group members sell on groceries for a profit. This has remained a small pilot initiative: there are now seven consumer cooperatives functioning in LUPP areas which are reported to be 100% sustainable, and have helped families involved to increase food intake, and to use savings to send children to school and access healthcare (LUPP 2009b). However, it would appear that the poorest members of the community have not been able to take such full advantage of savings and cooperative schemes.

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<sup>15</sup> Interview with Sirajo Seidi, former SCF staff member 02.11.10





## Water and sanitation

### Key Achievements

- 147 standpipes and 2 community water tanks built and maintained, benefitting 150,700 people
- 63 water committees trained and 2 associations formed
- Water consumption increased from 7 litres to up to 21 litres per day,
- Distance travelled to collect water halved from c.200 metres to less than 100 metres.
- Users purchasing water from standpipes at 4–8 times less than the price from private water vendors.
- 3467 family latrines and 48 school latrines built
- Reduction in incidence of water-borne diseases in LUPP areas, including cholera

- A further 182 standpipes built by USAID and UNICEF using LUPP model in Luanda and Moxico provinces benefitting a further 678,400 people.
- Community water management model replicated across the country by national government. 'Water for everyone' programme to reach 80% of population by 2012.

### Infrastructural improvements

Lack of access to water, and to a lesser extent to sanitation, were identified in the 1990s as the most pressing issues for residents of the *musseques*. As Cosgrove (2002) notes 'Repeated beneficiary assessments have shown that improved access to reasonable cost water is the highest priority for peri-urban families in Luanda.' Based on this research, and considerable experience of water and sanitation provision in the *musseques* prior to LUPP, DW implemented the Sustainable Community Services Programme



(SCSP) in LUPP 1 and 2 in the municipalities of Sambizanga and Cazenga. CARE implemented a similar component in the municipalities of Kilamba Kiayi and Cacuaco. Alongside infrastructural improvements, the programme set out to demonstrate that firstly, it was possible to involve communities in management of water supplies, and secondly, that households were willing to pay for water delivered through a standpipe system. This was described, in the original programme documentation as seeking to 'break the impasse where the problem is perceived as too big to be tackled and explode the myth that the urban poor will not pay for services' (One World Action 1998:52). Indeed, as noted in initial programme research, the poor had few options but to pay for water, and were paying some of the highest prices in the city for untreated river water delivered by truck to tanks next to people's houses (Development Workshop 2002). Further DW research showed that,

*low-income households were prepared to pay for a public water supply service if they got a reliable service and the price was less than that charged by private water vendors. DW therefore developed a model that provided*

*such a service at a price that was affordable to people and which would cover the cost of the water and the standpost maintenance and with revenues for the water company to encourage them to sustain water supply to the standposts (Cain 2009: 35).*

Over the course of LUPP 1 and 2, seventy-two standpipes and two community water tanks were built and maintained. Sixty-three water committees were trained and two water committee associations, or federations, were established and legalised. During these phases, SCSP built a total of 3467 family latrines and forty-eight school latrines, resulting in a significant reduction in the prevalence of open-air defecation (Krugmann 2006). Cosgrove (2002) notes that latrines were a lower priority amongst musseque residents, but that they were willing to pay subsidised rates for these. However, preference for pour-flush latrines, that are more expensive than the dry-pit model, led to a decision to halt this component in LUPP 2. However, other actors in the communities, trained through LUPP, and supported by the EU, continue to provide these services. By the end of LUPP 3, a total of 147 standpipes had been



built in Kilamba Kiaxi, Cazenga and Sambizanga, with a potential reach of over 150 000 people. Similar initiatives based on LUPP models funded by USAID and UNICEF in Luanda and Moxico provinces have improved water provision for more than half a million people.

### **Community management**

The LUPP model involves the creation of water committees, bodies elected by users to take on caretaker, maintenance and treasurer roles. These committees operate the standpipes and collect and record payment from users, undertake maintenance and register the number of days of water flow. These organizations were designed to be accountable to residents – for which, as Cain (2009) notes, there was little precedent. A percentage of the fees for water go towards sustaining the organisation and keeping the standpipes functioning. From the start, the programme also made considerable efforts to forge a strong working relationship with EPAL, the provincial water company. This was achieved through close collaboration with DW technical staff, including secondment of EPAL staff to the SCSP. Aware that it did not have

the financial and technical capacity to manage water supply at the community level and that it should concentrate on improving bulk water supply, EPAL was able to draw on DW expertise to engage with the issue of water and sanitation in the *musseques* (Cain 2009). This relationship was deepened after the withdrawal of expected World Bank investment in water infrastructure rehabilitation, which was necessary for water provision to the *musseques*. This gave LUPP the opportunity to work more closely with EPAL on a subproject for repairs of the mainline. Through this contact, DW was able to promote the water committee model to EPAL, which has generated a series of important impacts (see below).

Over the course of LUPP the water committees in the municipalities of Sambizanga and Cazenga decided to federate, forming two bodies known as ACAs – Associations of Water Committees – so they could share their experiences and improve engagement with EPAL and the local administration. They then evolved to take on a supervisory role of the water committees. Outside of Sambizanga and Cazenga, civil society organisations that deal with water, amongst other issues, are referred to as Area Based



Organisations (ODAs). These have also built up a relationship with EPAL: a clear impact of this was successful lobbying for the building of standpipes in one area of Kilamba Kiaxi neighbourhood (See box 2 on p48 for details).

In a further development of the original programme methodology, the two ACAs have chosen to widen the scope of their involvement in the community, entirely independently of LUPP. Renaming itself as an Association of Water Committees for Community Progress (ACAPC) to reflect its enhanced role, the organisation in Sambizanga now has a dynamic engagement with *comuna* and municipal administrators over other issues in the community, including solid waste collection and electricity connections, and is working with similar organisations in other municipalities in Luanda to share these experiences. Along with using revenue from standpipes to expand the network supply, they are also implementing their own local projects in other thematic areas. According to Shankland et al. (2003: 52), these include initiatives for

crèches, tree-planting, vocational training, school building maintenance, rubbish removal and road rehabilitation. Again independently of LUPP, ACAPC has organised inter-municipal exchanges within the city, drawing in civil society networks from municipalities that have not worked with LUPP partners, and who are considered 'behind' in terms of community mobilisation and engagement with local authorities.<sup>16</sup>

### Socio-economic impacts

LUPP reports note for every standpipe built, approximately 1000 people will benefit in the surrounding area (Krugmann 2006). Thus 74,000 people are recorded as benefitting from standpipes constructed in LUPP 1 and 2 (Cain 2009). However, due to problems with the water network in the system, not all standpipes have been functioning regularly during the programme's lifetime. This is an ongoing problem: as the *musseques* expand, demand for water

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16 Group discussion with representatives of ACAPC, 01.11.10



increases and yet supply does not keep pace. According to local association members, only 24 of 64 standpipes built through LUPP in Sambizanga and Cazenga regularly provide water to the communities. This is in part also due to the disruption caused to the system through public road works. Nevertheless, by the end of LUPP 2, where LUPP standpipes were functioning, they were having a clear impact on water consumption and household economy. Gardener (2006) records that consumption had more than doubled from 7 litres per day to 15 litres per day, and the distance travelled to collect water had halved from almost 200 metres to less than 100 metres. Users were being charged 5 kwanza for 25 litres, which is 4 to 5 times less than the price from private water vendors. By the end of LUPP 3, data from areas with functioning standpipes recorded increases in individual consumption of up to 21 litres, with costs between 4 and 8 times cheaper.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Data provided by LUPP programme staff, January 2011.

Other socio-economic impacts, beyond water consumption, are harder to ascertain. The water and sanitation programme operated under the assumption that there would be knock-on health and time-use benefits from an improved water supply in the *musseques*. As noted in a monitoring report from the water and sanitation component of the programme in 2002:

*The benefits provided by a public standpipe will normally include: a) the time saved by shorter walking distances and shorter waiting times; b) improved health due to improved water quality and quantity; and c) the cost savings associated with lower-priced standpipe water (versus private vendors) (Kirkwood 2002: 4).*

However, the report notes that the first two benefits are much more difficult to quantify in financial terms than the third. It also asserts that in peri-urban Luanda the financial benefits of price savings are far greater than either time-related or health-related benefits. As a result, only the benefits associated with lowering the



price of water were considered in the analysis. This is an unfortunate omission in terms of monitoring the impact of water provision in the *musseques*. Given that there were 40,000 cases of cholera in the city in 2006, health-related benefits of improved water supply cannot be dismissed as negligible. Senior staff members of DW asserted that there had been very few cases of cholera in the areas where LUPP was operating, while high rates were found in neighbouring districts outside LUPP's area of action. However, there is no documentary evidence to verify this. A further problem of impact assessment for the water and sanitation component of LUPP is that gender was not considered in basic project design, and a review in 2002 found no hard data to assess the extent to which the project may have had differential impacts on men and women (Cosgrove 2002). This is a serious omission of the programme. Gathering of sex-disaggregated data could have provided scope for a gendered analysis of impact on time-use, since it is women and girl children who are generally responsible for collecting

water. It could also have provided insights into the economic impacts of the project on female-headed households.

The model of water management committees has produced a number of impacts on community development, both intended and unintended, at grassroots level, within the various *comunas* of the municipalities and with the provincial water company.<sup>18</sup> Firstly, the standpipes that have a regular supply of water have been managed by community water committees for the past 6 years on a cost-recovery basis without need for further intervention from LUPP. But the organisation of the water committees itself has led to knock-on effects in communities. Spontaneous community organising as a result of greater cooperation around the water project emerged in the first years of the programme. For example, *comunas* in Cazenga and Sambizanga became involved in a re-organisation of sector boundaries, a

<sup>18</sup> Municipalities are divided into smaller administrative units, known as *comunas*.

population census, the construction of laundries in 12 standpipe locations and monthly cleaning campaigns (LUPP 2001). Through assistance from DW, one *comuna* of Sambizanga renovated the civil registry. The availability of the registry locally meant that people could register the birth of their children more easily, which in turn facilitates their attendance at school.

### Impact on public service providers

The close working relationship with EPAL is a further impact of the first phases of LUPP. Krugmann (2006:14) notes that,

*Initially EPAL was reluctant to involve local communities in managing its water standpipes in the musseques, fearing problems like theft and vandalism (based on earlier negative experiences). However, LUPP's successful demonstration of the viability and effectiveness of community-managed standpipes have influenced EPAL to reconsider their earlier position.*

The supervisory role of water committees taken on by the ACAs, and their positioning as mediators between EPAL and the communities have had an important impact on the development of positive relationships with the water company. By the second year of LUPP 2, the ACAs were 'recognized by both the local administration and EPAL as the single interlocutor for water-related matters in their neighbourhoods' (Roque and Shankland 2007: 213). Since then EPAL has modified the methodology for replication in other areas of Luanda through a major EU-funded project, building 80 standposts in the municipality of Cazenga. It has attempted to bring community members into the process of managing standpipes and maintenance, although, according to DW staff, it not been able to replicate the strong capacity building component that LUPP employed.<sup>19</sup> This is,

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19 Interview with Willy Piassa, LUPP Programme Manager, 01.11.10





nevertheless, a significant impact of LUPP work on water provision and management in the city.

At a higher scale, DW has been able to use the experiences of LUPP to influence the Ministry for Water and Energy. The Ministry, in collaboration with UNICEF, has now adopted community management of water as a national level policy that is to be rolled out across the country as part of the government's 'Water for Everyone' programme, that aims to reach 80% of the population by 2012. DW has adapted the LUPP methodology for rural areas, and produced a set of manuals for community mobilisation, management and maintenance of water systems. This is an extremely significant impact, with the potential to have further repercussions at

community level and potential replication in other areas of basic service provision. Given the fact that the water committees in Luanda have evolved to engage in other grassroots initiatives, and have helped to increase awareness of the potential benefits of engaging with government and service providers, the replication of LUPP's model may contribute to improvements in the relationship between state and society in other parts of the country.

### **Solid waste collection**

Both DW and CARE's LUPP 1 initiatives also incorporated solid waste components into their work on water and sanitation in the peri-urban areas of the city. The problem of solid waste



collection was particularly acute in the early years of LUPP, with rubbish piling up in the *musseques* and causing public health problems. DW and CARE worked with communities to organise transfer sites, where residents would leave their rubbish which would then, in theory, be collected by the city's waste company. Some progress was made by LUPP over the course of the programme in terms of convincing the authorities that citizens are willing to pay for solid waste collection. However, neither the DW nor the CARE initiative has been totally successful, because of problems of access into the *musseques* by rubbish trucks and overall

limited capacity of the provincial authorities to deal with the magnitude of the problem. CARE's work has culminated in the establishment of a private sustainable company that services four market areas and 1600 residents of Kilamba Kiaxi.

The Provincial Government has since based its new Luanda waste removal strategy on LUPP's model. However, this principally serves residents of the consolidated or 'cement' city, and waste management in less accessible areas of the *musseques* continues to be highly problematic.

### Box 2: Case study of access to water

The federation of ODAs of Golfe II, a comuna of Kilamba Kiaxi, approached the local government and the Luanda Water Company, EPAL, to discuss the possibility of access to water for approximately 42,000 people, in the area of Golfe II known as 'Zone 10'. A water pipeline, which passed the community, was in the process of being constructed to supply residential areas of Luanda Sul, which were then uninhabited. The official initial response was that there was no plan to supply Zone 10. In addition, the federation of ODAs was told that there was no capacity to supply both the future demand of Luanda Sul and the needs of Zone 10. The issue was put on the agenda of the Kilamba Kiaxi Development Forum and raised publicly with EPAL. In a society that would normally never question a public authority, EPAL was faced with an organised ODA that they had to listen to, which presented its community vision for the future, including piped water.

EPAL agreed that it would be unfair not to allow the community to have access to water from the new pipeline. A hydrology study was carried out and a system with 15 standposts was designed. Working directly with the local authority, the ODAs identified and negotiated the land required to build the public standposts. Further negotiations took place to establish roles and responsibilities for the management of the water system.

Through the establishment of ODAs, institutional mechanisms are being created that ensure greater responsiveness to the needs of communities. The ODAs provide the means by which EPAL can debate how best to transfer the complex issues of management of public standposts to the community level. Working within the technical standards of EPAL, LUPP has been able to ensure analysis of solutions that can best serve the urban poor living in informal settlements. By facilitating ongoing engagement between key players – community, local administration and the service provider, EPAL in this instance – which have little previous experience of open communication, new solutions have been discussed and found to expand the province's water distribution network, and benefit the wider community.

*Source: LUPP Good Practice Series: Urban Participatory Planning*



## Early childhood development

### Key Achievements

- 24 crèches established in Kilamba Kiaxi and Viana municipalities, fostering early childhood development
- Women's network has replicated model in Cazenga, building a further 34 crèches
- A total of 4300 children under 5 years have already benefited from crèches in Luanda.
- Over 300 women have found employment as nursery assistants.
- Improved literacy, numeracy and social skills amongst young children

- Women's network addressing wider community issues
- Model replicated by MINARS – 200 crèches built across the country reaching 12000 children so far, and employing more than 1200 women
- A further 18 crèches built in 7 other provinces by other donors using LUPP model

### Community managed crèches

The main focus of LUPP partner Save the Children (SCF) has been on the establishment of community managed crèches in the Hoji Ya Henda *comuna* of Cazenga municipality. Many residents of the area are informal traders, amongst whom women form a majority. They sell goods on the street and, until it was closed





by the government, in the main market of Roque Santeiro. A Save the Children study noted that four out of five women in the *comuna* work in the informal sector. It recorded that young children were often left in the care of older siblings or with neighbours for considerable lengths of time while their mothers worked. Cases of poorly supervised children going missing were frequent, as were accidents. It further noted that childcare responsibilities were increasingly falling on girls aged 10–13, with negative consequences for these older children in terms of their schooling (Save the Children 2000). Building on relationships it had established prior to LUPP with the Ministry of Social Assistance and Reintegration (MINARS), SCF piloted community-managed crèches, known as PICs in the *comuna* of Hoji Ya Henda.

For a fee of US\$30 per month, per child, families can leave their children aged 1–5, in the crèche for the whole of the working day: from 6am to 5pm. In the crèches they are involved in a series of structured educational and play activities,

as well as receiving two meals and a shower. The model involves the participation of parents in school management: the community selects a management committee and promotes the creation of 'child-friendly' schools. According to former staff members of SCF, MINARS was initially 'hostile' to the idea, and held little faith in the ability of communities to run these establishments themselves.<sup>20</sup> However, the pilot showed that the crèches were financially sustainable once premises were found, and that they made an important contribution to children and mothers' well-being and to the economy of poorer households more generally, as parents were given greater flexibility to work outside the home. The programme has established 24 crèches in Kilamba Kiaxi and Viana, with a further 34 built by a women's network in Cazenga and Samibizanga, replicating the LUPP model. The municipal authorities in Cazenga are supplying water to the crèches, and make other occasional

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20 Interview with Teofilo Kaingona and Sirajo Seidi, former SCF staff members 02.11.10



contributions. Most importantly, in terms of broader impact, MINARS has accepted the model and replicated it in other Luanda municipalities as well as in all 18 provinces of the country.

### Socio-economic impacts

SCF reports numerous impacts on the well-being of children and their families. Case studies show that women are empowered by the freedom that childcare has given them, and project reports note improvements in children's social skills, and progress with basic numeracy and literacy. Nutrition levels have also shown improvements. Krugmann (2006) notes that the crèches have impacted on communities 'in terms of owning, managing and holding PICs accountable through parents' committees, participating more actively in decisions affecting children, and benefiting from additional sources of income.' There is also a positive impact on communities through employment creation for caregivers – often young women. It should, however, be noted that the poorest families in the communities are not able

to pay the fees for the crèches. Some attempts at cross-subsidy for poorer families have been made. PICs set aside surplus funds each month to provide capital for the creation of new crèches, and some of this is also used to fund places for the families of poorer children. In a visit to a crèche in Hoji ya Henda *comuna* a representative of the women's network in Cazenga explained that 7 out of 127 children were not paying full fees. A representative from a second PIC interviewed for this assessment recorded 12 out of a total of 75 in the crèche she had helped to establish.<sup>21</sup> Details on the ratio of children from the poorest families who are accessing the crèches was not made available, but the difficulty of cross-subsidy in communities that are mainly very poor was noted in several evaluations over the course of the programme. It suggests that LUPP partners could have considered raising awareness of the need for a government-funded social safety net for the poorest members of society.

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21 Interview with Maria Jose Mateus, Head of women's network, Hoji Ya Henda

**Box 3:****Case study of women's network in Cazenga**

The experience surrounding the setting up and running of the crèches in the comuna of Hoji ya Henda has created dynamism amongst civil society groups and committed individuals who seek to engage with representatives of the state beyond the scope of the programme on community child-care. The women's network in Cazenga has emerged organically out of the experience of the crèches, in a similar way to the development of the association of water committees in Sambizanga. There are 15 member organisations in the network that range from church-based organisations, to those who work with abandoned children and destitute families. They meet once a month and undertake a situational analysis and plan for future activities. The network has also been involved in capacity building courses on the concept of gender, women's leadership and running an NGO, as well as holding literacy classes.

The network has been particularly active on lobbying for improvements to the functioning of the civil registry in the municipality. Without birth certificates, children are prevented from being enrolled at schools. However, bribery in the civil registry and the distance of registry offices from the musseques prevents many families from registering their children. Through engagement with the municipal authorities in Cazenga, the network lobbied for visits of officials to undertake registering in the crèches, and without the usual bribes. Despite this initial success, the problem of bribery in the registry continues, and the women's network has taken its complaints to a higher level. Drawing on the fact that the current governor of Luanda is a woman, who demonstrated concern for social issues in her prior role of vice-minister of education, the women's network drafted a letter to her in which they set out their concerns. This campaign resulted in an audience with both the governor and the minister of justice – a considerable achievement, given the general inaccessibility of high-ranking government officials in Angola. The network has been assured that after the inauguration of a new registry office in the municipality scheduled for 2011, registering of births for the population of Cazenga will be greatly facilitated. For now, the network members are waiting to see how events unfurl, but are committed to holding the governor to account should the problem continue.

A further activity of the network revolves around the issue of domestic violence. Members are concerned with the lack of interest shown by the police in cases of violence against women that occur in the home. They are currently campaigning in favour of a law that will make domestic violence a crime and, along with women's networks from other municipalities, will be involved in their first rally in November 2010. They have invited the first lady to be involved in the march.

*Source: Consultant visit to crèche in Hoji ya Henda*



## Municipal development forums

### Key achievements

- Civil society networks established and leading forums in all five municipalities where LUPP works
- Sustained interaction with *comuna* and municipal authorities over local development priorities
- Forum approached replicated with support from other donors across Angola
- Success of forums contributed to increased financial autonomy of municipalities
- Forums provided inspiration for creation of Councils for Communication and Cooperation, establishing a space for state-society engagement in national law

## The Kilamba Kiaxi Development Forum

For a number of key informants interviewed during the course of the fieldwork, one of the most important legacies of LUPP is the establishment of dynamic civil society organisations rooted in the communities that will remain active beyond the life of the programme. The experience of the Women's Network in Hoji Ya Henda is one example, as are the enhanced ACAs/ACAPC in Sambizanga and Cazenga, and ACPDH: a civil society network in Cazenga that is evolving into a NGO, and is frequently invited to share experiences of its engagement with municipal authorities with other civil society organisations inside and outside of Luanda. Sustainable organisations have also emerged in Kilamba Kiaxi municipality, where CARE used a different model of community mobilisation to DW and SCF, and fostered the creation of area-based organisations. Known as ODAs, these brought together different social groups in a specific



geographical area. The number and activity of ODAs has varied over the years of the programme, but there is a core of committed and dynamic individuals and organisations, and currently approximately 25 ODAs are actively working in the municipality. Each municipality where LUPP works now has a network of civil society organisations, bringing together ODAs, ACAs and others to work towards greater engagement with the local administration and with public service providers.

These networks and federations of associations have begun to play an important role in structured initiatives to bring communities into closer interaction with the local authorities. LUPP work in this area was pioneered in Kilamba Kiaksi, where CARE has focused its activities. Here, the ODAs were encouraged to liaise over municipal level development issues during LUPP 1, and began to promote a partnership with the municipal administration through the Kilamba Kiaksi Development Forum (KKDF).

This space was designed for stakeholders – civil society, public service providers and representatives of *comuna* and municipal administrations – to discuss the principal issues facing the community, prioritise these and develop proposals to address them. It was envisaged that organising the community in this way would allow residents to 'contest the official vision for future urban development – one that excluded the *musseques* and their population'. It would also allow them to 'construct a common voice to deal with the authorities' (Roque and Shankland 2007: 214). Initially hesitant, the municipal administration became more actively involved in the forum after a number of high-ranking politicians gave their informal approval to the initiative (ibid). 'The formal presence of decentralisation on the Angola policy agenda since 2000 gave room for these politicians to be openly supportive of the forum' (ibid: 215). The forum has been held every eight weeks since 2001, with the participation of an average of 100 people at each event.



Representatives of civil society have gradually grown in confidence within the space of the KKDF, and have used the forum to attempt to hold representatives of the municipal administration accountable for the development of the community. This is extremely significant given the overall lack of transparency in Angola, the hierarchical nature of society and deference for those in positions of power. The forum has had some notable successes in improving services for local residents in the areas of solid waste collection, construction of bridges and public toilets, amongst other initiatives. The very existence of a regular space in which to engage with the state is also of great value. A number of observers interviewed for this assessment argued that the participation of the municipal administrator in a space that was created by civil society generates a sense of self-worth amongst community members. No longer dismissed as temporary residents, or marginalised as non-citizens, the municipal administrator and public service providers

regularly spend half a day, or more, listening to the issues that are of concern to local residents.<sup>22</sup> As Gardener (2006:17) notes, the forums are developing spaces for community voice and 'this is a particularly significant achievement within an historically highly centralised, top-down government culture'.

This initiative in Kilamba Kiaxi has been further developed by CARE, to include a municipal development fund for small project development, and capacity building for planning and budgeting. Raising funds through grants from NGOs and other donors, this was a way to introduce the concept of participatory budgeting, and to avoid frustration that the forum was not able to follow-up with many of the community's suggestions for development initiatives.

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22 Interviews with Daniel Miji, CARE country director, 29.10.10, and Fernando Pacheco, LUPP consultant 01.11.10



The level of engagement between state and society within the KKDF has varied over the years. It has suffered from accusations of politicisation, and of being linked to the opposition party UNITA, and yet it has also served as an influential model that is being replicated elsewhere. Dynamic *comuna* and subsequently municipal forums have since been established in Cazenga and Sambizanga. In the latter case, civil society representatives have recently been able to take the municipal administrator into the *musseques*, along with other staff and service providers, to ensure that they actually see the problems of rubbish collection, poor drainage and lack of water provision. This tactic has resulted in some positive practical achievements in the community. The two other LUPP municipalities – Cacuaco and Viana – have now also held their first municipal and *comuna* forums. Exchange of experience with other municipalities within Luanda is ongoing. The success of the forums as a space for

engagement has been attributed, in part, to the previous phase of LUPP during which methodologies for community management of basic services were developed and tested. Civil society organisations had been able to present themselves as competent entities able to reduce the pressure on municipal authorities to deliver services, by presenting alternative methods and mobilising communities. These activities had also purposefully developed technical capacity within public service providers. A basis for partnership, and for critical engagement rather than antagonism, had thus been established.

Beyond community empowerment and improvement to basic service provision, the KKDF has had a number of impacts at a higher scale. Not only has the forum been replicated in other municipalities of the city, but it has been taken by LUPP partners to the rest of the country, through five years of funding from USAID and Chevron for a Municipal Development Programme. The KKDF initiative



has had further knock-on effects with donors. The municipality was included as one of four involved in UNDP's pilot decentralisation programme, and was also influential in a World Bank Municipal Capacity Building programme, supported through its Social Assistance Fund.

### **Impact on national policy for municipalities and state-society engagement**

LUPP's experiments in state-society engagement at the local government level through KKDF and other spaces in neighbouring municipalities are also perceived to have had an impact at national policy level. Until 2008, municipalities had no financial autonomy and did not have bank accounts. In 2008, the government granted

a degree of autonomy to 68 of the country's total of 164 municipalities. These became 'autonomous budget units' and were provided with US\$5 million for municipal development and investment. The following year a further 28 municipalities were granted financial autonomy, but although they were promised US\$5 million, only a tiny percentage of this – estimated at 10% – was actually disbursed. Some commentators have suggested that the fund was little more than a pre-election sweetener, while others consider the financial crisis, which hit Angola in 2009, as to blame. The system has since been under review, and although funds have yet to be disbursed for 2010, the policy now is to distribute funds according to need. Although hard to attribute directly, a number of key informants saw a direct link between these

government initiatives and KKDF's experiments with a municipal fund.

One final, and highly significant, change that has occurred at the legislative level in Angola, and to which LUPP activities have made a contribution, is law 02/2007, that establishes CACS – Councils for Communication and Cooperation. The legislation calls for CACS at provincial and municipal levels (meeting every four months) and at *comuna* level (meeting every two months). Most participants in the impact assessment asserted that the development of this law can be attributed to LUPP's intervention, as the councils are a more formalised version of the municipal development forum approach. It is difficult to verify this claim, but one parliamentarian told the LUPP coordinator, off the record, that the CACS were based on the KKDF experiment. A progress report from the first year of LUPP 3 presents the CACS as emerging as a result of ten years of interaction between LUPP, and the Parliamentary Fourth Commission, that discusses issues related to territorial control and decentralisation. 'The deputies of the Fourth Commission were crucial in the design of the CACS model based on their experience of Forums promoted by LUPP' (LUPP 2008). Krugmann (2009: 10) also regards the CACS as carrying 'LUPP's imprint' and reflecting 'LUPP's policy influencing efforts to date', with the devolution of some responsibilities to 'local government authorities structures, along with the involvement of civil society in local development planning and implementation processes'.

There is, however, a lack of clarity on the workings of the CACS. They do not replace the municipal development forums, but how best the two spaces can interact has yet to be established. While LUPP has facilitated informal, flexible municipal and *comuna* level development forums that operate with the involvement, but outside the control, of the municipal administration, and are chaired by an elected president from civil society, the CACS are more circumscribed in structure and process. They operate essentially as an 'extension

of the municipal administration and [are] presided over by the municipal administrator' (Krugmann 2009:11). As Shankland and Figueiredo (2009:19) report, 'these councils (CACS) are supposed to [...] give their opinion on key documents such as plans, reports and budgets.' These authors note that while this creates 'enormous opportunities', there are, as yet, no clear regulations governing the functions of these councils, in particular on how representatives will be selected. As with many such participatory experiments around the world, their establishment in law does not guarantee that they will provide an enabling space for discussion and implementation of inclusive pro-poor investment at the municipal level. Political will remains a barrier, as does technical capacity within the municipal authorities to design an agenda and manage the process. At present, the municipal administrator has the right to invite whoever s/he chooses from civil society to take part in the discussions. It is thus possible for the administrator to exclude more challenging voices from the process. To date, CACS in the municipalities of Luanda have yet to become established and regular spaces for participation and deliberation. Nevertheless, they represent real change to the way that local authorities operate and a remarkable high-level impact of LUPP.

The programme's achievement in terms of the introduction of a space for debate between state and society in a non-democratic environment is testament to the fact that steps towards a more democratic local culture can be taken even in the absence of the formal institutions and practices of electoral democracy. It can be argued, further, that LUPP's initiatives have helped to catalyse broader democratisation processes. Examples of this include the take-up of the municipal development forum model in other donors' decentralisation programmes, the central government's decision to provide resources directly to municipalities, and new legislation formally creating space for civil society participation. Thus greater democracy at lower levels of the state can be forged outside the framework of elections.



## Promoting participatory governance: Municipal development profiles

### Key achievements

- Municipal profiles produced; data to be used to guide pro-poor investment
- Greater knowledge amongst municipal authorities on infrastructure, access to services and poverty
- Civil society using Development Workshop's GIS mapping of Luanda to monitor urban poverty and to hold government to its commitments on basic urban services
- Capacities strengthened in research methods, including participatory GIS, amongst representatives of civil society and government.

The transition from service delivery to strategic engagement with local authorities and service providers began in earnest in LUPP from 2003 onwards, with the start of the second phase of the programme. The municipal development forum in Kilamba Kixi was one of the key results from LUPP 2 and inspired further scaling-up into LUPP 3, in which there was increased emphasis on advocacy and participatory governance. Building on the consolidation of municipal forums, now in place in each of the five municipalities where the programme functions, LUPP partners have been supporting a joint initiative between civil society networks and the local authorities to produce municipal profiles. These are diagnostic documents that are being produced by teams of civil society representatives and public servants, who undertake mapping and survey work across their respective municipalities. Aiming to provide a tool for future pro-poor planning in the municipalities, these cover basic service provision and human development indicators. The process of data gathering involved training

in research methods, and has established a cadre in each municipality with experience of administering surveys and running focus groups.

### Participatory GIS mapping

One key element of data gathering for the municipal development profiles is the use of GIS mapping. Civil society organisations will be able to use this data, cross-referenced with information on service provision, to monitor progress towards the Millennium Development Goals in their communities. Use of these new technologies is now rooted in community-level work, and represents a new form of empowerment, as civil society organisations are able to use this information both to feed into municipal planning processes, and to begin to hold local government to account.<sup>23</sup>

GIS mapping had been integral to LUPP 2 as part of programme monitoring and led to a request from the Ministry of Urbanism for DW to assist in the establishment of a national system for urban poverty monitoring linked to UN-Habitat's Global Urban Observatory. DW agreed to pilot this system in both Luanda and Huambo and to build the capacity of the National Institute for Regional and Urban Planning to roll out the monitoring system at national level. The initiative maps progress towards meeting the Habitat Agenda goals, which are linked to the MDGs. Specifically, it gathers data on five key indicators relating to shelter: (i) durable structure, (ii) overcrowding, (iii) access to safe water, (iv) access to improved sanitation and (v) connection to services. These goals have been incorporated by the Angolan Government into national plans and policies, including the Water for Everyone programme which commits the government to deliver adequate water supply to all urban areas and 80% of all peri-urban and rural households by 2015. The One Million Home Programme similarly promises to deliver adequate housing to the poor. The urban poverty monitoring system aims to provide planners and

policy makers the tools to monitor the impacts of these and other programmes.

In Luanda, the city has been mapped into 9 settlement typologies by a team that includes representatives of residents' groups, government planners and the local authorities. This has involved analysis of satellite imagery and aerial photographs which is then validated by rapid on-the-ground appraisal. Aerial photographs and local knowledge are also used to map neighbourhood, *comuna* and municipal boundaries. Sample surveys have been carried out of each housing typology to obtain data that can be used to calculate MDG indicators, and this has been verified and refined through discussions with local government and civil society organisations. The data gathered through this approach is not reliably available from any other source and has been used to produce maps of the city which demonstrate the geographical distribution of the five urban poverty indicators (see Annex 2).

The Luanda Urban Poverty Network, some of whose members have been involved in this research initiative, have adapted the validation tools in order to measure the impact of government programmes in their own *bairros* and municipalities. The Network has decided to collect indicator data locally and feed this data through the Municipal Councils and Forums to the city-wide monitoring framework. This participatory poverty monitoring gives civil society representatives the evidence-based arguments they need to advocate for better and more equitable delivery of services to their neighbourhoods, and to follow up on government commitments to national poverty alleviation. Information from this process also supplements the community-level research work carried out through LUPP. Municipal and *comuna* level extracts of the city-wide maps and databases provide an additional input into the municipal profiles. The information collected by communities is required by municipal planners

23 Discussion with Andy Rutherford, Head of International Partnerships, One World Action, Pretoria, 22.10.10



and consequently helps secure citizen access to decision-making arenas.<sup>24</sup>

### **Impact of profiles on municipal authorities**

A respondent from within the education department of the municipal administration in Cazenga identified a number of impacts of the data gathering phase of work on the profile. He had been personally involved in survey work, and remarked that he and his colleagues now had greater insight into living conditions in the *musseques*. The site visits and surveying had taken him to some areas of the municipality for the first time. He remarked,

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24 The information on the GIS initiative was provided in written form by DW's director, December 2010.

*'No-one can now say that they don't know how to do their planning. The profile is like a mirror of the municipality. I've learnt about schools that I didn't even know existed. And we heard about the problem of doctors only turning up at the clinics in the afternoons'.<sup>25</sup>*

A respondent from the municipal offices of Kilamba Kiaxi evaluated the process in a similar way, noting that there was now greater awareness of the numbers and types of schools and healthcare providers in the municipality. They now also had greater understanding of the way that households and families are structured.<sup>26</sup>

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25 Interview with planning officer, education department, Cacuo Municipal Authority, 26.10.10

26 Interview with chief of staff, Kilamba Kiaxi Municipal Authority, 27.10.10

The profiles have taken longer than expected to produce, and at the end of LUPP 3 have yet to be published. Originally intended to form the basis of participatory planning exercises within the municipalities, this is no longer feasible within the timeframe of the programme. However, in some cases, events to date would suggest that there is potential for participatory initiatives to take further root in future. Firstly, although profiles are still being edited, municipalities have already used the data they had generated in response to a questionnaire from the national executive on levels of local development and availability of services. In theory, the information that was provided in response to these queries to higher levels of government will be used to determine the level of resources to be channelled back down to local authorities via the municipal development funds. Municipalities that have worked with LUPP partners on developing profiles will automatically be in a stronger position to draft proposals for this funding. One DW staff member recalled, in interview, that in Sambizanga and Cazenga, the municipal authorities had begun to discuss the potential for participatory budgeting during 2009, but that this had suffered a set back after disbursements to municipal development funds were so drastically reduced that year.<sup>27</sup> Secondly, respondents noted that even if planning processes are yet to be participatory, the municipal authorities are, at least, using data for planning purposes that was produced by the community and that presents an accurate, inclusive and up to date picture of living conditions, services and livelihoods across peri-urban Luanda.

Although it is still early to gauge the impact of LUPP's support for participatory governance initiatives, data gathered during interviews in Luanda would suggest that both the consolidation of municipal development forums and the preparation of municipal profiles are beginning to encourage civil society representatives to hold local government to

account. This is not an automatic response from what is, in the main, a distant and non-transparent state, and thus represents a real shift in behaviour from that recorded at the start of the programme. For example, Cacuaco has to date held only one municipal level forum, yet at that meeting, the municipal administrator gave an account to the assembled members of the public, as to where the US\$5 million of the municipal development fund had been spent.<sup>28</sup> One interviewee noted,

*People stood up and complained about delinquency in their communities, and that the police do nothing. They were contradicting the politicians by giving their version of life in their comunas.*<sup>29</sup>

During this forum, the community also managed to achieve recognition, by the administrator, of a number of 'ghost neighbourhoods', so-called because they are not marked on the city's plans. Cacuaco civil society representatives intend to 'cobrar' at their next forum – to demand to know how the administrator has followed up on their recommendations from the first event. However, elsewhere, this stance has caused friction. Notably, in Kilamba Kiaxi – the most consolidated of the forums – the vice-administrator recently balked at demands for information on unfinished public works, declaring such requests as 'cocky'. Information flows between state and citizen remain problematic, as one representative from Sambizanga municipality noted, 'we are still sometimes surprised by things that suddenly start happening around here. And we shouldn't be – we should be informed of what is going on in our community'.<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless, feedback from public service providers on specific queries – notably from the police and the water company – is increasingly common in the space of the forums.

<sup>27</sup> Interview with Willy Piassa, LUPP programme manager, 29.10.10

<sup>28</sup> This has also happened in Kilamba Kiaxi.

<sup>29</sup> Interview with Geraldo Bassiula, head of APRODEC, Cacuaco municipality 26.10.10

<sup>30</sup> Group interview with members of ACAPC, Sambizanga municipality 01.11.10

## Box 4: Case study of the municipal profile for Cacuaco

LUPP in coordination with the municipality of Cacuaco and local civil society initiated a research process to gather census information in order to create a municipal profile for Cacuaco. Local civil society is coordinated in a network of 35 local religious and non-religious organizations in Cacuaco named ROSSC. It has already worked with the municipal administration on several projects.

The main goal of the municipal profile is to gather information on the positive and negative aspects of life in the municipality, in order to be able to detect specific problems and areas that need to be addressed by the municipal administration and/or civil society. This is particularly important considering that no national census has been conducted in Angola since 1973 and thus municipalities do not have any objective means to assess the living standards of the local population. This non-existence of reliable data becomes an impediment to development activities and the decision-making process at the municipal (and national) level. Thus the municipal profile is one attempt to fill the informational gaps that have been left by decades of armed conflict and simultaneously facilitate the prioritization and decision-making processes at the municipal and community levels. LUPP has already collaborated on municipal profiling in other municipalities in the Luanda region, for example in Viana, Sambizanga and Kilamba Kiaxi.

The research process took three months and included gathering of data on the history, physical environment, institutions, transportation and economic aspects of the municipality, as well as the training of interviewers and composition of questionnaires for the more detailed socio-economic research. The questionnaires included 50 questions on subjects such as education, health, occupation, agricultural activities (when applicable), access to water, hygiene and accommodation. Over 1500 interviews were performed by 12 interviewers (nine staff members of the municipal administration and three members of local NGOs) in all three *comunas* (Fundas, Kicolo and Sede) of Cacuaco in April 2009. The interviewers all worked as volunteers and got paid \$50 USD each to cover costs related to the work.

Although the process was not simple, and there could have been greater supervision of interviewers and more time to train them, in general it was agreed that the cooperation between the municipal administration and the local civil society network had been instructive and will continue in the future. The process will enable the collaboration of these two actors on a development plan based on the information gathered in the municipal profile.

Everyone who worked on the project agreed that the municipal profile will be very useful for both the municipal administration and the local NGOs when planning new projects in the municipality. Before, no written data existed to locate problem zones or to identify and address any particular needs in the municipality of Cacuaco. It is essential that the profile will be made available and not shelved (and forgotten) when it is finalized. A well documented municipal profile is a necessary tool to improve the standard of living in any community and plan for a better future. Without any kind of socio-economic information it is almost impossible for the local and national government to know where the need to intervene is strongest and how to prioritize projects.

*Source: LUPP (2009)*



## Media and dissemination

During LUPP 2, the programme launched a large publicity campaign in Angola to raise awareness of poverty in Luanda. A

communications officer was

hired and worked closely with the programme coordination team for dissemination of LUPP news, events and campaigns in local and national print media, television and radio. The most high-profile output of this strand of the programme was the campaign, 'Juntos na Luta contra Pobreza' – Together in the fight against poverty – shortened to 'Juntos', or 'Together'. LUPP partners produced a DVD that had a sound-track featuring a famous Angolan singer, on a specially written song, also called 'Juntos'. Three thousand copies of the DVD were made, of which 70% had been distributed by the end of LUPP 2. These were sent to *comuna* and local

governments, universities, schools and civil society organisations. The DVD was not released on national television, however. According to the former DW staff member who had worked as the communications officer, at that time, poverty was still considered a sensitive and politicised issue, and for this reason television stations had preferred not to broadcast the film.<sup>31</sup>

The film features three groups of people who have benefitted from the programme. Rather than explain the specifics of how communities have improved access to schools, water and electricity, the DVD underlines the processes by which this was achieved. The aim was to demonstrate that communities are able to mobilise and organise themselves to work with local authorities on basic service provision. It thus demonstrated the capacity of civil society at the community level, and the potential for partnership. These are powerful messages in a context where the distance between state and society remains large. Although difficult to measure the impact of this type of initiative, senior LUPP staff are now regularly contacted



by the media to speak about poverty in the country. For example, in the last six months, the programme coordinator of LUPP has spoken on local and national radio. He has also appeared on television debates. This suggests that LUPP partners are considered a source of valued opinion on the issue of urban poverty. The song continues to be played on radio and television to accompany features on poverty. On a more practical level, after the dissemination of the video a number of community groups contacted the programme for advice on how to begin similar initiatives.

Throughout LUPP, awareness-raising activities were also undertaken in the UK, targeted at the international development community, an indirectly, at the Angolan government. Of particular note was One World Action's engagement with Chatham House, the British-Angola forum, the EU and British academic institutions. Public events on the work of LUPP and on Angolan development more generally were held, and on one occasion, LUPP was able to bring the deputy minister of MAT to London to speak publicly on his ministry's engagement with the programme. By engaging with these different types of stakeholders, and exposing high-level Angolan politicians to debates outside Angola, LUPP partners were able to generate a network of support and interest from multiple stakeholders. For example, LUPP models were integrated into the EU's country strategy paper for Angola, leading to increased engagement on the part of the EU with non-state actors. These institutions and individuals were, in turn, able to exert pressure on the Angolan government for continued and greater interaction with LUPP models and approaches.

## Partnerships and advocacy

LUPP has established partnerships with a number of different types of institutions: grassroots organisations, municipal-level civil society networks, *comuna* and municipal authorities, provincial service providers and a number of national ministries. Given that the programme has run joint activities with

government bodies at various levels, LUPP's partnership and advocacy strategies are closely linked. It is precisely through knowledge transfer – achieved through training activities, secondments and joint initiatives – that LUPP has sought to strengthen capacity and influence policy at higher levels.

## Civil society networks

LUPP's partnership strategy at the grassroots level – working with associations of water committees and area based organisations – appears to have been largely successful, as there are now a number of strong NGOs and civil society networks established in the municipalities where the programme has been most active. Some of these have managed to find alternative sources of funding for community development activities, and will be able to continue their involvement, independently of LUPP, in the *comuna* and municipal development forums. Although these organisations suffer from a brain drain effect, as talented civil society representatives move into jobs in the public and private sectors, this, in itself, may help to strengthen future collaboration between the three sectors.

Alongside working with organisations that have a specific geographical focus, LUPP has also promoted the establishment of civil society networks at city level as a way of facilitating advocacy activities. There has been some attrition here, however, and a number of these networks have failed to gain momentum over the course of the programme – those that worked on microfinance. The third phase of LUPP involved support for the creation of an Urban Poverty Network at city level, that brings together networks from each of the municipalities. Consolidation of the network has been very slow, and it has yet to elaborate adequately on its basic *raison d'être* or to set out a strategy or work plan. In defence of the Urban Poverty Network, LUPP staff argue that the steady pace is purposeful, in an attempt to avoid the fate of other networks. In November 2010, the network has been active in a series





of national civil society conferences. It is, however, engagement at the city/provincial level that could be regarded as something of a lacuna in terms of the programme's activities and influencing work (see discussion below). It remains to be seen whether, as LUPP draws to a close, the network is able to galvanise greater civil society interaction with this level of the state.

### **Engagement with municipal authorities**

Particularly strategic, and largely successful, has been the partnership building with the municipal authorities. LUPP has supported staff training and capacity building in a number of areas, including participatory governance, urban planning and the project cycle. This approach has probably helped to afford legitimacy to the programme and introduce local authorities to LUPP's participatory methods and approaches to service delivery. The fact that staff of

municipal authorities are working alongside civil society representatives in the gathering of data for municipal profiles – with technical support from LUPP – may have helped to cement this relationship further, and ensure a sense of ownership over the final products. LUPP has replicated this approach at a higher level, most notably with INOTU – the national institute responsible for surveying and cadastral work. Working closely with both senior civil servants and technical staff, LUPP has supported the creation of GIS mapping of the entire city. It has also provided maps for use by the provincial government. LUPP has attempted to establish partnerships with IFAL, the institute for training of local authorities, but with less success.

One of the most profitable partnerships of LUPP has been that with EPAL, the provincial water company. This relationship was also based on technical support and demonstration of effective ways for management of community water supplies. LUPP has attempted to establish similar

relationships with the electricity and solid waste disposal providers, although this has proven more difficult. Nevertheless, this participatory approach to engagement with public/private bodies has broken new ground in Angola. Over a number of years LUPP has managed to build up partnerships with the Ministry of Water and Energy, and the Ministry of Social Assistance (MINARS), which is responsible for child welfare, again through an ability to demonstrate innovative policy responses that help these bodies fulfil their mandates. LUPP has also established relationships with Ministries responsible for land administration (MAT) and urbanism and construction (MINUC). Here access to high-level staff within the ministries was facilitated by LUPP staff members' personal connections. However, turnover of ministerial staff has hampered all of these relationships with LUPP.

### City-level advocacy

One area where partnership and advocacy has not worked so well has been at the level of the government of the Province of Luanda – which equates, in practical terms, to the city itself. In general, access to levels of government above the municipality is extremely difficult in Angola, and LUPP's partnerships with the ministries noted above represent a considerable achievement. Angolan politics is based on strict hierarchy and patronage: 'resources and permissions are allocated downwards, in exchange for political support' (Shaxson et al. 2008: 54). As such, incentives for ministries to work with civil society organisations may not be very significant. Political power games at the highest level result in high levels of uncertainty.

*The president closely manages the patronage system, and routinely reshuffles power across government to ensure an overall power balance, including through the creation of unconventional state bodies. This sometimes has the characteristics of "musical chairs" – by and large, when people are removed, they are appointed to new posts elsewhere, not (with occasional exceptions) sacked entirely. This*

*generates a certain institutional instability and fracture, and provides another example of the primary presidential imperative – to preserve political power – trumping the secondary imperative – to make state institutions more efficient, sophisticated and effective (ibid:24).*

The power of the President is tied up, in complex ways, with the governance of the Province of Luanda. A primate city, par excellence, control over Luanda is of tremendous political importance. The President's ability to intervene in the management of the city is demonstrated by the events of 2004 when he replaced the provincial government of Luanda with a personally nominated 'troika'. Although the troika was short-lived, power in the capital was described by one observer as 'diffuse'.<sup>32</sup> Unlike other provincial governors, who are considered quite powerful, the current governor of Luanda has little control over the decisions of ministers that impact on the capital, who perceive the city as their backyard. More significantly, the massive investment in civil construction ongoing in the city is funded by Chinese credit lines that are controlled by the Gabinete de Reconstrução Nacional – Committee for National Reconstruction. As these funds are not channelled through the provincial budget, the governor is essentially bypassed in the investment decisions that are having a massive impact on the city's geography and economy. Thus to have influence over city governance requires the ear of the most powerful people in the land. Given the power and financial clout of the construction industry lobby, and the potential for personal enrichment from building projects, neither civil society organisations, nor indeed Western donors, are likely to have much impact.<sup>33</sup>

Because of the difficulties of access to higher level authorities, where 'gatekeepers' often impede contact to those in power (Shaxson

32 Interview with Fernando Pacheco, LUPP consultant 02.11.10

33 Interview with João Neves, former SCF country director and LUPP consultant, 30.10.10

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et al. 2008), civil society representatives have stressed that donors and their partners should focus on lower-levels of government. These levels of the state are less directly involved in the intrigues surrounding the President's efforts to maintain his powerbase. As such, the influencing strategy designed for LUPP through a large DFID consultancy at the start of the second phase of the programme was widely considered by staff and observers as unrealistic. The amount of time taken to draw up the strategy also created a considerable hiatus in programme activities. However, LUPP partners took a pragmatic approach to advocacy work, using established networks and responding to opportunities as they arose. Despite the high-level targets of the advocacy strategy, the main focus has been on municipal level authorities,

and as this report has repeatedly shown, this has achieved considerable impact. LUPP partners noted that DFID has been flexible in this regard, accepting the necessarily ad hoc nature of lobbying activities. According to one senior DW staff member, had the strategy been strictly adhered to, it would 'undoubtedly have failed'. In general, LUPP partners were highly positive about the partnership with DFID over the eleven years of the programme, again noting that DFID had been flexible to programme change, and to a 'trial and error' approach in the early years, as models were developed. LUPP's successes further demonstrate what can be achieved when a donor commits to an initiative for a series of programme cycles, and fosters a 'learning' approach to programme development.





**Part three:**  
**Further analysis,  
conclusions and  
lessons learned**

## LUPP's potential contribution to DFID's work



### DRIVERS OF CHANGE

In November 2010, LUPP won the UN-Habitat Dubai International Award for Best Practice. The award reflected LUPP's impact in improving the living

environment of the poor and disadvantaged, its promotion of partnerships and its sustainability, demonstrated through changes in legislation. In 2009 it won a Drivers of Change award, for demonstrating 'outstanding new ways of working to overcome poverty' in Southern Africa. In 2008 LUPP was nominated for UN-Habitat's Scroll of Honour award. Given the international recognition of LUPP's innovative approaches and considerable achievements, DFID could now consider ways to disseminate knowledge on all that has been accomplished since 1999. As noted by Shankland and Figueiredo (2010:9), DFID has faced difficulties in "selling" LUPP internally and externally, despite its significant potential as a story of success in a challenging environment'. This potential, in terms of influence on other donors, has been demonstrated by the dissemination activities undertaken by One World Action in London, that have had an important impact on the EU's activities in Angola. However, the extent to which DFID has considered replicating LUPP models in its work elsewhere in Africa and in post-conflict countries has been limited to date. This difficulty may have arisen as a result of DFID's internal structure. Senior staff in LUPP noted that at the beginning of the programme DFID was able to provide very valuable technical support through visits from advisors with specialist knowledge on urban poverty and services. However, with DFID's internal restructuring, and the 'diffusion' of the urban team throughout the institution, there has been a lack of a clear point of contact within DFID on urban issues, and a reduction in the space for engagement on urban policy and urbanization issues.

## Responding to the IDC report on urbanization and poverty

The lack of an obvious point of contact on urban issues was one of the findings of the recent International Development Committee (IDC) report on DFID's work on urbanization and poverty that was published at the end of 2009 (IDC 2009). The IDC stressed the need for DFID to increase its engagement with urbanization issues in developing countries, and to update its urban strategy. The IDC also highlighted the issue of rapid urbanization in Africa, the massive growth of slums on the continent, and the need for swift action from the international development community. However, the report also noted evidence from the Development Planning Unit of the University of London, that the loss of a 'community of practice' within DFID on urbanization and urban issues, has hindered the Department's ability to generate effective policy analysis. An example of this provided by the witness was the limited replication of good practice from DFID's programmes in Africa and Asia.

LUPP partners were invited to give evidence to the Committee, as LUPP is the only programme of DFID support in Africa with a focus at the city level. DFID's urban portfolio is more extensive in South Asia where there is an initiative with UNDP in urban centres in Bangladesh, currently at an early stage of implementation, and planned support, with the World Bank, to Indian ministries responsible for housing and urban development. The focus of LUPP work is somewhat different to these, however, as it has favoured working at lower levels of city administration, promoting participatory governance and developing grassroots approaches to management of services, which can then be taken to scale. As such, using lessons from LUPP to initiate similar processes in other African cities, or in urban areas in post-conflict countries, could be a concrete response to the recommendations of the IDC.

The IDC report stresses the critical need for more serious engagement by the international development community on the issue of





urbanization, given growing rates of poverty and inequality in cities of low and middle-income countries. As has been noted by the UN, most of the world's population growth over the coming decades will take place in cities, and the world's fastest growing urban areas will be in Africa and Asia (UN-Habitat 2010). In Africa, urbanization is almost completely synonymous with slum formation, and without targeted action, Africa is en route to becoming a 'slum continent'.<sup>34</sup> Much of this growth will occur in towns and medium-sized cities, where local government capacity is weak and access to international finance for infrastructural investment is severely constrained. Predominantly rural countries, such as Ethiopia and Malawi, may experience a doubling of their urban populations over the next decade, for which they are far from prepared. Building on its experience in Angola,

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<sup>34</sup> Personal communication with Chief of Housing Policy section, UN-Habitat, November 2010.

DFID could begin to help prepare government and civil society for the changes these African countries are likely to face in the coming years.

### **Reaching the MDGs in urban areas**

DFID support for Angola has been on the wane since the country became more stable, and was categorised as middle-income. But despite wealth derived from oil and diamonds, its human development indicators are some of the worst in the world. As noted by Shaxson et al. (2008:18) 'Angola is seen as an oil producer with poverty – the U.S. and other western actors do not have a model to deal with a rich/poor country like this'. The need to develop such a model has become critical: recent research from the Institute of Development Studies has shown that it is now middle-income countries where the bulk of the world's poor are living (Sumner 2010). Given that there is a positive correlation between a country's wealth and its



level of urbanization, it is likely that many of the poor in middle-income countries are living in urban areas. The lack of engagement with urban poverty is not, however, a problem limited to DFID. International development assistance has long been influenced by the urban bias thesis of the 1970s, which argued that countries stay poor because of higher government spending on elites in urban areas. Despite the fact that this thesis has been challenged consistently since it was first mooted, it remains firmly entrenched.<sup>35</sup> Human development indicators for urban and rural populations do show that poverty levels are higher in rural than urban areas. However, given that the wealthiest people are likely to be living in cities and accessing first-world levels of services, it is surprising that in many developing countries, they do not boost statistics higher. David Satterthwaite has argued convincingly

<sup>35</sup> For further detail on the debate around the urban bias thesis see Beall and Fox (2009).

that conditions for the poor in cities are often as bad, if not worse, than that of the poor in rural areas.

*Where data on infant and child mortality rates are available for urban poor groups in particular cities, these are generally much higher than the rates for rural areas [...] If a much larger, more comprehensive information base was available, it seems likely that this would show a strong "urban advantage" for middle- and upper-income groups in particular cities in almost all nations, but very large differences between nations in the extent of the "urban advantage" for low-income urban dwellers. Perhaps to the point where in many nations, there was little or no urban advantage for large sections of the urban population (Satterthwaite 2007: 53).*

Similar patterns emerge in studies of maternal healthcare across rural and urban areas in



the developing world. Research findings published by the WHO shows that the poorest women in developing countries are unlikely to receive professional care during delivery whether they live in rural or urban areas (Houweling et al. 2007). Given that cities are characterised by dense populations, there is potential to reach large numbers of the urban poor through improving access to healthcare and other services. Despite this, in general, the international development community does not routinely give specific consideration to how it could address poverty and exclusion in cities and urban areas. A renewed focus on urban poverty could, therefore, be a way to speed up progress towards the MDGs, particularly those related to health, education and environment.

### **The importance of a city-focused approach**

One of LUPP's key achievements has been to raise awareness within some sectors of the Angolan government and local authorities that the *musseques* need investment to support their growing populations. Given the massive construction boom in areas of the city destined for use by the elite, it is clear that urban poverty is not at the top of the agenda. But it is at least now acknowledged as a problem by the highest levels of the Angolan government. However, a sense of denial amongst African governments vis-à-vis their urban populations is widespread, and is acting as a barrier to poverty alleviation and development. Research coming out of the African Centre for Cities at the University of Cape Town notes a widespread refusal to engage with the fact that countries are increasingly urbanised.

*Most political leaders in Africa continue to refuse to accept that their societies are urbanizing at a rapid and irreversible pace. This widespread denial, which is both tragic and dangerous, creates a public policy vacuum that leads to unregulated and unmanaged processes of surreptitious urbanization. These dynamic processes lead to the majority of African urbanites carving out extremely precarious and degrading existences – a sure recipe for continuous uneven development, economic exclusion of the majority, and violence (Pieterse 2010:8).*

Elites, even though they tend to live in cities, wish to maintain an idealised notion of a predominantly rural, traditional society, where customs are preserved, untainted by contact with urban (perceived as Western) society. This belief that urbanization is something bad that should be prevented, or reversed, is one of the key drivers of urban failure. It leads to a refusal to recognise 'illegal' settlements and to provide them with services. This failure

to deal with informality leads to further exclusion and poverty amongst huge swathes of city populations. Setting out an agenda for action, Pieterse points out that systemic change can best be achieved through reform at multiple levels. Whilst the attitude of national governments and the way their institutions function clearly has an impact on urban development, initiatives at country-level must be accompanied by engagement at the level of the city and town if progress on limiting the growth of urban poverty is to be achieved.

LUPP provides a series of lessons for how to structure work on urban services in combination with citizen empowerment and engagement with the state at municipal and city level. It has demonstrated laudable results working in a highly complex, non-democratic and post-conflict environment. The onus now is on international development agencies to support similar innovative approaches to addressing urban poverty at scale, as the situation for the poor becomes ever more critical in African cities.





# Conclusion

The Luanda Urban Poverty Programme has, over its eleven years of operation, achieved significant impacts on some of the poorest populations of the city in the municipalities of Sambizanga, Cazenga, Kilamba Kiaxi, Cacuaco and Viana. Thousands of *musseques* residents have benefitted from improved access to cleaner, cheaper water provision and to better sanitation. Although there is a lack of quantitative data on the social, economic and health benefits of these interventions, they are almost certain to have had a positive impact on household economies, public health, and on women and girls' time use. 'Middle poor' families and their children in the *musseques* have benefitted from the availability of childcare: this has had impacts on both early childhood development, and the ability of other family members to work and to study. A savings culture has been regenerated in LUPP areas; very poor families have benefitted from involvement in cooperatives and rotating savings groups, whilst micro and small entrepreneurs, the majority of them women, have been able to expand their businesses through access to micro credit and business development services. LUPP has also been extremely successful in scaling up its initiatives – a notably difficult area for many NGOs. By testing and developing appropriate community based management approaches to early childhood development and water and sanitation, in particular, LUPP was able to convince public service providers and national ministries of the feasibility and cost efficiency of its models.

Beyond the more tangible benefits of LUPP that have improved the livelihoods of vulnerable individuals and households, the programme has also had important results in terms of empowerment and an increasing sense of citizenship amongst those who have been involved in its various initiatives. Given the social, political and economic situation apparent in the *musseques* at the start of LUPP, it can

be concluded that the programme has thrived against the odds. Of particular note is the extent to which civil society organisations have bloomed in the *musseques*, and are likely to survive beyond the end of LUPP funding. This 'release of repressed political energy' noted by Roque and Shankland (2007:203), is visible in the dynamic interaction of civil society organisations with instances of the local state. Forging channels for political engagement in a non-democratic environment, the municipal development forums have managed to decrease the distance between state and society, with important implications for the nurturing of urban citizenship.

Fostering an approach that has built up social capital and trust within local communities, and has encouraged interaction between *musseques* residents and their local authorities, the areas where LUPP has worked have seen a flourishing of grassroots civil society organisations. These have provided much needed spaces for community members to express themselves. In the case of water committees in the *musseques*, observers note that even when the standpipes are not functioning, community members still attend meetings, as these provide one of the few spaces where local leadership can be forged.<sup>36</sup> There is clearly a sense – demonstrated by initiatives that have emerged independently of the programme – that communities understand that mobilisation can bring about improvements in local development. Whilst, in the main, these initiatives have been funded by external donors, there are increasing attempts by residents and their organisations to hold the local state and service providers to account for access to basic services such as water, electricity, rubbish collection and security. This has been achieved through state-society interaction within the space of the municipal development forums. This may be further heightened through the introduction of the CACS and the development of municipal profiles, that could lead to more participatory budgeting and planning at the

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36 Discussions at LUPP stakeholder meeting, Pretoria, 22.10.10

municipal level. As the local state is brought into closer and more frequent interaction with *musseque* residents, it is likely that an increased sense of urban citizenship will emerge, with its concomitant set of entitlements and duties. These are only first steps towards to a more democratic and accountable local state, but they are highly significant, given the elevated levels of social fragmentation characteristic of the *musseques* at the start of the 2000s, and the distant nature of the state.

Alongside LUPP's commendable achievements at the municipal level, the programme has also contributed to some high-level policy changes and shifts in the way that services are managed and provided. Notable in this regard are the roll-out of community managed crèches and water provision across the country and the establishment of a micro-finance sector with a sustainable and pro-poor credit provider that continues to grow. LUPP's methods have also had significant influence on the development of legislation for Community Consultative Councils and have almost undoubtedly contributed to a growing acknowledgement, at the highest levels, of the need to address poverty in urban areas. Whilst to date, the 'fight against poverty' has remained largely at the level of presidential rhetoric, there are signs that greater engagement on the issue may ensue, with increased reference amongst high-level politicians to the need to meet the MDGs, and moves towards greater financing for municipal authorities to respond to local development priorities. Most importantly, there is now a more widespread recognition amongst local and national authorities that the *musseques* will remain, and that their residents are consolidating themselves as urban citizens who are contributing to the life of the city, and have entitlements to basic services.

Finally, LUPP has had a significant and lasting impact on other donors working in Angola, including the EU, UNDP and USAID. These agencies have chosen to adopt, finance and promote LUPP approaches, notably in the areas of water and sanitation and participatory municipal governance. LUPP's achievements

have been recognised at the highest level – most recently through the UN-Habitat Dubai Best Practice award.

## Lessons Learned

As Roque and Shankland (2007:204) have argued, 'micro-level democratization is relegated in the dominant peace-building discourse to the 'final' stage of democratic reconstruction'. This approach neglects the 'potentially vital contribution which it may make to ensuring the depth and durability of peace'. As the LUPP experience has shown, there is no need to wait until the institutions and processes of electoral democracy are all in place to begin work on introducing a more participatory democratic culture at lower levels of government. Indeed, in the case of LUPP these initiatives have served as a catalyst for broader democratisation processes: influencing other donor's decentralisation programmes, channelling of central government funds to municipalities and legislation on civil society participation. Thus greater democracy at lower levels of the state can be forged outside the framework of elections.

LUPP has succeeded in an area where many NGOs have failed: in scaling-up its approaches to service provision and management. It has achieved this by building up a reputation for technical expertise, developing, testing and then demonstrating its models, and through capacity building, mentoring and joint working with the authorities. By sustaining this contact with service providers and ministries, LUPP has been able to advocate for the adoption of its approaches and models.

It should be noted that a number of LUPP interventions were not able to reach the poorest of the poor: the crèches and microfinance cases are of note here. Over the course of the programme, partners did discuss their approach and whether LUPP should shift to a more targeted focus on the poorest members of society. It could be argued that the decision to maintain a geographical focus, rather than

target particular sub-groups of the population, has been key to the success of the programme: by working at the scale of the municipality, LUPP partners have been able to have considerable impact on the municipal authorities. It should be remembered that municipal authorities have a responsibility to all those who live within their boundaries, not just the most vulnerable populations. LUPP was able to demonstrate approaches and models, based on cost recovery, that could help the authorities and service providers to fulfil their own mandates more efficiently, across their geographical areas of responsibility. These were attractive to the authorities and service providers, as they could be replicated at scale. The broad focus of LUPP's approaches has also meant that partners were able to engage in municipal-wide initiatives, such as the development of municipal profiles, which again should help the authorities to respond more effectively to the needs of all of their citizens. LUPP partners and the civil society organisations they have helped to establish and sustain are thus in a strong position to push for

municipal level engagement, which they may not have been if their interventions were focused on a narrow population group. The municipality, as much as its population, has thus become the focus of the interventions. Notwithstanding this success, LUPP's approach could have been complemented by lobbying work at local and national level for the creation of a social safety net. At present, there is little state provision for the poorest families and individuals who work outside the formal sector.

It is clear that governance reforms at the national level are critical, to encourage greater transparency, accountability and responsiveness, and further progress towards electoral democracy in Angola. However, LUPP has demonstrated the significant potential of work at the scale of the municipality/city. The programme's interventions have acted as catalyst for national level change, and contributed towards progress in decentralisation, greater autonomy for municipal financing and a formalisation of spaces for citizen-state dialogue and exchange.



# Annex I:

## List of People Met

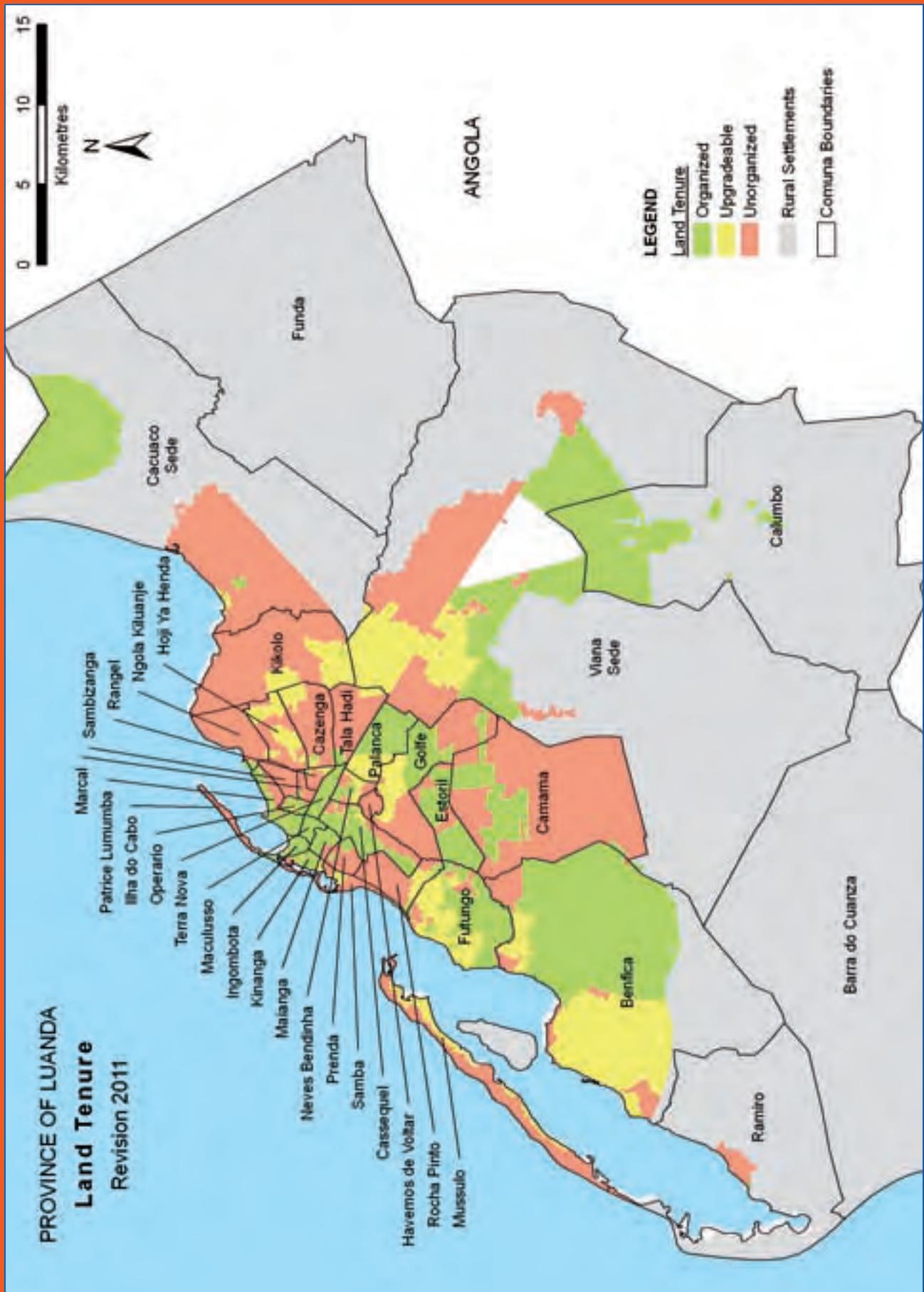
Name	Institution	Role
João Domingos	LUPP	Municipal Development Officer
Leonardo Samunga	LUPP	Municipal Development Officer
Laurinda Gomes Joaquim	LUPP	Municipal Development Officer
Willy Piassa	LUPP	LUPP Coordinator
Geraldo Bassilua	APRODEC, Cacuaco	President
Bazolua Pedro	APRODEC, Cacuaco	Executive Secretary
Venancio Camana	ACAS, Sambizanga	President of the Assembly
Pedro da Rosa	ACAS, Sambizanga	Theatre group coordinator
João da Silva	ACAS, Sambizanga	Theatre group secretary
Mbuta Pascoal	APDCH, Cazenga	Coordinator
Pedro Bengina	APDCH, Cazenga	Assistant Network Coordinator
Hele Bessa	Journalists' network, Cazenga	President
João José Pedro	ADBCA, Cazenga	Education Coordinator
Lina Suzana Lando	APDCH, Cazenga	Secretary
Helga Silveira	Development Workshop	Communication Officer
Suzana Geraldo	CARE	Institutional Development Officer
Emílio dos Santos	ASDC, Cacuaco	General Secretary
Pedro Nunes	Education Department, Cacuaco	Head of Education Planning
Alberto Paulo	Education Department, Cacuaco	Education planning staff member
Maria José Mateus	Women's Network, Cazenga	Head of network
Cupi Baptista	Development Workshop	Water Section Manager

Name	Institution	Role
Allan Cain	Development Workshop	Country Director
Daniel Miji	CARE	Country Programme Manager
Tomé Azevedo Ngundike	Development Workshop	Projects Officer
Daniel Luciano Mundo	Municipal Administration, Kilamba Kiaxi	Chief of Staff
Matumona Pinto	ODA, Kilamba Kiaxi	Organisation member
Isabel Clementina	ODA, Kilamba Kiaxi	Organisation member
Bento Manuel Luis	ODA, Kilamba Kiaxi	Organisation member
Marisa Agostinho	ODA, Kilamba Kiaxi	Organisation member
Ernesto Zua	ODA, Kilamba Kiaxi	Organisation member
Carlota Motomina	ODA, Kilamba Kiaxi	Organisation member
Jorge Kinavuidi	ODA, Kilamba Kiaxi	Organisation member
Caluta Manuel	ODA, Kilamba Kiaxi	Organisation member
David Calabissa	ODA, Kilamba Kiaxi	Organisation member
Afonso Tombe	ASDC, Cacuaco	Organisation member
Joao Neves	SCF/LUPP	Former SCF country director
Carlos Figueiredo	LUPP	Consultant
Guido Siolengue	LUPP	Former Communications Officer
Sirajo Seidi	SCF	Former Staff Member
Teofilo Kaingona	SCF	Former Staff Member
Rolando Villanueva	Development Workshop	Programme Manager SLP
Andy Rutherford	One World Action	Head of International Partnerships
Alex Shankland	LUPP	Consultant
Sandra Roque	LUPP	Consultant
Fernando Pacheco	LUPP	Consultant

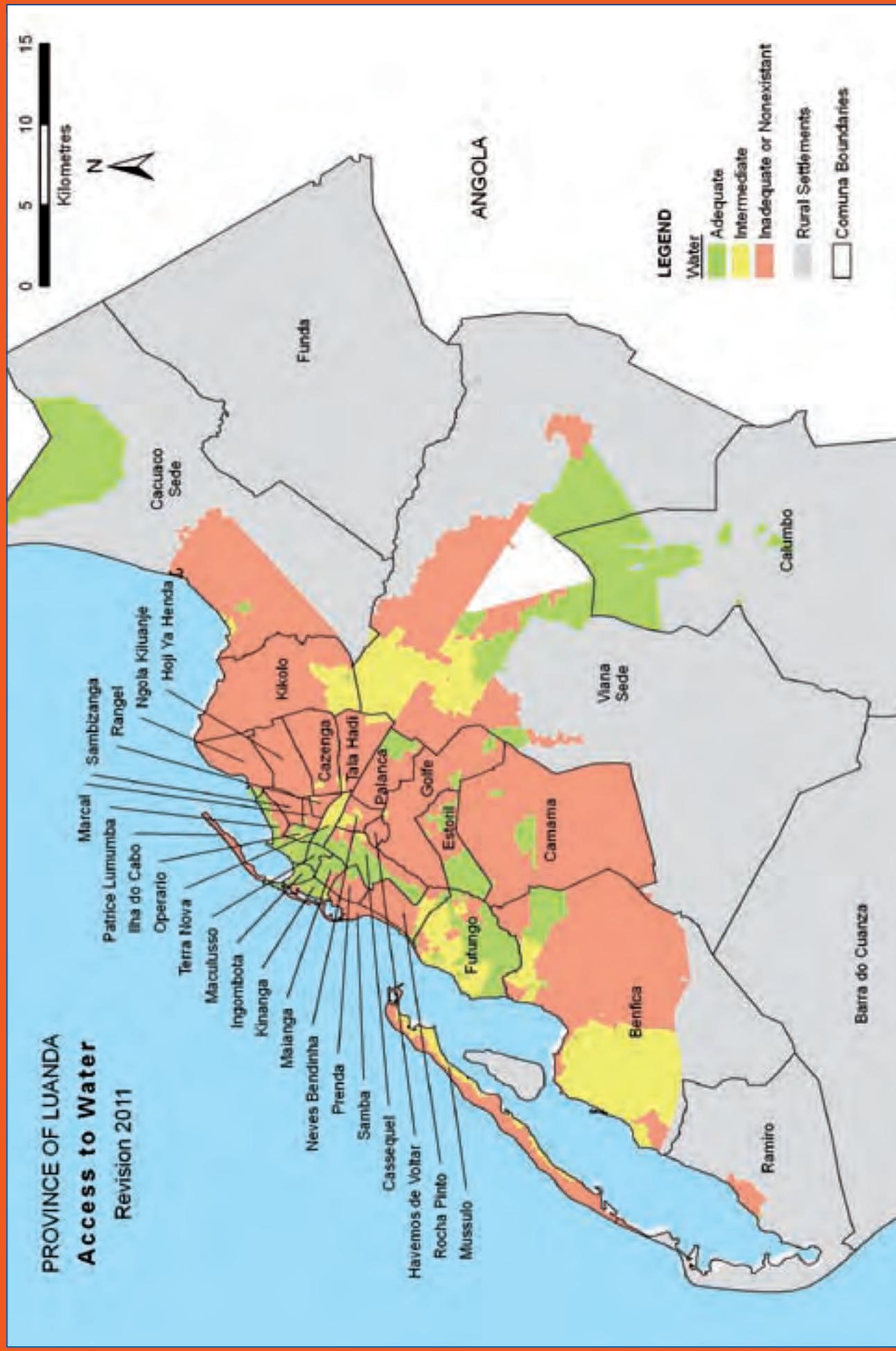


# Annex 2:

## Examples of LUPP Urban Poverty Indicator GIS Mapping



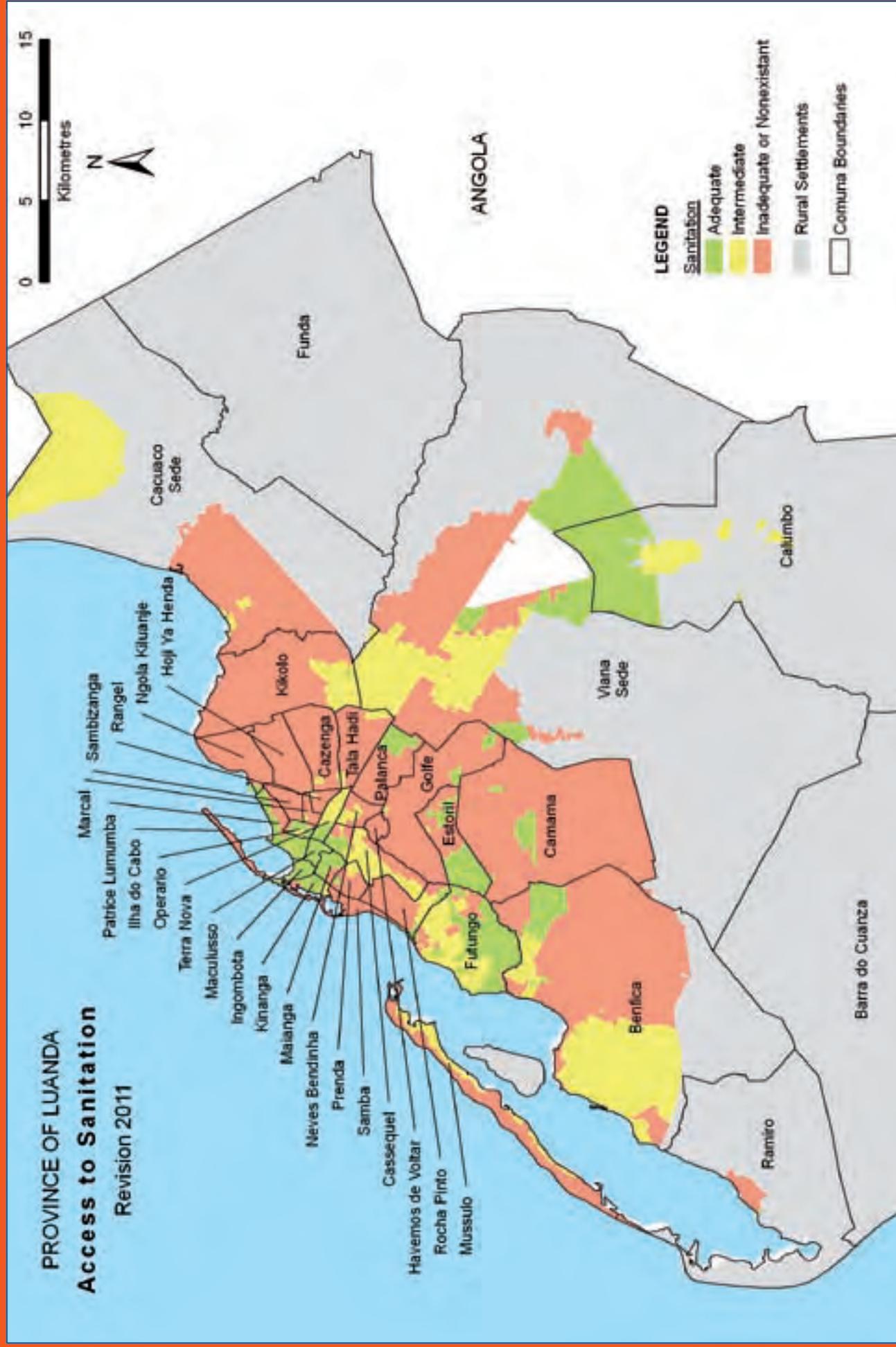
**PROVINCE OF LUANDA**  
**Access to Water**  
 Revision 2011



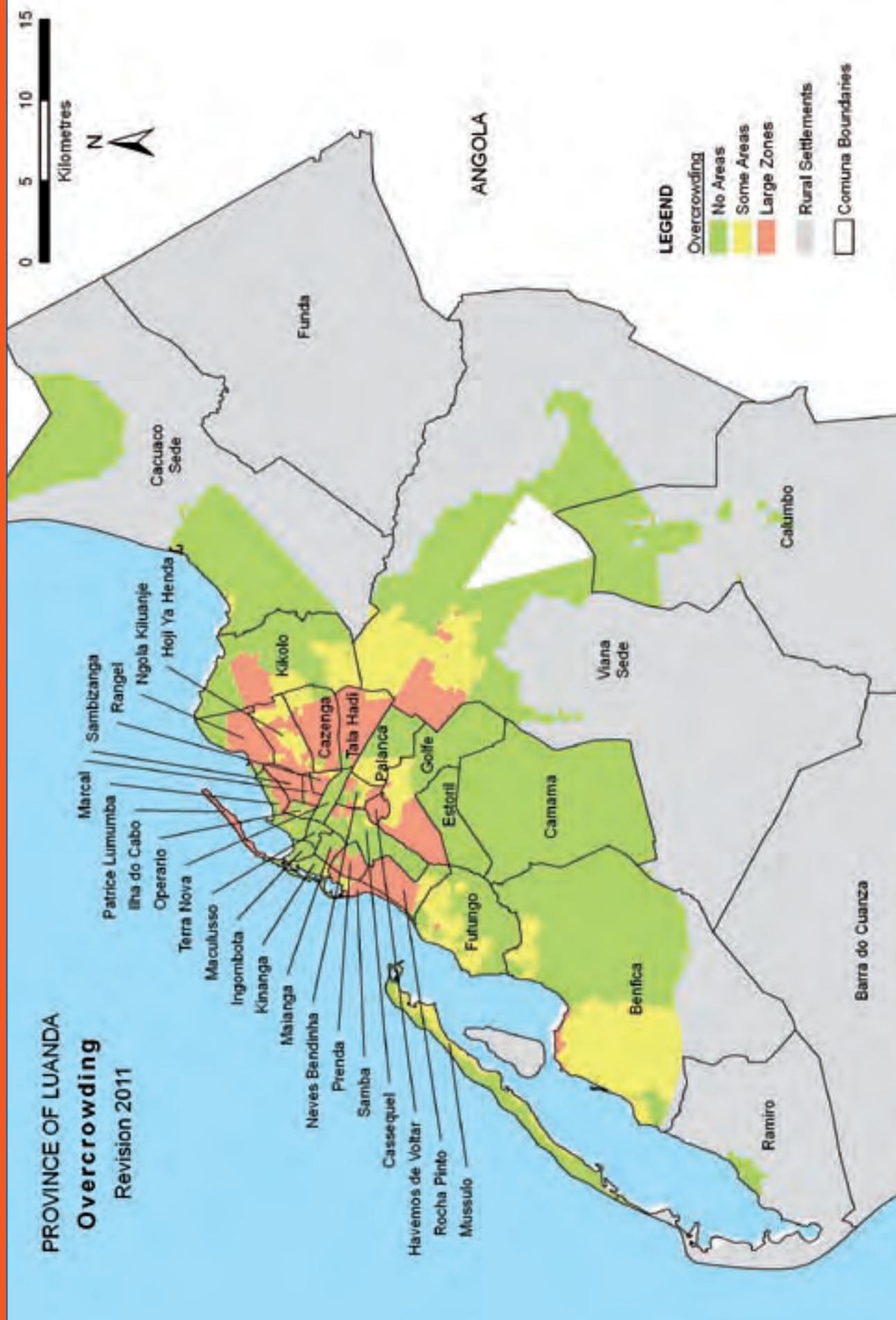
# PROVINCE OF LUANDA

## Access to Sanitation

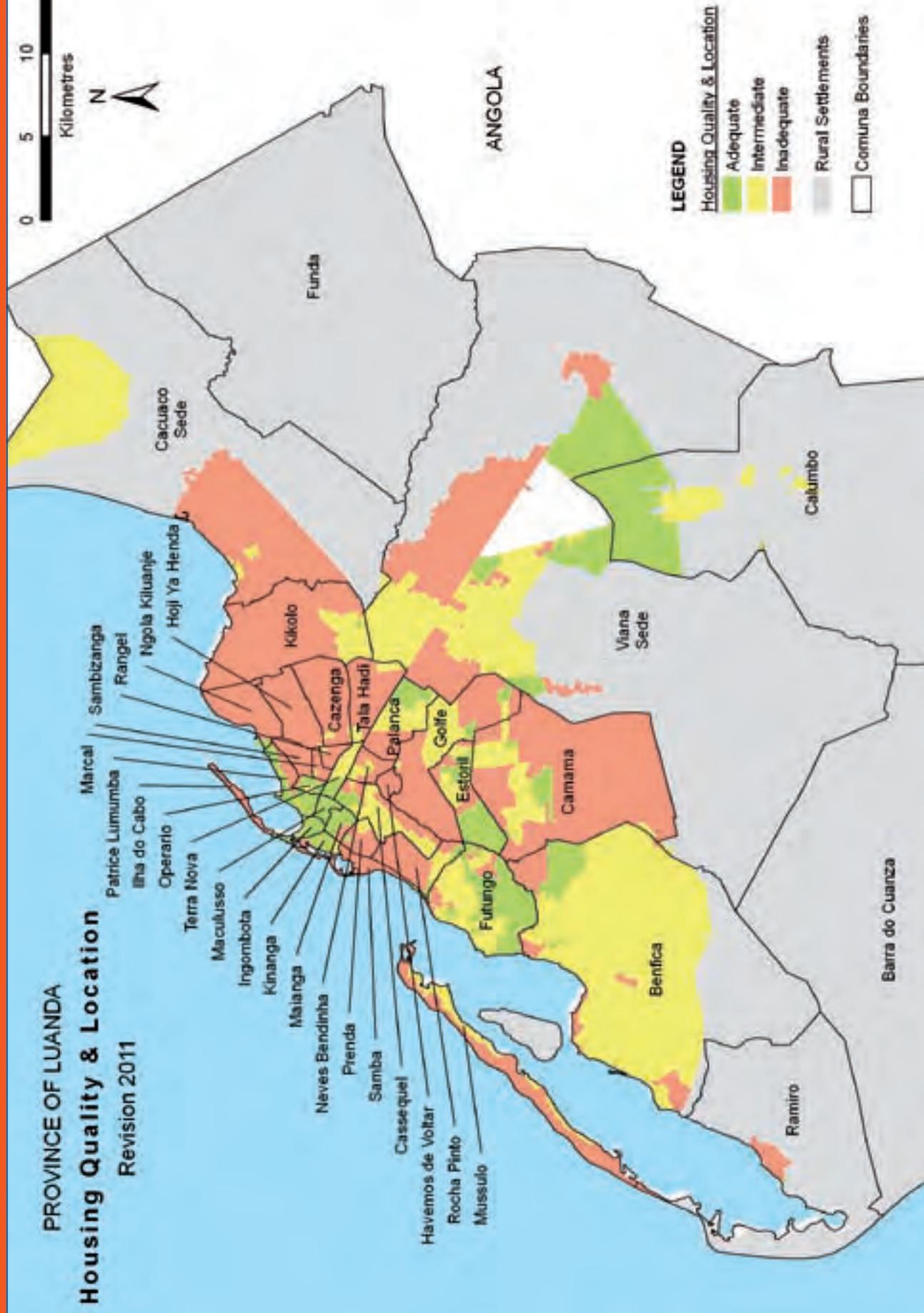
Revision 2011



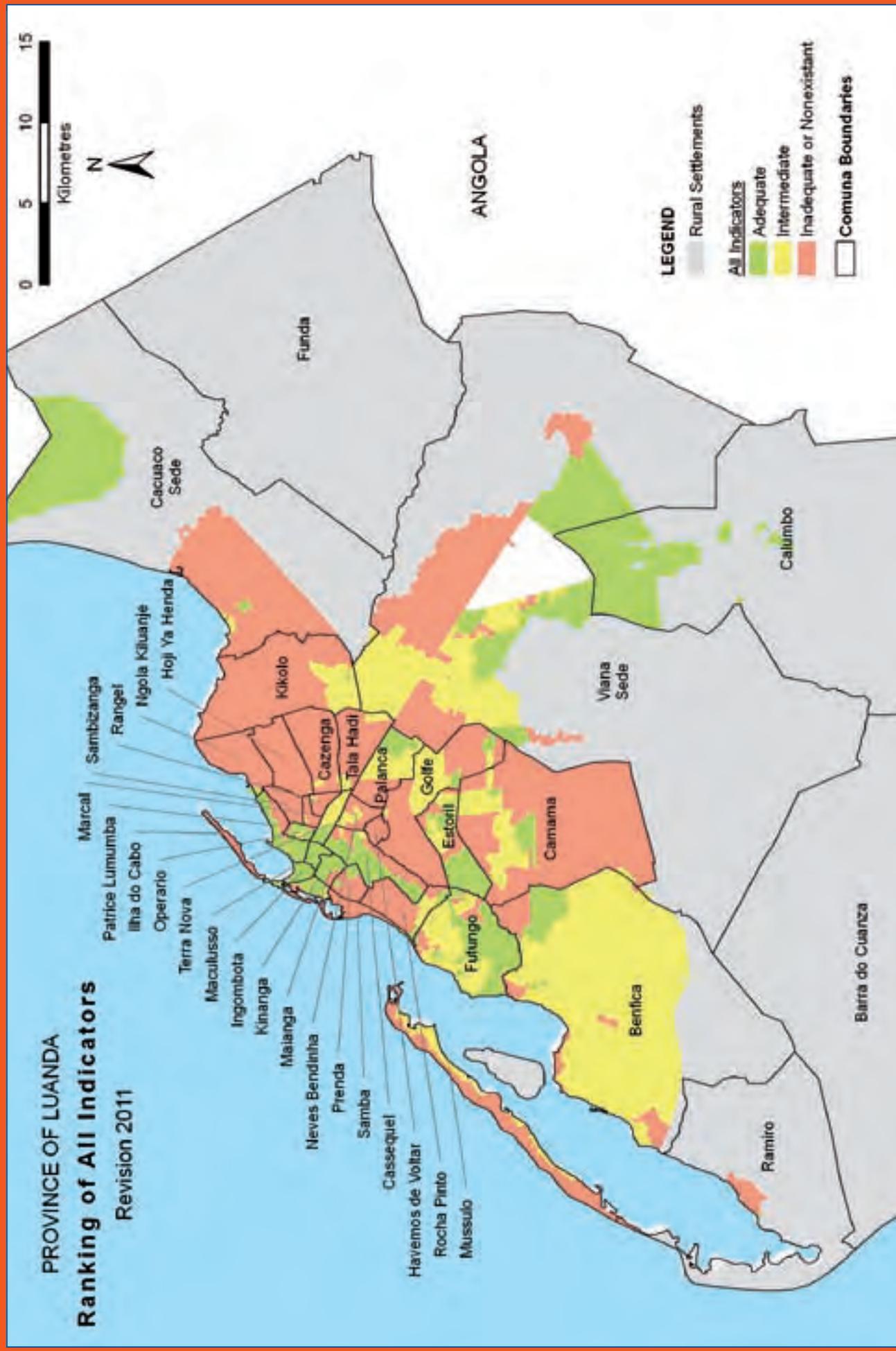
**PROVINCE OF LUANDA**  
**Overcrowding**  
 Revision 2011



**PROVINCE OF LUANDA**  
**Housing Quality & Location**  
 Revision 2011



**PROVINCE OF LUANDA**  
**Ranking of All Indicators**  
 Revision 2011





# Annex 3:

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For over 20 years One World Action has been supporting poor women and men, enabling them to have more influence over the decisions that affect their lives. One World Action does this by working with partners in Africa, Asia and Latin America, in particular women's groups and organisations of excluded women including the disabled, Dalits, women living with HIV/AIDS and informal workers.

One World Action provides funding, capacity building, training as well as lobbying and advocacy opportunities so that our partners can exercise their rights at local, national and regional levels. One World Action has strong relationships with decision makers in the UK, Europe and internationally.

One World Action believes that improving the lives of poor and excluded women means that they must be able to participate in all aspects of society and make decisions about:

- politics
- services such as health, education and sanitation
- where they work and how they generate income

In all its work One World Action empowers women by linking all these elements so as to tackle the root causes of poverty and inequality

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