Land, Territorial Development and Family Farming in Angola

A holistic approach to community-based natural resource governance:

The cases of Bie, Huambo, and Huila Provinces

Food and Agriculture Organization
of the United Nations

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Francisco Carranza

Jordan Treakle

With the supervision of:

Paolo Groppo

Territorial Development Officer

Land and Water Division (NRL)

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANISATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

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Cover photo: Katapi community, Bie province 2012. © T. Basterrechea.

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Acronyms

EDA	Estação de Desenvolvimento Agrario (Agrarian Development Station)
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoA	Government of Angola
IDA	Instituto de Desenvolvimento Agrario (Institute of Agrarian Development)
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IIA	Institute for Agricultural Research
MINADER	Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development
MINAGRI	Ministry of Agriculture (previously MINADER)
MPLA	Movimento Popular para a Liberação de Angola (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola)
PLD	Participatory Land Delimitation
PDER	Programa de Desenvolvimento e Extensão Rural (Rural Development and Extension Programme)
PGDR	Programa Geral de Desmobilização e Reintegração (Emergency Demobilization and Reintegration Project)
PNTD	Participatory and Negotiated Territorial Development

Introduction

Land has always been central to the social and economic development of any country. However as global pressures on land and natural resources are increasing, land issues, in particular land governance, are receiving growing international attention. Despite the legal frameworks that determine how land is accessed, secured and used, significant gaps remain between the intent of these laws and policies and their effective implementation. It is this failure of implementation which often leads to the further marginalization of under-represented groups and the exacerbation of conflict over land. Angola is no exception: nine years have passed since the new land law was published, six years since it was regulated, and yet a very limited application of the legal package that protects and guarantees the rights of rural communities has been put into practice by the Angolan government. For family farming in Angola, which is by far the most significant sector in Angola's agriculture system, these policy and institutional shortcomings add further complexity to an already difficult rural existence. Increasing impacts from climate change, land tenure conflicts from foreign agricultural investment, and food insecurity are challenges faced by Angolan family farmers, which are exacerbated by incomplete implementation of the legal frameworks related to land and natural resources.

Since 1999 FAO, with the support of the Government of Angola, has played a central role in promoting territorial development and land rights of family farmers and rural communities. From the first deliberations on Angola's land law, to the current challenges in its implementation, FAO's role has been crucial in the positive experiences that have resulted in the highland plateau provinces of Huila, Huambo and Bie, with the cooperation of civil society partners on the field.

This FAO paper issued from the Land and Water Division (NRL) aims to take into account the recent history of Angola in relation to its land tenure and natural resource management issues and the approaches followed to FAO's continuous support and partnership with the government of Angola. A systematic methodological rights-based approach for land and natural resources management, founded on the principles of social dialogue and negotiation, have pushed the envelope as a paradigm change for what was once a purely technical, top-down approach to agricultural development. Now, with the launch of the FAO 2014 Year of Family Farming, this document provides an overview of the family farming sector in Angola and the on-going FAO land and territorial development activities.

Angola Country Profile

The Republic of Angola

Source: www.nationsonline.org

The Republic of Angola is the third largest country in sub–Saharan Africa with an area of 1,246,700 km^2.[1] It has a population of over 20 million people that is growing at an average annual growth rate of about 2.8 percent.[2] Although important advances have been made in recent years, food insecurity and undernourishment remain common challenges for millions of Angolans, both rural and urban.[3]

A significant proportion of the population, approximately 40 percent, lives in rural areas located in the western and northwestern regions of the country.[4] These rural inhabitants depend directly on agriculture and agricultural related activities to sustain their livelihoods.[5] Despite the importance of Angola's agricultural sector, rapid urbanization is becoming an increasingly common trend. From 1990 to 2012 the urban population grew from below five million to almost 14 million[6], and is expected to exceed 35 million by 2050.[7] During this period of urban growth the rural population is not expected to expand above 10 million. This population dynamic over the coming decades has significant implications for Angola's rural economy and national food security. As the country becomes more centralized around its urban centers, pressures on land and natural resources will increase in the rural areas closest to these cities. Social and economic structures in rural areas will change with increased migration, particularly of young people, to cities. Additionally, with this expected population growth there will be fewer agricultural producers relative to the number of urban consumers who will no longer have access to the land needed to produce their own food. As Angola's agricultural sector adapts to these new challenges and pressures, natural resource management, tenure security and land rights, drought-related effects from climate change, and foreign investment in agriculture will all have significant impacts on the lives of millions of Angolan family farmers as well national food security.

Historical, Economic, and Political Contexts

The first inhabitants to occupy what is now Angola were San and Khoisan indigenous groups, nomadic populations who lived off hunting and fishing. Some had livestock to complement their hunting and fishing activities, while others survived primarily from subsistence agriculture. The first Portuguese arrived in the 15th century and remained mostly in the coastal areas. They only managed to intensify the inland occupation in the 19th century, especially after the Congress of Berlin (1885) when the Portuguese presence in Angola was threatened by the other colonialist countries due to its limited occupation of inland Angola. In response, and in order to maintain their economic interests and politically strategic

[1] FAO 2013. *Angola Country Profile*.
[2] FAO 2013. *Angola Country Programming Framework 2013-2013* (available at ftp://ftp.fao.org/TC/CPF/Countries/Angola/CPFAngola.pdf).
[3] FAO 2013. *Country Programming Framework 2013-2017* (available at ftp://ftp.fao.org/TC/CPF/Countries/Angola/CPFAngola.pdf).
[4] Ibid.
[5] FAO 2013. *Diagnóstico Agrário Territorial – Projecto TERRA – GCP/ANG/045/SPA*. Angola
[6] Due to census challenges related to the return of IDPs and refugees after the civil war, population reporting is approximate.
[7] FAO 2013. *Angola Country Programming Framework 2013-2017* (available at ftp://ftp.fao.org/TC/CPF/Countries/Angola/CPFAngola.pdf).

positioning in Angola, Portuguese military campaigns increased significantly toward the end of the 19th century.

Through the support to the colonies in the first decades of the 20th century, the Portuguese started to occupy lands for the creation of farms (*fazendas*), implementing industrial and commercial agriculture and taking advantage of the favorable semi-tropical climate, abundance of water sources, and relatively fertile lands. The agrarian sector soon became the engine of the colonial economy, assuming first place in the balance of payments[8]. Angola was the second-best producer of Robusta coffee and the fourth highest exporter of coffee.[9] Other exports included maize, sisal, palm oil, sugar cane, bananas and tobacco[10]. The presence of the Portuguese farms created an increase in production of cereals and introduced new crops to the family farming production system, such as more productive varieties of maize, wheat, and fruits like oranges, guava, and coffee.

Unlike the indigenous inhabitants, the Portuguese farmers created large-scale farms, which employed native Angolans as laborers, with the purpose of creating surplus food for selling in (newly created) local markets. In addition to taking traditional lands from local communities for this system, this large-scale production economically undercut local family farmers. According to some written accounts[11], this led to some confrontations (some of them were violent) between the local populations and the colonists.

The increasing occupation of Angolan lands by the Portuguese fueled an emerging Angolan independence movement, which by the mid-1900s had gained significant traction. Angola achieved its independence from Portugal in 1975, after 14 years of protracted military conflict. Shortly after independence, all colonial farmers and rural merchants were forced to leave the country and the agrarian sector was left unstructured. Production diminished drastically and remained stagnated due to the closures of markets, difficulty in transporting goods, a lack of seeds and fertilizers, as well as intermediaries that broke the link between local producers and consumers. Continued political crises compounded these food production problems as the country was soon engulfed in civil war. After the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) political party took power, violent conflicts began with other liberation movements who wanted to share political power after the departure of the Portuguese. As time passed the only opposition to MPLA was the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) party. The conflict worsened with the involvement of foreign powers (MPLA was aligned with Cuba and the Soviet Union whereas UNITA was allies with the United States and South Africa). During this period there was widespread due to constant attacks on local communities and high use of landmines throughout the country. Another significant problem was the impact the conflict had on family farming; the violence against civilians forced farmers to reduce their crop cultivation areas, leaving areas that were distant from their villages. In addition, many families escaped to the cities looking for safe havens, concentrating much of the population in urban areas. This contributed to a reduction in food production and a loss of fertility in the areas that were excessively over-cultivated.

[8] Antonelli, C., Temple Costa, A., p.15.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Freudental, A. 2004.

The civil war finally ended in 2002 after 27 years of conflict, with one million people killed and over four million people displaced. Since the end of the conflict, there has been relative peace and political stability in Angola.[12]

Despite the devastation of the civil war to Angola's agricultural system, agriculture is still a key activity in a country where most people still live in rural areas and where the industrial sector is small. Following the civil war peace agreement, significant resources were invested in rebuilding the country's economy. During this period the country established and has maintained an economy with an impressive average annual real GDP growth rate of 11.6 percent, which is the world's highest average growth rate.[13] Although agriculture remains critical to the livelihoods of a majority of Angolans, the bulk of the country's economic growth can be attributed to increased oil production and (non-agricultural) exports.[14] Angola also has a large diamond industry. At the macro-level, these economic successes from extractive industries have benefited the country's overall GDP growth, but they have provided few positive impacts on the livelihoods of most average Angolans or the agriculture sector that supports them.[15] Poverty continues to be a common challenge for millions in Angola, [16] with over 54 percent of the population living on less than $1.25 per day.[17] Thus, both economically and politically, Angola is still recovering and rebuilding from the impacts of decades of war.

The Angolan government has evolved into a multi-party democracy organized into three branches: the executive (Office of the President, Office of the Prime Minister, Council of Ministers), the legislative (National Assembly or parliament), and judiciary. [18] In practice, the president is the primary holder of political power. The National Assembly has a single body of 223 members that has the power to make changes to constitutional law as well as approve new laws, the National Plan, and the state budget.[19] In the context of agriculture and land laws, the National Assembly plays a major role with the legislative authority to enact laws relating to the land tenure system, the rural and urban leasing, the participation of citizens and traditional authorities in local government, and the nationalization and expropriation of property.[20]

However, even after more than a decade of positive economic growth and development of political institutions, significant political challenges remain as a direct result of Angola's colonial past and civil war. Throughout the rebuilding phase of Angola's economy and political system the country has struggled to create the legal institutional frameworks needed to adequately address complex issues relating to the country's land and natural resources.[21] Many government institutions, such as the ones responsible for land administration, are weak and do not have the capacity to deal with secure property rights and effective resources

[12] FAO 2013. *Angola Country Programming Framework 2013-2017* (available at ftp://ftp.fao.org/TC/CPF/Countries/Angola/CPFAngola.pdf).
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.
[17] IFAD 2014. *Investing in rural people in Angola* (available at http://www.ifad.org/operations/projects/regions/pf/factsheets/angola.pdf).
[18] USAID 2007. *Strengthening Land Tenure and Property Rights in Angola*.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.

management.[22] According to the joint FAO/Government of Angola Country Programming Framework, the government has identified the following as top priority challenges for the agriculture and natural resources sector[23]:

1. Rapid urbanization, high unemployment and a high proportion of youth in the population requiring special attention to be paid to employment creation and capacity building for young and old people, and a more balanced economic growth that favors sectors such as agriculture, which have the capacity to create jobs that are more accessible.
2. Low agricultural productivity and production.
3. Non-commercialization of agriculture.
4. Natural resources (land and forest) degradation.
5. Weak human capacity for improved food security, agricultural growth and natural resources management.
6. The need to provide an enabling environment through policy and institutional strengthening, including improved stakeholder coordination, for food security, sustainable natural resources management and increasing resilience to shocks and threats from climate change.
7. Improving in an equitable manner the quantity and quality of nutrition for children, adults, and the most vulnerable.
8. Increasing the resilience of food and agricultural systems to climatic shocks and threats, especially to floods and droughts.

Throughout the process of changing the country's land laws and policies and rebuilding the economy, decision-making authority continues to be highly centralized within the national government with little opportunity for local ideas and initiatives to gain political support.[24] Government transparency is also lacking, with little information about administration issues available to citizens or agricultural stakeholders. This is a significant problem particularly for supporting farmer education on the impacts of climate change and large-scale land acquisitions in the agriculture sector as well as introducing better natural resource management strategies. It is clear that the lack of clear policy frameworks within government institutions related to property and natural resources has encouraged spontaneous occupation and encroachment of prime agricultural areas (many of which were State owned or managed), uncontrolled logging of hillsides, and unscrupulous exploitation of other natural resources.[25] Thus, significant challenges remain in the agriculture and natural resources sector despite recent changes to land and natural resource policies and laws.

Natural Resource and Agricultural Overview

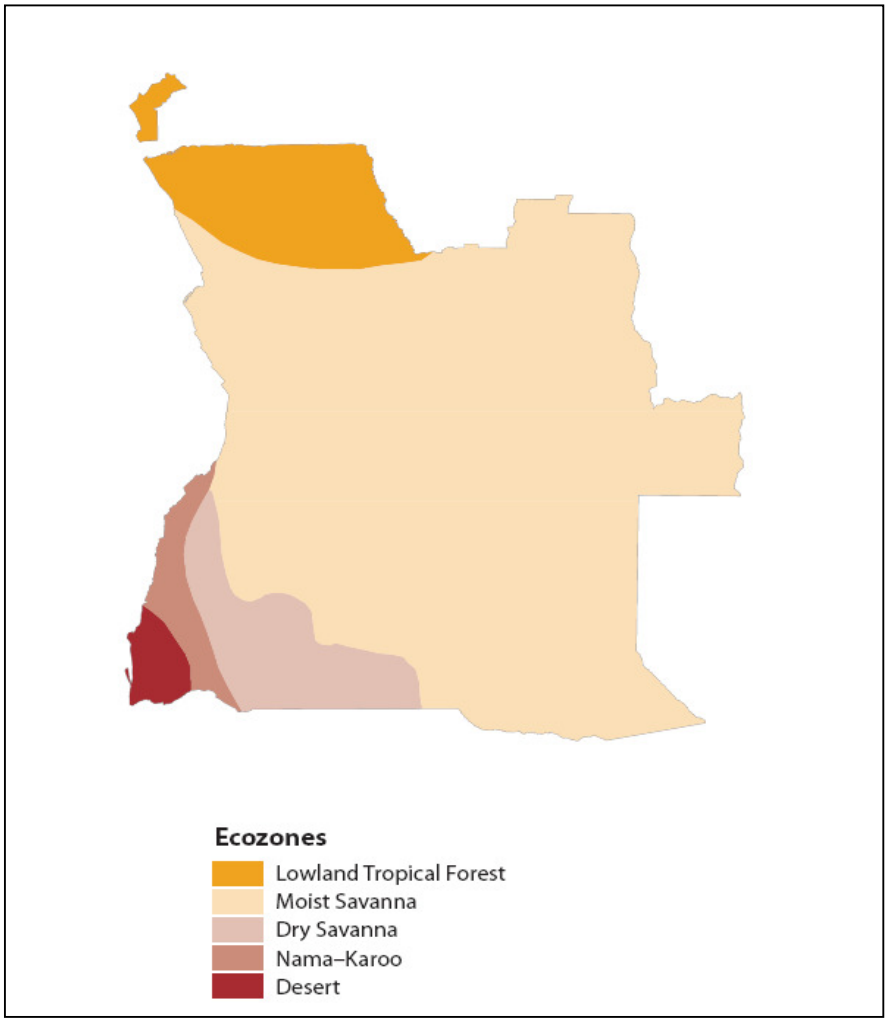
Angola has an abundance of fertile soils, biodiversity, vast water resources, aquatic biological and natural resources all over the country.[26] Agricultural production builds directly off these natural resources, and as mentioned, agriculture is a basic mode of subsistence for the majority of Angolans. Angola's agricultural sector is quite diversified with cassava, bananas,

[22] FAO 2008. *Access to Legal Information and Institutions, Tales from Angola: San Land Rights in Huila Province*. LEP Working Paper. Rome.
[23] FAO.2013. *Angola Country Programming Framework 2013-2017* (available at ftp://ftp.fao.org/TC/CPF/Countries/Angola/CPFAngola.pdf).
[24] FAO 2008. *Access to Legal Information and Institutions, Tales from Angola: San Land Rights in Huila Province*.LEP Working Paper.
[25] Ibid.
[26] See World Bank, http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/angola.

maize, and potatoes being the top currently produced agricultural products by quantity.[27] Additionally, livestock production in southwestern Angola also provides an important source of income and food security to family farmers.

Set in a tropical zone, with an altitude between 1 000 and 2 100 meters above sea level, the plateau in the provinces of Huambo and Bié (historically the agricultural center of Angola) benefit from reasonable rainfall (between 1 250 and 1 500 mm/year), and have moderate temperatures, with an average annual temperature of 18-20 Cº. The temperature range is higher in the dry season, with a relative humidity of 28 percent on average, whereas during the rainy season it can reach 80 percent.[28]

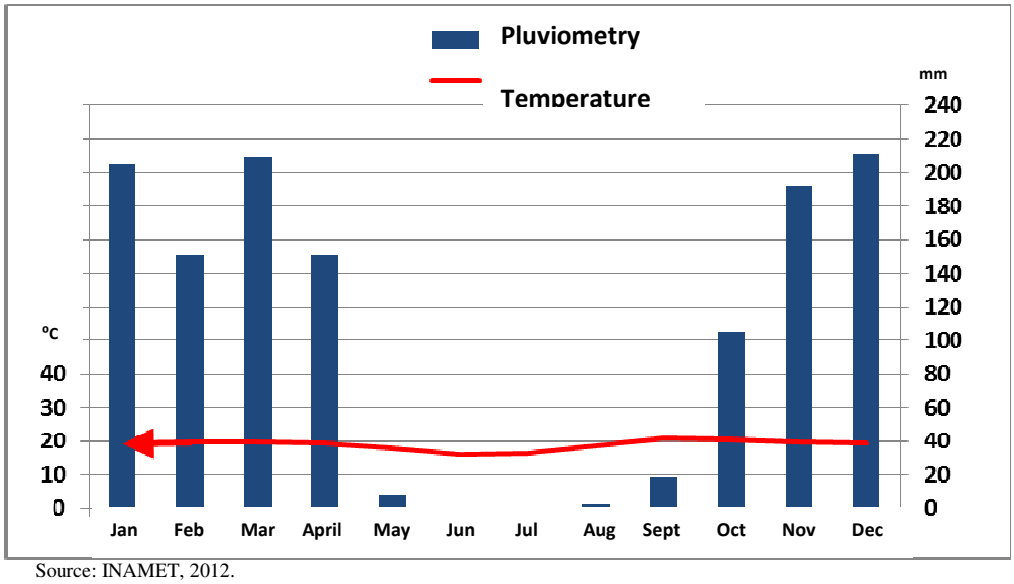
Ecozones of Angola



Source: www.saiea.org

[27] FAO STAT. 2013. *Angola Country Profile 2013*.
[28] INAMET 2012.

From the monthly average temperature and precipitation of these provinces, it was possible to plot the graph below:



Source: INAMET, 2012.

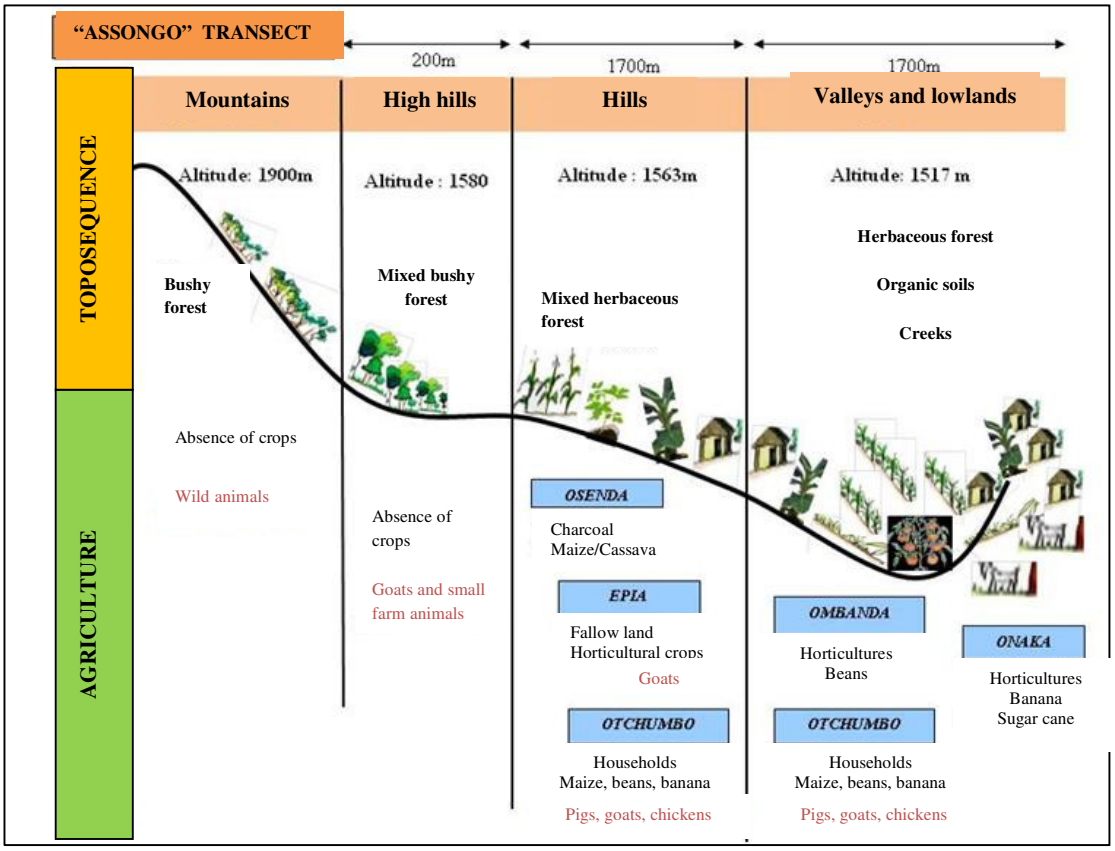
As far as cropping land for farming is concerned, there are several categories based primarily on the territorial characteristics and the access to water, which are listed according to their local names as follows:

Onaka: lowlands at the bank of a river or in the river-bed mostly used during the dry season for horticultures and some staple crops. These are some of the best lands for agriculture because of humidity retention.
Ombanda: lowlands above the *onaka*, conserves some humidity but not enough to resist the dry season. Used mainly during the wet season.
Oleka, Ombomba: lands even higher than the *ombandas* that require an irrigation system (with channels or force of gravity). Used during the wet or dry seasons.
Ongongo: highlands used only in wet season.
Elunda: "old" lands left fallow to recuperate fertility, often found near farmers' homes.
Osenda: highlands that have been recently opened for agriculture.
Otchumbo: small parcels next to the home, used during the wet season.

***Otchumbos* around households**

Catabola, Bie province. 2011 Photo by T. Basterrechea

The diagram below shows a transect of a typical village and its different land use systems:



Source: Territorial Agrarian Systems Diagnosis, Huambo 2012.

Most family farmers have access to at least one parcel of land in the Onaka category and then some of the other categories as well. The Onaka is important because it allows for cultivation and subsistence during the dry season (which could take up to five months). If a person in the community does not have access to an Onaka he/she may reach an agreement with others so as to work in an Onaka until a new future (social) agreement is reached. In other words, informal arrangements are made as a form of solidarity for those that have less valuable assets, such as the more fertile lands.

The reality of most farmers is that they live and work in very precarious conditions. In most communities agriculture only allows for subsistence with little access to markets. The lack of investments in agricultural activities such as livestock production (for animal labor), infrastructure (such as irrigation systems), and support systems for production and commercialization (rural extension services, seeds, credit, fertilizers, etc.) is a significant challenge.

Before the civil war, Angola was self-sufficient in all key food crops, except wheat.[29] After 2002, the recovery of the agricultural sector was seriously hampered by a number of factors:[30]

- Collapse of internal trade and distribution structures.
- Insignificant levels of domestic credit for agriculture and livestock.
- Weak institutional support.

Today, the country has become chronically dependent on massive imports of cereals and horticultural products to meet its food needs. It is estimated that 80% of food consumed in Angola is imported[31]. However, despite these challenges, Angola's agriculture sector continues to grow and expand, with small-scale family farms making up the majority of agricultural production in Angola:

> Millions of smallholder subsistence farmers plant an average of 1.4 ha per family on two or more parcels of land. Production is based on a single rainy season, which spans from September to December in most parts of the country, and for the most part uses no mechanization or animal traction, and utilizes relatively low levels of improved inputs such as improved seeds or fertilizer. For example, the average fertilizer application rate of Angola was less than 5 kg per hectare in 2005. This is low even in comparison with the average for Africa of 13 kg per hectare, and very low in comparison with the averages in other parts of the world.[32]

Onakas **are used for agricultural production all year long**

Huambo province, 2013 Photo by T. Basterrechea

[29] FAO 2013. *Angola Country Programming Framework 2013-2017* (available at ftp://ftp.fao.org/TC/CPF/Countries/Angola/CPFAngola.pdf).
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.

Although the GDP contribution of the agricultural sector is relatively low, roughly 9.3 percent in 2011, the important role of this sector with respect to the generation of jobs and improvement of livelihoods for the rural population in general should be noted.[33] Furthermore, of the 575 900 km² of arable land in Angola, only 5.7 percent is currently exploited.[34] Thus, Angolan agriculture has significant potential for sustainable, community-based development. The current lack of institutional support for decentralized land-use planning by communities, as well as weak natural resource governance, has led to degradation of agricultural resources from unsustainable farming methods and over-grazing. Additionally, increasing concentration of farmland and large-scale land transfers benefiting foreign investors and domestic elites present concerning implications for small-scale family farmers and local communities.

Aside from lands suitable for traditional family farming, Angola's ecosystems are quite diverse, offering a number of natural resource opportunities. The interior regions and mountainous areas of the country have tropical forests that are critical to biodiversity and must be protected. Unfortunately, Angola is currently lacking the legal frameworks and oversight to effectively protect and manage the country's forestry resources.[35] Meanwhile Angola's fisheries sector remains underdeveloped despite a long coast-line and significant resources.[36]

Land Issues in Angola

As in most countries, access to land in Angola has been and continues to be, a pivotal issue in the general development efforts of the country. Whether in the urban or in the rural areas, secure access to land and decent living conditions are some of the main concerns brought up daily in newscasts and national current-event journals.

A general view of land tenure in Angola demonstrates that customary access as the primary way to usufruct land and its resources. Angola has a land tenure regime that has much in common with the other Portuguese-speaking countries in Africa. Having become a socialist country during the Cold War and experiencing its own civil war post-independence, its orientation took a similar path as that of Mozambique, Cape Verde or São Tome and Principe; all land in Angola belongs to the State and the State itself aims to respect the land rights of its rural communities.[37]

FAO's technical assistance for improving access to land in Angola has focused onproviding appropriate methodologies to solve conflicting claims between local communities and other stakeholders; supporting national and regional land administration services; giving technical advice and support to the elaboration and discussion of the new Land Law through several projects including one under the Special Program for Food Security. These interventions provide support for legal and institutional diagnostics and have involved the participatory

[33] World Bank 2011. *World Development Indicators* (available at http://www.worldbank.org/).
[34] FAO 2013. *Angola Country Programming Framework 2013-2017* (available at ftp://ftp.fao.org/TC/CPF/Countries/Angola/CPFAngola.pdf).
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Carlos, F. 2005.

delimitation of community lands targeted for settlements of IDPs, resulting in the communities receiving provisional titles for land that had been traditionally under their management. The settlement of IDPs and regular movement of people continues to take place within consensual negotiations with local traditional authorities for them to access land.

Through FAO's experiences in providing technical assistance on land issues it is clear that a number of issues on gender empowerment, land access, and natural resource planning and governance need to be addressed in a more comprehensive and effective manner.

Gender Issues

Under Angola's constitution, men and women are afforded equal rights and protections.[38] Women have the right to own land individually or jointly with their husbands.[39] However, despite these basic rights, in practice women have far less explicit political representation and economic power than men.[40] For example, women account for approximately 70 percent of all agricultural workers, and 75 percent of the livestock farming labor force, while being a minority of landowners. [41] In livestock production, another economically important sector for the national economy, "men are the predominant actors, especially for large stock such as cattle."[42] Women are involved in the rearing of short-cycle livestock, such as small ruminants and poultry (of which they are often the owners), but this short-cycle livestock production is associated more with household consumption and food security rather than commercial opportunity and economic empowerment.[43] Therefore, although women play an active role in the agricultural economy as laborers, they have less access to agricultural resources and

Female farmers make up the majority of the labor force in the family farming sector

Bie province, 2012.
Photo by T. Basterrechea

[38] USAID 2007. *Strengthening Land Tenure and Property Rights in Angola*.
[39] Rural Development Institute 2008.
[40] Ibid.
[41] See FAO project GCP/ANG/045/SPA.
[42] FAO 2013. *Country Programming Framework 2013-2017*.
[43] USAID 2007. *Strengthening Land Tenure and Property Rights in Angola.*

support mechanism such as access to credit, land rights, and collateral that is important for raising their economic status as well as agricultural development.[44]

In terms of political representation, women only hold 12-16 percent of decision-making positions in the national government and are underrepresented in the local political decision-making bodies.[45] At the community level, "fewer than one percent of *sobas* (traditional authorities) are women."[46] This disenfranchisement has led to women being relegated to manual labor roles in the economy with few high level political positions. Furthermore, women historically have had less access to formal education which has resulted in lower literacy rates for women compared with men.[47] While gender equality is promoted under Angolan law women have less economic, educational, and political opportunities than men, which pose significant challenges for promoting gender equality and poverty alleviation in Angola.

Customary Practice and Modern Rights for Land Access

Traditional rights for the inheritance of land assets still prevail in most areas of Angola, and they constitute a primary mode for land access. These practices follow a matrilineal system which favors passing land assets from the male head-of-household to his sister's son (nephew of the head-of-household), which is commonly practiced in many Bantu cultures. This often-complex system of inheritance vests important authoritative power with this female member of the household for determining how and when assets are used and allocated. But it is also a barrier for women explicitly accessing and owning land independently of their male relatives, and can impact women's economic opportunities particularly in-terms of access to credit which usually requires clear ownership of collateral. At village level this inheritance practice is often also connected to political authority, which can have mixed implications for women's decision-making power. The process of inheritance of political power starts long before the death of the village leader and involves training the young nephew to be the future traditional authority. Here again women have limited access to holding political leadership positions outright, but can have influence on political decision-making processes, particularly during transfer of authority.

In cases of death of the male head-of-household without a nephew, the mother assumes the head of the household and manages the family's assets until her firstborn becomes an adult, upon when that child then goes on to assume the role of head of household.

The tradition of the deceased husband's family giving support to the widow's family is still maintained, and this helps the widow with the children's education and in making important decisions, such as the need to sell parcels of family land. If the widow chooses to remarry, she informs and sometimes seeks the approval of her late husband's family. At that time she must move into her new husband's household and cannot remain or keep the previously held land or other assets, which would then be administered by the family of the deceased husband or until the children come of age.

[44] African Development Bank 2008. Angola Country Gender Profile; Agricultural & Agro-industry Department North-East & South Regions.
[45] Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency 2000.
[46] Rural Development Institute 2008.
[47] FAO 2013. *Angola Country Programming Framework 2013-2017* (available at ftp://ftp.fao.org/TC/CPF/Countries/Angola/CPFAngola.pdf).

Both local government and the ruling MPLA party agree that modern forms of hereditary passage (father to son or daughter), as represented by national laws, in principle promote more equitable land access in rural communities for pastoralists and peasants and are more peaceful. The government is currently working to educate people of the benefits of switching to a modern practice that is legally accepted and results in the equitable division of assets involving children and where women are not discriminated against.

The passages of a gender neutral transhumance rules are also recognized in the Angolan Land Law, which is important for women's economic empowerment given the prominence of pastoralism in southwestern Angola. Nonetheless, the implementation and dissemination of this part of the law, despite the efforts of civil society, have resulted in insufficient coverage to be effective. For the gender-neutral modern rights to be respected, significant and widespread sensitization of women's rights to land and labor rights in rural communities, as well as follow-up and monitoring, is needed in order to have an effective impact on the cultural aspects of gender equality. On the other hand, the institutions responsible for the legalization of land management are often unaware or incapable of enforcing these processes or solving conflicts between men and women, between communities and private investors or against communities over land resources.

Evolution of Land Tenure and Land Legislation[48]

During the Portuguese colonial period land, Angola was treated in several different ways with the passage of many laws and decrees (see table in annex). The main concern had to do with legitimization of land for the new Portuguese settlers and a better production system in order to fulfill an internal market for the growing metropolis and a surfacing export economy.

To be able to understand land issues in Angola, it becomes imperative to trace its historical evolution in order to better comprehend how the subject was dealt with in-terms of access, use, and management by the different peoples that occupied what is now the Angolan territory. It is essential to realize that the aspect that most influenced the Angolan's land management had to do with the conceptualization of space. Pre-colonial societies had a perception of space based on the complementarities between a natural resource and its different levels of appropriation. In other words, a single space may have one or more types of rights, individual or collective, according to the needs of the social actor, the level of control of the resource and his or her social status. This perception of complementarity gave land its sacred character by the different Angolan ethno-linguistic groups. Furthermore, land was transferred within families without any monetary transactions. This perception of land contrasted the vision that the explorers and the colonist settlers had, where technology and western concepts of knowledge took on the predominant method for land management. The holders of that technology and of that knowledge were essentially representatives of the Crown State, which then became absolute holders of the right to represent and construct space.

The land regime in Angola, as was introduced by the Portuguese Crown in the XVI century, took a different turn when the Crown took hold of conquered territories and distributed them to its landholders in the form of land parcels found within the Sobados[49], constituting in that

[48] Based on FAO 2002. *La cuestión de la tierra en Angola: Tarea del gobierno o compromiso de todos?*. Rome.
[49] Angola's traditional leaders, known as Sobas, are the local governing authority in rural and many periurban areas. Sobas traditionally handle a multitude of local governance matters (including land administration and management), sometimes in

way properties of variable dimensions where food and other commercial products would be produced[50]. This process started and developed in the areas where the colony had gained more control and where the colonial authorities could look after the implementation of those laws. The objective at that point was to legitimize the farmer occupation, however up to that point, this only occurred near the coastal areas.

The Portuguese State established its supremacy over all lands in its colonies in 1856, distinguishing between apparently vacant and uncultivated land (terras baldias) and State land (terras do Estado), the former being saleable or transferrable but not the latter. With the passage of the 1901 Law of Concessions of Overseas Lands a third land category emerged in addition to the private property regime and that of public domain: it was the fallow lands, or rather, the indigenous lands. In the 1920s, a new law declared that this land, in principle, was exclusively for indigenous use, though that did not mean the State recognized it as belonging to the rural communities.

The most significant land tenure change took place in 1961 with the elimination of the racist *Estatuto do Indígena*[51], after much criticism from the United Nations against the Portuguese for maintaining its colonies as Angolan resistance against the colonial government was growing. It was in this context that conflicts began to rise between the large landowners or farmers (Portuguese mostly) and the colonized communities. The Portuguese occupation was based on the *sesmaria*[52] concept, an idea that land occupied by colonial farmers had been fallow or unexplored, that is 'res nullius', even if in fact that was a biased opinion. Generally the reason why local people left their land, which was then occupied by colonial farmers, was because the cultivation of industrial crops (often with economic supports from the Portuguese government) undercut local producers, in-turn leaving family farmers with few market access options, and leading them to become agricultural laborers on the large-scale colonial farms. The colonial administration legalized these farms, as there were no official rights for those native families to their traditional or ancestral lands.

During the whole colonial period, even though the juridical texts were being progressively elaborated, the traditional authorities continued to exercise their *de facto* powers and their agrarian superintendence on the communal and individual use of land according to custom and local tradition.

In the first years and during the decades after independence (1975), land was not known to be a priority for the new Angolan state because there were more urgent matters to be dealt with in the context of the ongoing civil war; hence, no new laws regarding land tenure and management were issued. The new post-colonial constitution introduced natural resources as being the sole property of the State, without any specificity about the land resource. Thus the juridical dichotomy introduced by the Portuguese settlers remained State Land and Fallow Land (terras do Estado e terras baldias).

conjunction with village elders. Thus, a Sobado may be a village or several villages/communities that are under the control of the same Soba.

[50] Freudenthal, 2004.

[51] The *Estatuto do Indigena* was used to determine the rights but specially the duties of indigenous peoples in the Portuguese colonies through decrees and laws.

[52] The *sesmaria* system was developed in Portugal in the mid-14th century to facilitate the settling of the colonies by placing people in the rural areas and incentivizing agrarian production in case of a food crises or weak production. In Portugal, the *sesmeiro* was in charge of adjudicating the *sesmarias*.

Regarding the State land institutions or services, the new independent State had to deal with the land administration without any public staff or specialists in the subject: all the professionals that had worked on these matters at the time (topographers, cartographers, jurists, etc.) had left the country due to the war. Furthermore, during the war the land cadastre institution moved inside the Ministry of Defense, where its main purpose was to produce maps with strategic military objectives. In this context, the new administration was unable to adapt its inherited institutions from the Portuguese to the new reality and the new demands for development. This was also a period when land disputes were rare: the rural peasants returned or recovered the lands left by the colonial settlers. The process of rural development was slow and did not highlight land governance issues, although many colonial farms were nationalized and managed by State companies or by cooperatives that were also promoted by the State.

Due to the weak interest by the government in cadastre issues and to the fact that there were no new titles to be registered, the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MINADER)[53] at the time became the only institution that took charge of land administration through its provincial delegations. MINADER did not issue titles because nothing was agreed on the juridical plane, as regards the access to land in the independent Angola. Therefore, it only issued *declarations* for Angolan land claimants. Some of those declarations were transformed into land titles later on in the framework of the first Land Law, adopted in 1992, though many are still pending.

In the 1990s, the privatization of State companies started a race for the acquisition of land. It was in this context that the law 21 C-92 was adopted. This law, known as *Lei sobre a concessão da titularidade de uso e aproveitamento da terra*, and its regulation Decree 32/95 was valid until 2004. It was during this period, at the end of the 1990s, that the FAO Land Program started and facilitated the elaboration of a participative land delimitation methodology for communal lands up until the emission of the first land titles in Bengo province (2000) and in Huila province (2001).

Analyzing the land issue over the past three decades since independence, two tendencies emerge.
The first one has to do with the de-legitimization of the role of the traditional authorities started during colonial times. Even after the independence, this tendency continued to promote a centralized vision of the State, considered as the main holder of all knowledge for modern development.
Secondly, parallel to this trend there was the State's difficulty in supporting its own decentralized institutions and providing services to its people. Due to its incapacity to substitute the central role of traditional authorities, this has left farmers unprepared to effectively manage their natural resources.
These two tendencies constitute the elements for the increase in insecurity in relation to land rights because land access continues to be predominantly customary. However, this situation was not very apparent because of more urgent matters, such as the ongoing civil conflicts. So with the end of the civil war in 2002, these issues emerged in a more evident way, forcing the State to face the inevitable questions pending since before independence: what kind of recognition was it willing to grant to those who held customary rights and how those rights could coexist with other types of customary and constitutional rights?

[53] MINADER is also referenced as MINAGRI later in the text, both names refer to the same Ministry with under different administrations because they have either included or excluded "Rural Development" and/or "Fisheries".

The new land law partly responded to these questions, introducing the Recognition of Customary Rights[54]. The challenge was, and is, considerable, in the context of weak institutions that depend on the colonial cadastre and that need to be strengthened (in terms of management) to face this issue.
Land, which until the 1990's was a latent but not an evident issue, is today one of the most pending topics and a difficult one to ignore, in particular when considering the tendencies on course: a progressive (though slow) knowledge base of communal rights and the increasing presence of private investors, national or international, in the agrarian sector.

Implementation of the Angolan Land Law

As mentioned, in Angola all land belongs to the State, which determines its final use and management. From that starting point, the State then differentiates public land from private land. Public lands may be parks, existing roads, mountains, etc. whereas private land is land that may be conceded to interested parties or individuals. In 2004, the country enacted a new land law that sought to strengthen perceived areas of weakness (such as the role of traditional rural communities) in prior legislation related to land and natural resource management.[55] The new law delineated and expanded a range of land rights and recognized, to some measure, traditional land rights. Although symbolically these steps were positive, there has been little implementation at the local level. In 2006, in response to increasing interests by foreign agricultural investors, the government proposed new regulations addressing the land concessions portions of the land law. These regulations provided some detail on land rights formalization procedures and expanded the government's expropriation authority, but these regulations have not been fully enacted.[56]

As indicated previously, most access to land and natural resources continues to be primarily regulated by customary rule, meaning that rural populations contact directly those that claim ownership of land and make social arrangements about land-use. These arrangements generally can be classified into: inheritance, gift, lending, pledging (mostly through oral contracts), shared arrangements, and invasion. Often these actions (aside from invasion) are done in the presence of a traditional authority, or Soba, who serves as a witness in case of any future dispute, and nothing is documented on paper. In order to preserve the rights of the rural communities the land law takes into account the customary land-use systems (residential, traditional shifting subsistence agriculture and transhumance grazing, forestry, access to water and communication ways) that prevail in the different provinces and cultures of the country. In terms of State ownership, agricultural land is regulated against a private right basis while natural resources form part of the public right.

The land law states the five different ways in which men and women can legally access land in Angola as:

1. ***Direito de Ocupação Precária*** (Occupational rights): a short-term occupancy right intended for mining prospects, research, construction or shipyards, etc. Limited to one year although it may be renewed.

[54] Direito de Domínio Útil Consuetudinário.
[55] *Land Law (Lei da Terras de Angola, Lei 09/04, de 9 de Novembro)*, Government of Angola, 2004.
[56] USAID 2007. *Strengthening Land Tenure and Property Rights in Angola*.

2. ***Direito de propriedade*** (Private Property Rights): a common property right but only applies to the urban areas and cannot exceed 2 hectares.

3. ***Direito de Superfície*** (Surface Right): usually for construction, landscape or building rehabilitation purposes, not applied to the underground resources and for a maximum of 60 years.

4. ***Direito de Domínio Útil Civil*** (Right of Civil Domain): a perpetual yet transmissible concession of rural or urban land subject to fees and taxes.

5. ***Direito de Domínio Útil Consuetudinário*** (Customary Rights to Land): ruled by article 23 of the Land Law, allows and recognizes the community's occupation and use of the land according to tradition.

The Land Law regulates access to land specifically for rural communities as follows:

Article 22: Rural Land

> "The rural community lands are the lands occupied by families of local rural communities for their housing, for their activity or for other purposes recognized by custom or by this Law and its regulation".

Article 23: Rural Community Land

> "Is the land used by a rural community based on the customary use of land, including, as appropriate, areas for temporary cultivation, the transhumance corridors for cattle access to water sources and pasture corridors, whether or not subject to access rights used to access the water or as roads".

The expressed objectives of the Land Law are:

- Organization of territory.
- Economically efficient and sustainable utilization of the land.
- Protection of the environment.
- Prioritization of the public interest.
- Economic and social development;
- Respect for the principles underlying the law.

The law expresses the desire to adopt a territorial type organization policy with objectives of economic and social well-being, as well as the preservation of areas in which traditional ways of using the land are adopted.

Recent external evaluations of the effectiveness of this land law have underscored that, despite these legislative efforts, fundamental gaps and weaknesses in the legal framework governing persist, diluting the country's ability to use its resources to support economic growth, alleviate poverty, and enhance the livelihoods of the country's population, most significantly those marginalized groups such as women and youth. This is essentially caused by the GoA's lack of political will and unvalued importance that rural communities play in socioeconomic development and, on the other hand, a false assumption that the GoA may lose complete control of their own natural resources (oil and diamonds) despite the

mechanisms put in place in the land law, such as the expropriation of land on the basis of public benefit, to prevent this occurrence.

The land law offers a provision by which both community and individual land occupiers, holding land without formal title, are given three years to make claim to that land and consequently obtain a title that recognizes their concession. However, to date, the GoA has not provided a clear assurance or mechanism by which occupants can easily make these claims for formal titles without the help of civil society organizations that have accompanied pilot experiences in Huila, Huambo and Bié provinces.

Among the other relevant juridical texts linked to land issues are the Decentralization Law (Decree 02/07), published in January 2007, as well as the Urbanism and Territorial Planning Law, Nº 3/04, published in June 2004.

The Institutional Framework for the Family Farming Sector

The Ministry of Agriculture (MINAGRI) is in charge of setting the agricultural and rural development policies and has the most significant institutional impact on family farmers in-terms of agricultural issues. To better direct its duties, MINAGRI and other ministries are divided into multiple partitions that are structured as follows:
MINISTRY → Executive Directorates → Provincial Directorates → Municipal Offices

The main services of MINAGRI are decentralized at provincial and municipal levels, with multiple institutes and agricultural development stations that oversee and assist farmers. The provincial directorates are executives of the provincial administrations who work primarily in partnership with the central organs of the Ministry for all matters related to technical or political issues. At this provincial level, the Institute for Agrarian Development (IDA) is the central institution carrying out MINAGRI polices and services, headed by a director appointed by the provincial Governor or sometimes by MINAGRI at central level. At municipal level, there are the Stations for Agrarian Development (EDA), which provide direct support to farmers transferring knowledge and technologies. These are also agricultural extensionists appointed by IDA to work in most municipalities. However, in 2012, there were only approximately 700 extensionists, of which only 105 have higher technical education and 595 qualify as mid-level technicians.[57] Despite the diffusion of the population throughout the country, 700 extensionists are nowhere near enough to support over two million farmers. Even those extesionists that are working in the field often do not have the proper training to perform their duties, while also facing constraints such as lack of means of transportation, decent housing or financial incentives.

At the national level, the Institute for Agricultural Research (IIA) is an entity in charge of putting into practice research and experiments that allow the improvement of techniques in agriculture, as well as the development of new seeds and technologies. Located in Huambo, it is currently carrying out research activities on basic food crops.

[57] MINADER 2013.

Finally, the two major farm assistance programs promoted nationally are the Program for Extension and Rural Development (PEDR)[58], and the General Program of Demobilization and Reintegration of Ex-combatants (PGDR).

FAO's Involvement in Land Issues

In 1999, at the request of GoA, the FAO Land Tenure Service initiated a series of activities in close collaboration with the National Directorate of Territorial Planning of the Ministry of Agriculture (formerly DNDR). These activities aimed at: (i) solving land conflicts in the outskirts of Luanda, and (ii) initiating a reflection on land issues in the country. This was an initial three-year process, which was challenged by the on-going violence in the country.

By 2002, when the war ended, the Government of Angola started a new process together with FAO, to create a new legal framework for land management and rural land-use planning built on the previous outreach and reflections on land issues. This framework allowed for the foundation of socioeconomic development in the perspective of a market economy, considering growing urban sprawl, land conflicts in urban and rural areas, and the return of displaced persons to their lands following the end of the war. The proposal for the current land law was also up for discussion at this time. The ruling party (MPLA) and civil society organized discussion sessions for the new Land Law, and for the first time in the history of Angola, a draft version of the law was discussed on internet to engage civil society in the process. Although many citizens, particularly rural residents, do not have internet access, this event was symbolically relevant for encouraging new public involvement concerning the Angolan politics.
FAO accompanied the whole process furnishing juridical assistances and organizing a high-level seminar in October 2003, where concrete experiences for the elaboration of public policies were presented. The seminar had the participation of members of other countries as well as international experts on the subject. It was also in those years, namely in 2003 and 2004, that FAO supported civil society organizations in sensitization campaigns about the new land law, during the process of public consultation. In November 2004, after 6 months of consultations, the new Land Law (nº 9/04) was voted, paving the way for the recognition of customary rights for rural communities in their traditional lands.

During this period, families were beginning to return to their places of origin after as much as 20 years away during the civil war, though many also did not return. Family farmers were restarting their agricultural activities with very few inputs and means of production once that the overt threat of violence had abated. In some areas, these farmers had the support of a few existing NGOs, but institutional capacity was very limited.

By 2006, after a series of field activities launched to test and implement the land law, and thanks to the debates and the meetings, it was possible to demonstrate the importance of a coherent approach to rural and agricultural development to be carried out through further direct service and policy development.

Given this background, FAO's general objective was to support land administration/management institutions at provincial level, initially with pilot experiences in

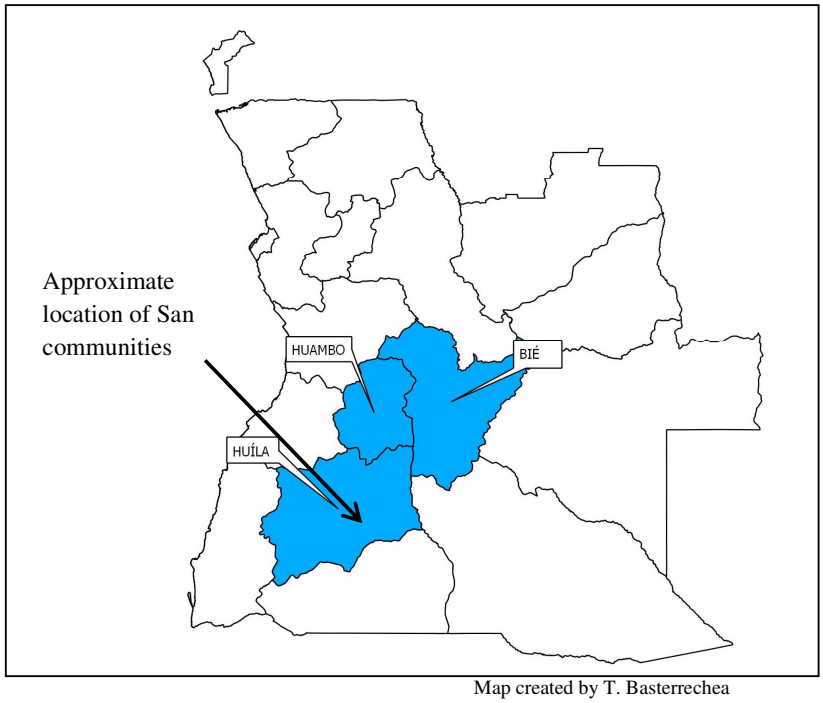
[58] See Programa De Extensão E Desenvolvimento Rural (available at http://www.minader.org/pdfs/fomento/desenvolvimento_rural/programa.pdf).

Huila and Bengo provinces. In the following years, these activities were then expanded into the Huambo and Benguela provinces. It was then possible to arrive at the following conclusions:

i. The need to find measures to secure access to land.
ii. The importance of regulating land issues, particularly focusing on (a) legal frameworks, (b) a system for gathering information and, (c) strengthening judicial competencies on the matter.
iii. Develop complementary strategies for the use and management of natural resources.

The main results reached, in cooperation with civil society organizations, were:

i. Training of national staff in the different capacities linked to land administration (GPS use, GIS, participatory diagnosis and rural appraisals, etc.).
ii. The elaboration and testing of a methodological approach to delimit communal lands.
iii. Pilot experiences that resulted in the emission of full land titles for diverse rural communities, particularly in Huila province with indigenous San communities.
iv. Elaboration of a set of legal tools for the implementation of the new land law.
v. A national and digital cartographical base for a future and complete land cadastre.
vi. An Angolan society better informed about their rights and on land issues.



Map created by T. Basterrechea

The first full-fledged land project was then launched by the end of 2006. The Land Project GCP/ANG/035/EC (from now on referred to as 035) implemented by FAO and funded by the European Union (EU) aimed at capacity building for the devolved institutions in relation to the management, use and security of land rights. The 035 project also responded to a component of "Actualization of the legal framework" of the Food Security Program of the EU, and sought to articulate secured access to land in order to improve food security. As opposed to the former projects, this effort had the valid and new legal land framework.[59] The first step of the 035 project introduced FAO's Participatory Land Delimitation approach (PLD), which was very similar to the strategy developed in Mozambique, though adapted to the Angola reality. In a few words, the approach consisted of several steps, beginning with a sensitization phase with the community to see to what extent they would be interested in legalizing their land. If endorsed by the community, group and plenary discussions take place

[59] The land law No. 9/04 published on November 2004 and its regulation, Decree No. 58/07, published on July 2007.

within the community and participatory maps of the area are drawn out and agreed upon through consultations with bordering neighbors in order to legitimize the process. Finally, the administrative phase of legally registering the land moves forward according to the land law regulation.[60] Undoubtedly this project was pivotal for the actual implementation of the legal framework on access to land and improving the livelihoods of rural communities, including vulnerable groups such indigenous from San communities, one of which became the first ever minority group in Angola to receive a land title.[61]

The first community land title in Bie province given to the Katapi rural community

REPÚBLICA DE ANGOLA

GOVERNO PROVÍNCIAL DO BIÉ

TÍTULO DE RECONHECIMENTO

DA OCUPAÇÃO, POSSE E DIREITOS DE USO E FRUIÇÃO DE TERRENOS RURAIS COMUNITÁRIOS

PROCESSO DE RECONHECIMENTO 01/BIE /2013

Passado a Favor de:

COMUNIDADE DE KATAPI

(Município Katabola – Comuna Sede)

Ficou o prédio a que se refere este título com o nº-- 1/bié/2013-----, na folha nº 235 do compartimento nº-----, secção ---, do cadastro e descrito no Tombo Geral da propriedade a que se refere a) do artigo 67º da Lei de Terras (Lei nº 9/04, de 9 de Novembro).

1/5

Katapi community, Catabola, Bie province, 2013. Source: Land project GCP/ANG/045/SPA.

The 035 project launched the first pilot experiences in natural resources inventories, directly addressing gender issues about land, and creating a Land Studies Center in the Faculty of Agronomy in Huambo (the only one in the country).
In fact, one of the main pillars of FAO support was that "secured access to land and water represents a very important role in poverty eradication, in the mitigation of hunger and promoting economic and rural development", as was stated during the International Conference for Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (ICARRD), organized by FAO in 2006 in Porto Alegre, Brazil. The 035-land project ended in December 2009 after receiving approval for a 4-month extension.

Although the negotiations to immediately found the new land project took place in 2009, as to avoid the temporal gap between one project and the next, for several reasons the project design phase took a full year before beginning. FAO support to GoA on land issues continues

[60] For more info see: *Uma Metodologia para a Delimitação Participativa de Terras,* Technical document for FAO project GCP/ANG/035/EC, 2008.
[61] According to FAO 2008. *Access to Legal Information and Institutions, Tales from Angola: San Land Rights in Huila Province*, the land title was officially delivered to the community by the Agriculture Department in Huila Province during the first San National Conference on April 27th 2007.

to this day through project GCP/ANG/045/SPA, "Institutional Support for the Improvement of Land and Natural Resources Management and Administration in the Provinces of Huambo & Bié, Angola" (from now on referred to as 045), financed by the Spanish Cooperation Agency (AECID) for a period of three years, from January 2011 to December 2013. However, further financing was secured by partner NGOs that deal with similar land issues which allowed the 045 project to continue and maintain most of its activities throughout 2014.[62]

According to the *Programa Municipal Integrado de Desenvolvimento Rural e Combate à Pobreza* of Huambo province[63], it has been declared a priority by the decentralized government to continue to work on land management and tenure issues as a crucial source for socio-economic development. The liaison and trust established among FAO, GoA and civil society has further allowed FAO to extend activities into the land-use planning dimension and to support the universities and other high education institutions by introducing the important concept of access to land for sustainable development. The steering committee established in Bié province has formalized most land access activities with local decrees by the Governor, while in Huambo, the provincial director of agriculture has, together with the provincial government, articulated a Provincial Land Management Commission, for the purpose of setting up and regulating the effective functioning of the Commission. Furthermore, the land tenure studies and the agrarian systems diagnosis conducted have shown an advantageous diversity found in the family farming sector, allowing for a characterization of the agricultural capacities, these being the stakeholders and target beneficiaries of the project.

One of the greatest achievements of the 045 project has been to continue to successfully support GoA in an entirely new province (Bie province) for securing communal land rights and establishing FAO as a trustworthy organization for these delicate issues. By February 2014, the first two communities in Bie were legalized using the PLD approach. Whereas in Huambo province, a participatory and negotiated approach to land use planning was put into motion for the first time (see *Pilot experiences in the Highland Plateau* chapter), taking advantage of all the work done on land issues in the previous years.

Some additional results from last two land projects include setting up an institutional operating framework for implementation of activities (allowing for provincial government engagement); the dissemination and application of the bundle of rights associated to land; and the implementation of an effective land and natural resources management system in the selected municipalities. The strategy has been to orient activities in the most tangible and concrete ways in order to let experiences at local level contribute to the definition of coherent policies or initiatives at national level. These positive results achieved to date have resulted in a lengthening of the land program, ensuring a strong presence in the provinces, compared with the first projects since 1999.

Family Farming in Angola

In Angola's family farming sector, about 47 432 families engage in subsistence farming. According to the 2010/2011 national agricultural year, Angola's family farming sector was

[62] Negotiations have already taken place once again with the EU in order to implement another land project starting in early 2015, thus closing any possible gaps of FAO presence and support.
[63] Governo de Angola, 2012.

composed of about 2 058 346 families, while 8 360 families made up large-scaled farms.[64] Together these two groups used 5 244 311 hectares of land.[65] Compared with the previous agricultural year, there was a six percent growth of cultivated land (corresponding to 293 373 hectares), although the data do not discriminate as to how much of the growth belonged to the family farming sector.[66] However, agriculture business also begun to resurface in Huambo, highlighted by some major private investments.[67] According to Katiavala,[68] most agricultural activities are concentrated in the central highlands of Angola, which make up about two thirds of the country. Traditionally, the Ovimbundu ethnic group populated the areas now corresponding to the provinces of Huambo, Bié, the eastern part of Benguela and the northern part of Huila. Only in the northwest provinces of Angola (Uige, Zaire, Bengo and to some extent Cuanza Norte, Cuanza Sul and Malange) agriculture is also practiced, but in a limited manner, mostly in subsistence levels and by a few commercial enterprises that supply the capital city of Luanda.

There is some large-scale farming in Malange and Cuanza Sul by private investors who export most of the production and channel some to the few existing supermarkets chains in the four biggest cities of the country (Luanda, Lubango, Benguela and Huambo). Although the current Government continues to endorse large-scale agriculture through its policies, most agriculture in Angola continues to be family-based.

The provinces of Huambo and Bié, situated in the central plateau of Angola, were considered one of the biggest food producers in the country during the colonial period. However, after the independence and due to 27 years of civil war, agriculture in this region was severely impacted, leading the rural population to a state of extreme poverty.

Montanha, Encosta, and Colina (the mountains and lower hills) are situated on the slopes of the country's mountainous region and are characterized by their altitude and sandy/clay soils. Some small residences are mostly located in these parts with banana plantations and some small animals around the property. Small agricultural plots are generally used for corn in association with beans during the rainy season and to a lesser extent also for some vegetables.

The Vale (Valley), in the provinces of Huambo and Bié, is also characterized by mostly clay soils. Valleys in the region often have a "V" shape, although some can be flatter in shape allowing for more water retention and thus these areas are larger. Here are cultivated many types of horticultural crops (tomatoes, cabbage, garlic, onions, etc...). Irrigation is done gravitationally or manually (with the aid of buckets) if the water source is near the cultivated

[64] *Plano de Desenvolvimento de Medio Prazo do Sector Agrario 2013-17*, Ministry of Agriculture, Angola 2013.
[65] Ibid. Disaggregated only by crops.
[66] Ibid.
[67] See Governo de Angola 2012.
[68] Katiavala 2010.

plot. Banana and sugarcane are also cultivated here and smaller creeks provide water for domestic use. The flow rate of these streams tends to be very low, requiring many farmers to dig wells to maintain crops irrigation during dry seasons.

Although most of the production is during the rainy season, dry season production is possible with irrigated agriculture in areas with access to river water, of which there are plenty in the Angolan central plateau, which is abundant with waterways. The many rivers, as well as their tributaries in the region, offer great potential for irrigation and production of horticulture during the dry season as well as the practice of animal husbandry. Good availability of water resources associated with the sloping relief topography allows farmers to dig simple downhill channels to irrigate crops, thereby reducing the costs irrigation infrastructure. The technique of channeled irrigation is mostly used in areas that comprise the intermediate plateau, whereas in areas of the high altitude plateau, family farmers are forced to use water pumps, excluding many farmers with fewer resources. In analyzing farmer risk management and production strategies in the region, the presence of irrigation systems was highlighted as most important.

A diagnosis[69] of rural territorial systems conducted in the municipalities of Bailundo and Caála in Huambo province and in the municipalities of Calucinga and Chitembo in Bié province made it possible to identify the family farm sector as representing almost the totality of the production systems in the province. However, while family farming dominates the region, there is considerable diversity within the sector with a variety of technical and economic factors aimed toward improving farm production. Presently, large groups of vulnerable farmers with low production and productivity rates are exposed to malnutrition and are dependent on other activities from informal sectors to survive (taxi service, laundry business, etc.). Other farmers with better access to natural and economic resources are more likely to dedicate both time and resources to their production systems and reach relatively good performances, allowing them to move from subsistence to more commercial-orientated production thanks to new market opportunities and high demand in urban areas. But it is clear from the diagnosis that the local political, economic, social and environmental contexts have significant impacts on the ability of family farmers to effectively develop different adaptation strategies for their production systems. Thus territorial development efforts must take into consideration these broader factors to successfully support more sustainable practices in family farming.

Informal roadside market

Interprovincial road between Huambo and Bie province, 2013.
Photo by T. Basterrechea

Characteristics of Family Farmers

[69] See project GCP/ANG/045/SPA.

The previously cited study shows that there are different levels of social structure in all family farms, the first of these structures being the family unit.[70] The family unit or household is composed of different individuals, and the head of household may be a man or a woman. Usually when it is the latter, it is because of the death of the male spouse or for reasons of separation and divorce. The main function of the head of household is the management of the household assets and finances. When it is the male, the woman takes on domestic activities and management of the home. Children are instructed to support in household activities as well as in agricultural activities.
Some tasks are genderized, such as grain milling and cornmeal production, which pertain to women, or the construction work of ditches for soil irrigation, which are exclusively male activities.

Livestock is mainly used for animal traction in Huambo and Bie provinces

Huambo province, 2013. Photo by T. Basterrechea

After the household, the next social structure is the community, composed of families of all the individuals who live there. Sobas are the traditional authorities of Angolan communities, and can be classified into two types: the Great Soba that may administer several communities and the Soba that may manage one or some villages or communities. Often it is difficult to clearly define the roles and responsibilities of each, as they are linked by culture and local context. In certain regions of Angola some village elders choose the Soba, other times the succession is held by hereditary lineage in which his nephew, the Soba's sister, takes the place of his uncle. Sometimes there are deputy Sobas, known as *sekulos*. Sekulos and religious leaders also serve as counselors to the Soba for certain matters.

The Soba makes the major decisions in the village and plays the role of judge and mediator of conflicts in the community. Its other main function is to make the link between the community and the local government and report the problems occurred such as death, illness, theft, violence and other similar matters.

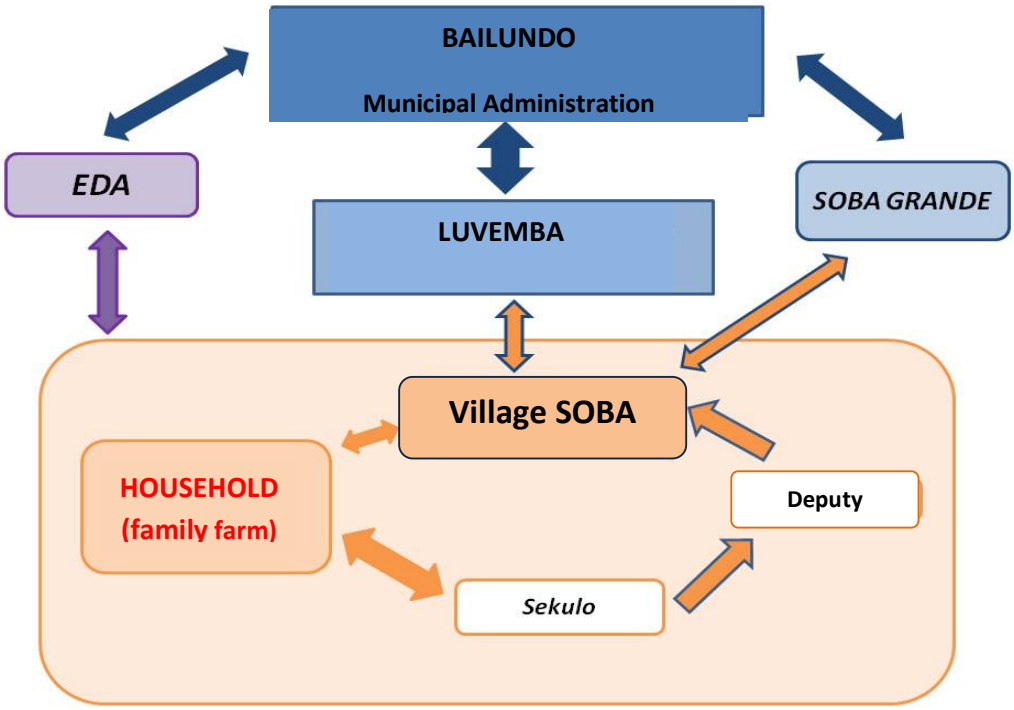
Still within the realm of the community, other types of social and commercial organizations exist, such as farmers' associations and cooperatives. These types of organizations contribute to the progressive strengthening of family farmers and civil society. Cooperatives and

[70] Ibid.

associations receive technical support from the municipal administration, which also facilitates access to social programs, such as microcredit[71] for agricultural production.

Outside the structure of the community level, there is formal administrative and political hierarchy around the villages or communities. An important actor that moves between these spheres is the EDA extensionist, who informs and communicates back and forth between local and formal authorities on issues related to conflicts and technical support to farmers. EDA is also responsible for distributing government inputs, such as seeds or fertilizers.

The Venn diagram below represents graphically the social structure:



Source: Territorial Agrarian System Diagnosis, FAO 2012.

Family-Farming Cropping Systems

The following analysis shows the diversity of crop and livestock systems practiced by most family farmers in the highland plateau. The cropping systems found are usually based on one or two main crops, these being corn and potatoes. In the Territorial Agrarian System Diagnosis conducted in Huambo and Bié provinces in the framework of project GCP/ANG/045/SPA, six different types of culture systems were identified, four of them practiced during the rainy season, and the others two under irrigated systems.
During the rainy season:
• **SC-1,** characterized by monocultures of corn;
• **SC-2,** characterized by the association of maize with beans or potato;
• **SC-3,** characterized by the association of corn/beans over a tuber (cassava, potato, sweet potato, yam);
• **SC-4,** characterized by the association of corn/potato with one or more different species

[71] There have been only two State programs that have offered credit for family farmers. One in 2006 and the other in 2011.

(cabbage, cauliflower, okra, squash, ground nuts, etc.).

Under irrigated systems (for those that manage to cultivate during dry season):
• **SC-5**, characterized by cabbage and onion as main crops, with one or more secondary vegetable species (tomato, carrot, chili, garlic, etc.),
• **SC-6,** characterized by potatoes and carrots as primary cultures, with one or more secondary species vegetables (tomato, cabbage, peppers, onions, garlic, etc.).

Family-Farming Production Systems

Production systems consist of the set of strategies put into practice by farmers to develop their farming systems. According to the previously cited Territorial Agrarian System Diagnosis, four distinct production systems were identified and then characterized by several distinguishing factors such as agricultural potentiality, actual agricultural practices, marketing strategies, operating logic, etc.
It must be pointed out that, as in most African contexts, land access by family farmers is not limited to a single continuous parcel but broken into small plots often found in different agro-ecological zones (hence the difference between *onakas*, *ombandas*, *osendas*, etc. as was shown in a previous diagram). The different land uses are then influenced by the dry and wet seasons, the need to let land fallow, the type of crop that is being cultivated, etc.

The table below summarizes the following analysis, which took into consideration the combination of the various factors of production and cropping systems, and in-turn provides a characterization of the types of producers found in the plateau:

TIPOLOGY	*AGRICULTURAL POTENTIAL*
SP-1 **Small Subsistence Family Farms**	**Total area:** 0 - 2 ha **Labor:** 5 family member laborers **Crops:** Staple (subsistence) crops (corn, beans & cassava)
SP-2 **Small & Stable Family Farms**	**Total area:** 2 – 5 ha **Labor:** 3 - 5 family member laborers **Crops:** Staple (subsistence) crops (corn, beans, cassava & yams) **Diverse irrigated crops:** <0.5 ha
SP-3 **Medium Family Farms with Employees**	**Total area:** 5 – 15 ha **Labor:** 3 – 5 family member laborers 5 permanent employees **Crops:** Staple (subsistence) crops (corn, beans, cassava & yams) **Diverse irrigated crops:** <1 ha **Animal traction:** <5 heads
SP-4 **Commercial Family Farms**	**Total area:** > 100 ha **Labor:** 3 – 5 family member laborers 10 permanent employees **Crops:** Traditional staple crops (corn, beans, cassava & yams) **Diverse irrigated crops:** <3 ha **Associations with livestock**

Source: Territorial Agrarian System Diagnosis, 2012.

- **SP-1: Small Subsistence Family Farms**

This first and most basic production system is the most representative of the agriculture found in the area (and probably in most of the country), reaching roughly 90% of the households

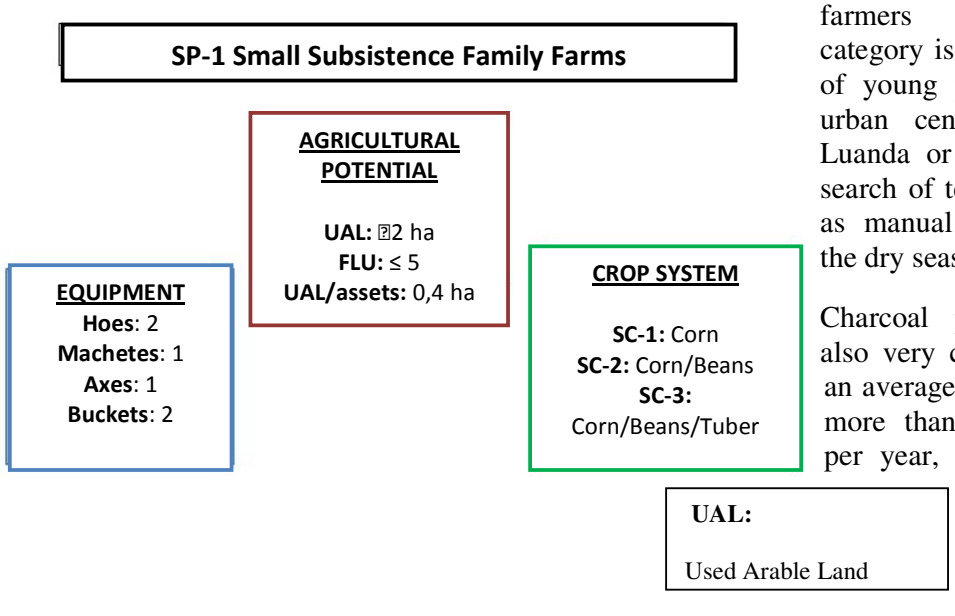
and properties diagnosed. It is characterized by containing the most vulnerable stakeholders of society (widows, single women, elderly, disabled, young marriages, etc.).

The parcels of this production system are characterized by containing a total area of two or less hectares, but only half this area is generally put to agricultural use. These plots are located in different agro-ecological zones, with only a few of them having access to the fertile onakas and the hilly *ombandas*.

The cultivated crops by these farmers are the SC-1 (Corn), SC-2 (Corn/Bean), SC-3 (Corn/Bean/tubers), where the base of the household diet is mainly maize. These cropping systems hardly use any manure or fertilizers, and only the crop residues from corn and beans that remain in the soil actually degrade and contribute to fertility restitution.

Being a subsistence system, there is hardly any profit to the farmers, because it mainly feeds the household. However, due to unforeseen or unfavorable weather conditions (sporadic droughts or flooding), sometimes farmers obtain yields that are insufficient even for their own food security. In recent years, apparently due to climate change, unfavorable rainfall resulted in more than 60% losses in average productivity for these family farmers.[72]

Labor in the family farming sector is mostly family labor, with 13-15 man/days/ha, and a calendar of activities that lasts 6-8 months, which ultimately benefits farmers with some free time, allowing for other non-agricultural activities that contribute to the general household income. For some farmers this allows for additional side-work on other plots in exchange for money or commodities (corn flour, rice, salt, oil, soap). In fact, the farmers of this production system usually do provide external services to other properties to increase earnings, which are typically 400 Kwanza/day (around USD 4 a day). This, however, ends up creating a vicious circle of poverty: selling their labor when it is most needed for agriculture market, results in a labor short-fall on their own plots, which in-turn reduces their productivity leaving them in critical situations. Sometimes these farmers end up having to also perform work in exchange for basic food and seeds to secure future cultivation. Another phenomenon that pervades the farmers under this category is the migration of young people to the urban centers (Mainly, Luanda or Benguela) in search of temporary jobs as manual labor during the dry season.



Charcoal production is also very common, with an average production of more than twenty bags per year, being sold at 600 Kwanzas each bag. Though not a very lucrative practice, it is widely practiced and progressively substituting agriculture (due

[72] MINAGRI 2013.

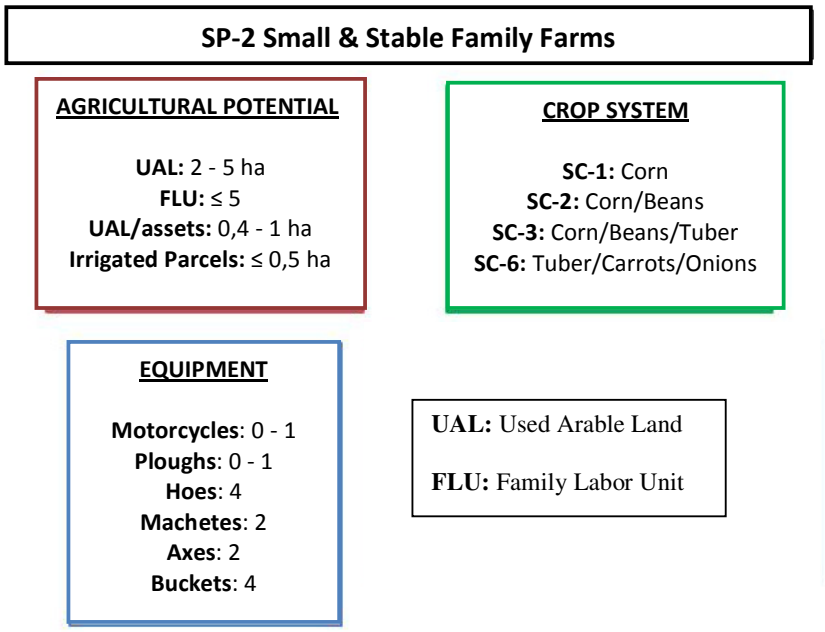
to lesser risks for not being a perishable item) and having a devastating effect on the forests and the environment because of the unsustainable methods used to cut down trees.

Finally, in these production systems women have a very important role in all activities while participating in more activities that require less physical effort, yet, paradoxically, these activities are those that require more labor, such as taking care of the seeder and the crop harvest. Typically, male associated activities require more physical effort, such as tillage and the construction of irrigation canals. Children on the other hand, participate in animal care and weed control activities.

- **SP-2: Small & Stable Family Farms**

These small and diversified family farms differ little from the previous system. Aside from being a minority, they are classified as stable due to their autonomy in securing seeds and labor, giving them higher productivity and better overall performance, securing food for the household throughout year.

Farmers who belong to this type of production system are often family farmers that previously belonged to the SP-1 system. However, they managed to stabilize their situation either through the diversification of their crops and agricultural practices, or through the multiple activities of the members of the household.[73]



In this production system, properties have at least one oxen that serves as animal traction and farmers who do not own one have, in most cases, the financial means to access one (service that comes with two young men that do the plowing).

As regards the crops cultivated, this system differs from the SP-1 only for the presence of a small horticultural system that can be irrigated with the use of buckets directly for their *otchumbo* or *onaka* parcels. Producers who have their plots situated on the slopes of the *ombandas* practice gravitational irrigation through channels that are built by the farmers themselves in association with neighboring parcels.[74]

[73] It is worth noting that since household expenditures and savings are so difficult to determine, the passage from one production system to the next (or back to a previous system) could easily be a result of a change in expenditure patterns within the household, also affected by the introduction of new members to a household for instance.
[74] The solidarity among farmers is another characteristic of this production system.

These few irrigated horticultural parcels make up a large part of the income of these farmers. The rest of their production (potatoes, cabbage, carrots and onions) are sold shortly after harvest to intermediate buyers who come directly to the parcels[75] and dictate the selling price. Thus they secure the purchase of staple household products (oil, soap, salt and rice), as well as better quality seeds and one or two bags of fertilizer.

Another example of the stability of the SP-2 production system is the financial surplus that farmers have to save after the sale of the harvest, allowing them to acquire a motorcycle or invest in the purchase of a plow, or oxen for traction. Some farmers prefer to have only one ox with which they can share (usually with a neighbor) the costs to soil preparation and tillage.

The management of the cropping systems is based on the use of family labor, which has at least five active family members on average and a labor demand of 30-37 man/days/ha for eight months on average, once again allowing the possibility of pluri-activity of men and women, including serving as labor in larger properties.

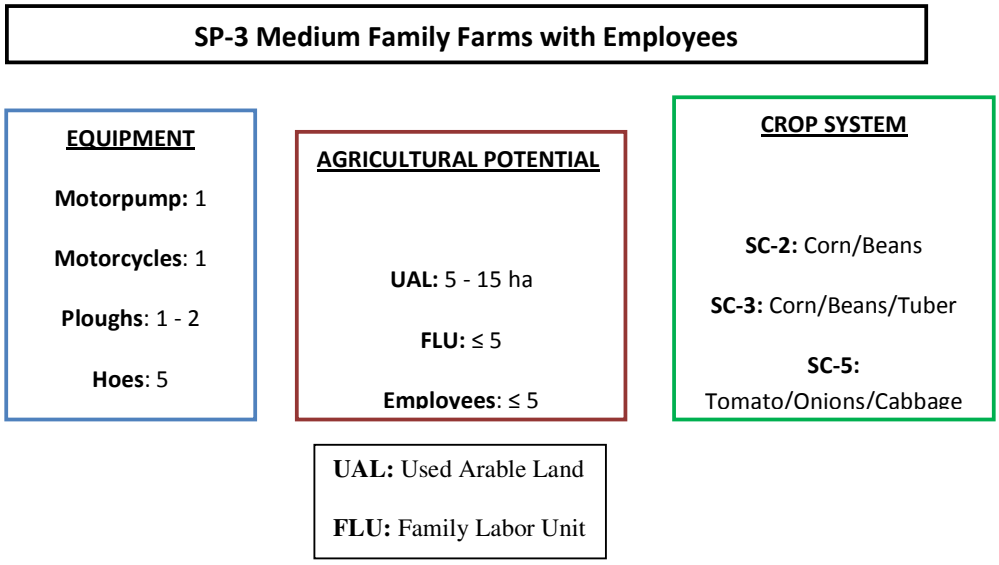
The presence of some chickens and goats enables farmers to obtain organic fertilizer that is retrieved from the small enclosures (when they are actually kept within enclosures) where the animals are. These droppings are used to increase the fertility of the soil in agricultural plots besides the practice of crop rotation. However, this production system is also affected by climate change, affecting especially corn and bean production, which are the staple food, thus forcing farmers to have to invest in the purchase of some basic foods to ensure food security for the family.

- **SP-3: Medium Family Farms with Employees**

This production system is made up by producers, who have certain notoriety in the villages where they live, or they may belong to important families or are farmers who are not natives of the area but who came to settle in the region with enough initial capital. These farmers have access to all agro-ecological zones, besides having the privilege to acquire new plots of land, usually located on the *ombandas*. The total area of their land parcels is between 5-15 hectares, but most of them do not utilize all that land, instead only a maximum of five hectares of rain-fed agriculture and around one hectare through an irrigated system.

Land use is all carried out with family labor and some permanent employees (a maximum of five permanent ones, though in high season up to fifteen non-family employees may be hired for weeding, planting or harvesting) who are hired by the land manager (usually the head of household). This production system demands around 65 man/days/ha. and often relies on the use of organic and mineral fertilizers that can increase productivity by up to 30%.

[75] Bringing the production to the local markets is one of the main obstacles to all farmers due to poor roads (especially during the rainy season) and transportation costs.



Regarding the cropping systems, in addition to the classical systems (SC-2 and SC-3), these farmers also put into practice irrigated horticultural cropping systems (SC-5 and SC-6), which allow them to increase their productivity, thus increasing their income and keeping them financially stable. Due to the presence of simple animal breeding on these properties, they are able to incorporate animal manure to increase soil fertility, in addition to being able to till the land with their own plow. The number of oxen owned by the farmer is never more than three, but the Diagnosis found some initial attempts to breed with the introduction of a few cows into the system.

Socially, these farmers are in direct contact with the community because they often hire people for agricultural labor. They are also part of cooperatives and producers' associations in the region. Another very common practice among this group is the tendency to associate with commercial ends (renting a truck together to transport production to Luanda or Benguela for example), allowing for better profits from their production.

Regarding women's situation, although this system allows them to participate actively in farming activities, and for fewer hours than the previous systems because of the presence of hired employees (permanent or seasonal), which in turn allow the women to care for domestic housework and the children. Children usually attend school and often complete primary education, though there were a few cases in which some attended even higher education.

This group's social mobility is notable even if largely due to their assets and capital (such as cars, motorcycles and in some cases they owned residences located in the nearby communes), all of which facilitates access to land and other natural resources. These farmers can afford to have their families to live outside the village, thus having access to better living conditions. This also means that the head of household may be on the land only a few days a week to manage the hired labor and other businesses. It was quite normal that during school holidays, the family will relocate to the village to help with the agricultural activities, resulting in an increase in the number of workers on their land.

- **SP-4: Commercial Family Farms**

Farmers who belong to this type of production system more likely ascended from the SP-3 system, through their successful commercial activities and after successive acquisitions of new land, achieving a well-positioned social status. Apart from that, some reported that large unused parcels of land were inherited from their parents, and that they themselves prepared the soil and planted corn and potatoes extensively, thus achieving a rapid rise in economic and social status.

The land holdings in this system are considered by the community to be *fazendas*. They normally have a hired manager in charge to oversee the permanent and temporary employees, however these farms still have family labor in them and function much like farms in the previous systems. The term *fazenda* has a more prestigious connotation than an actual *modus operandi*. These farmers do not have much more formal education than the ones from the previous system, nor do the managers they hire. They also do not have a business plan or access to diversified markets that may secure sales, as typical characteristics of a traditional *fazenda*.

The total land cover for these farms is usually above a hundred hectares, of which only 10-50 hectares are used in rain-fed agriculture and a maximum of 3 hectares in irrigated systems with the use of gravitational canals and/or water pumps. The cropping systems are quite diversified, containing large areas of SC-2 and SC-3 systems, and a large production of irrigated horticulture.

Another feature of this production system is the presence of livestock over vast areas of pasture, which can reach 50 hectares. The large number of animals allow for a fair production of manure, which is then recovered to be introduced in plots with traditional staple crops or horticultural ones. An additional advantage is the wide availability of animal traction for tilling; however, these farmers also hire rented machinery, such as tractors.

SP-4 Commercial Family Farms

AGRICULTURAL POTENTIAL
UAL: ≤ 100 ha
FLU: ≤ 5
Employees: ≥ 20
UAL/assets: ±4 ha
Irrigated Parcels: ≤ 3 ha

CROP SYSTEM
SC-2: Corn/Beans
SC-3: Corn/Beans/Tuber
SC-4: Corn/Potato/Cabbage
SC-6: Tuber/Carrots/Onions

EQUIPMENT
Motorpump: ≥ 1
Motorcycles: 1
Ploughs: ≥ 3
Hoes: 10
Machetes: 5
Axes: 5
Buckets: 10

UAL: Used Arable Land
FLU: Family Labor Unit

This production system is very labor intensive, needing around 90 men/days/ha, and despite having many permanent employees, farm managers have to resort to temporary employees during certain periods of the year.

Following a similar pattern as the SP-3 system, the families of these large landholders live in municipalities near the villages, where they have access to better living conditions and their children attend school for much longer. These farmers undertake the marketing of products and are concerned with the supply of inputs, while the technical management of the farm is

held by the hired manager.[76] Only during certain periods does the family help with the agricultural labor according to the time of the year (weeding or harvesting). A small part of the production of corn and beans is allocated to feeding the household and to pay in kind some of the permanent staff, while the vast majority of products are intended for sale in the major markets of Benguela and Luanda.

While marketing strategies are diverse, the associative and cooperative practices are very common in this type of system. Some of the entrepreneurs surveyed are members of regional cooperatives, allowing them to have access to better marketing opportunities and technical training by organizations working in the area.

The high economic quality of the SP-4 system is justified by its ability to cover a large area of diversified crops and for using more animal traction to till the land. In environmental terms, a differentiating factor of SP-4 against the other three is how cultures are irrigated, because the gravitational method does not consume fuel as do the motor pumps. It should be added that agriculture diversification ensures security against various risks such as weather impacts, market price fluctuation, pests, etc.

Environmental and Social Considerations

The analysis of environmental factors has been a very important factor in order to define the sustainability of the production systems as they relate to the availability of natural resources and their preservation or sustainable use. The comparison between the different production systems shows that the smaller, less diversified systems do not use fossil fuels and utilize less chemical fertilizers and pesticides. However, the great majority of the SP-1 systems tend to burn fields during the dry season to avoid weeding (and the intensive labor needed for weeding) and prevent animals from coming close to nearby plots. This SP-1 group also produces the most charcoal, which is usually connected with unsustainable forest management practices. Only in a few cases from the SP-2 and SP-4 systems were there proactive attempts by family farmers to carry out strategies for the sustainable management of natural resources; normally there is no plan at all.
In the social dimension, farmer in the SP-3 and SP-4 systems are the ones that fair best. They are key actors that play an important role within the community for generating employment (seasonal or temporary) and some income for other families. They also formed part of most associations and cooperatives of farmers and tended to value female labor in general.

Another aspect to be taken into account is the motivation belonging to those of SP-3 and SP-4 to be involved in associations. These farmers sell their production commercially in the bigger urban centers, and transport their production in trucks that are personally owned or rented. Yet they also support some of the smaller farmers by providing transportation services at reasonable prices. Thus by helping these smaller farmers develop their capacities, the larger farmers are able to build social capital.

Finally, it is noteworthy that the analysis of production systems highlights the factors that differentiate between the family farmers found, which in turn underscores the different

[76] This manager is often an experienced farmer from the nearby community with no technical expertise in agronomy.

elements that make up these systems and strategies put into practice by each farmer. Yet, it is clear that each system has its differences and peculiarities and that these could drastically change from one ecosystem to another.

A Participatory and Negotiated Approach to Land and Natural Resources Management

FAO's work supporting family farmers and territorial development in Angola builds upon a long history of strengthening security of land tenure, customary land rights, and sustainable use and management of natural resources.[77] This approach is considered part of a right-based framework that responds to the need to adapt methodologies, instruments, and activities to the new challenges posed by globalization and climate change in the twenty-first century.[78] Increasingly this kind of territorial approach, which directly engages community stakeholders, is being recognized by both governments and international agencies as an effective method for addressing issues of land insecurity, inequitable distribution of land and social conflict. Specifically the term territory refers to:

- A geographical space or arena where individuals/groups/communities live and organize themselves socially, and where different actors claim different types of rights (may be viewed from legal, economic, environmental, social and cultural dimensions/contexts).;

- An arena for dialogue and negotiation which hosts continuous interactions among and between actors and their physical environment aimed at promoting men and women equitable access to land with a gender perspective.

It is important to recall that territories cannot be considered closed systems that will eventually "develop" on their own. Due to the effects of the globalized economy, communities, cities, regions, provinces and countries are all interconnected and affected each other by different internal and external factors. Territory is therefore a concept hereby used as a social construction, made up by actors themselves according to the history of the area, its resources, and their relationship with that history and with those resources.

In promoting this kind of systems-approach to rural development, FAO has developed a methodology called Participatory and Negotiated Territorial Development (PNTD).[79] PNTD is a bottom-up and community-based strategy for supporting inclusive stakeholder participation, open dialogue, and fair negotiation in development and food security efforts. By identifying and engaging stakeholders (communities, private sector, government, and CSOs) at the local level, PNTD attempts to build social cohesion and trust among the relevant actors and find consensus on mutually acceptable development activities. This approach responds to the failures of past top-down, large-scale, and centralized development projects, which typically did not engage local actors (particularly marginalized stakeholders) and their interests, and in-turn have often proved unsustainable over time.[80] Given the dynamic nature of territories, it should be recalled that when applying the PNTD approach, administrative

[77] To explore some programs based on territoriality, see: FAO 2009. *Dialogue, Consensus and Vision – PNTD-more than a methodology*, and FAO 2012. *A territorial development vision oriented to indigenous peoples: a possible path.*
[78] FAO 2013. *Draft paper. Territorial Facilitation: A One-Week Training Course*.
[79] FAO 2005. *An approach to rural development: Participatory and Negotiated Territorial Development.*
[80] Chambers, R. 1983. *Rural Development: Putting the Last First*. London, UK, Prentice-Hall.

boundaries should not necessarily establish the boundaries of a given territory. Although it may be simpler operationally, it is important to consider all relations (commercial, cultural, political) when working on land issues in the territory or area in question. PNTD also requires an analytical approach for determining the type of the needed strategies according to the particularities and distinctiveness of a given territory. Consequently, PNTD is a field-orientated methodology that has been tested in many countries and adapted to a variety of different contexts and issues.
Its Core Principles are:

- Stakeholder-based: recognizes the heterogeneity and equality of stakeholder interests and visions of the territory.

- Territorial: based on territories as spatial units of analysis, shaped by the social, political, economic, cultural and historical relations existing between stakeholders and their territory.

- Dynamic: recognizes the complexity of a changing environment in order to support positive patterns of change, and help to mitigate negative patterns.

- Systemic: takes into account the complexity of a territory and the interdependencies within and between territories.

- Multi-sectorial: integrates environmental, social, economic, political, and cultural dimensions of the stakeholders' visions of their territory.

- Multi-level: promotes integration at different territorial levels and scales in the system of governance.

- Participatory and negotiated: seeks to promote equitable representation by increasing the bargaining power of marginalized actors to strengthen fair dialogue, mutual trust, and consensus building.

- Modest: recognizes the usefulness of different disciplines, tools, and methods; selects priority areas for intervention; identifies modest territorial projects.

FAO's role in PNTD is of a neutral facilitator, an external manager without any direct interests. Facilitating here means moderating the dialogue and being able to clearly understand the set of interests (conflicting or not), the needs and difficulties of all actors in the negotiation arena. The facilitator is a figure that is usually in the middle, between a social demand and an institutional response (of possible solutions), with the skills to bring them together, finding common ground and optimizing the seemingly antagonizing interests.
This role may not be left to one person but to a multidisciplinary team, that should be able to (i) support the diffusion of information in a way that rights and duties are explained and that a learning environment is established; (ii) have the interpretative skills that include cultural codes and verbal/non-verbal communication in the dialogue process, and; (iii) support the management of the proposed initiatives in a participatory manner, supporting the formulation process as well as the monitoring and evaluation processes.

Functions and competencies of a territorial facilitation team[81]

[81] FAO 2007. *A Facilitação Territorial, para o Desenvolvimento Territorial Participativo e Negociado*.

Functions	Competencies
Support in the diffusion of information	Natural resources and agrarian systems
Support dialogue and mediation	Dialogue and mediation
Support participative management for different initiatives (projects or programs)	Participative management of initiatives

This platform of dialogue is not only intended to address the local management of natural resources but may be applied at regional or national levels. In fact, those successful experiences at the grassroots should feed a national table of negotiations with tangible experiences and realistic issues lived in the rural areas.

Finally, as inclusive as this methodology seeks to be, the issue of representation of all actors cannot be left unturned. As will be further explained later on, there is not usually just one cooperative or just one women's association in a particular territory but several, making it difficult to summon everyone to a round table of 50 people. In that sense, it is imperative to go through a process of selection that is not biased and that involves individuals that compose each of these groups of actors.

Based upon this role of FAO and the Principles mentioned above, PNTD uses the following strategies for sustainable territorial development:

PNTD strategies for sustainable territorial development:

- Formulate rural development projects and support ongoing field activities.
- Empower disadvantaged actors and their organizations to incorporate their needs and concerns.
- Support bottom-up decision-making processes and strategy formulation.
- Promote local development initiatives in the context of national regulations and international norms, with special attention to human rights and the conservation of the environment.
- Foster inter-agency collaboration and partnerships with governments, NGOs and civil society.
- Discuss international strategies for rural development.

Source: FAO 2012. A territorial development vision oriented to indigenous peoples: a possible path.

Participation and Negotiation

Despite being found in all developmental rhetoric for the past 30 years, efforts to include the participation of stakeholders (once only beneficiaries) have been the central concern in most projects and programs. Participation must here be understood as a fundamental element of the decision-making process. In that context, an active participation for these kinds of approaches is essential and needs a background of decentralization efforts and/or some work done on the recognition of the rights of people to land and natural resources, as well as a civil society that maintains the discourse and creates the conditions for it to play out. According to the World Bank, participation is a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources that affect them.[82] In that sense, decentralization of power allows for a greater voice and choice of individual constituents to influence decisions which affect their lives, and local governments to respond dynamically to constituency concerns.

It is worth mentioning that in Angola, as in many African contexts, it is mostly women, rural peasants, indigenous populations or minorities that are often excluded from these processes even when invited to participate. Some of them may not speak the local or the official language, and even if they do, they are not usually encouraged to speak up, often due to other cultural barriers. As actors unaccustomed to reclaiming rights, they have a difficult time expressing their own interests, thus hindering any initiative from a rights-based approach. To address this issue, time and resources must be allocated to capacity development so that these actors may have a fair opportunity represent their interests.

It is at the implementation level that the question of representation of actors for fair participation emerges. Only when all the involved stakeholders have a space to represent their positions and interests (i.e. real participating management debates and decision-making processes) stakeholders are able to openly choose a person with the qualities of a spokesperson who will negotiate in favor of the group's interests at the negotiation table. This step also demands a facilitator that can act as a catalyst of this early stage because often enough, interest groups have not been encouraged or demonstrated the benefits of acting as a group as opposed to just individually.

Negotiation is a method by which people settle differences as a process by which compromise or agreement is reached.[83] Starting from the premise that every person negotiates constantly during their day[84], which means it is a central part of people's daily activities cross-culturally, negotiation comes in as a necessary activity in the management of natural resources as well. Those same actors negotiate constantly and usually bilaterally with local administrations or with landowners to attain their interests. Naturally, actors with better negotiating skills and access to information or economic means will tend to continue to get the better part of those natural resources (including easy access to roads, water points, most fertile lands, etc.).

All actors negotiate continuously, even passive ones that do not reclaim their rights are taking a stand. Yet, given that people tend to pursue the best possible outcome for their position at any cost (economical, environmental, etc.) it is here where the facilitation team of the territorial approach intervenes seeking mutual benefits and maintaining (or mending) existing relationships.

[82] See World Bank Policies on Participation and Civil Engagement 2013 (available at http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/EXTPCENG/0,,menuPK:410312~pagePK:149018~piPK:149093~theSitePK:410306,00.html).
[83] Ponti, Fanc. 2009. *Los Caminos de la Negociación.* Buenos Aires, Granica Editions- EADA Gestión.
[84] FAO, 2006. *Information and communication for natural resource management in agriculture, a training source book.*

Thus, the territorial approach has participation and negotiation as two of its main components, permitting stakeholders to defend their own interests in such a way as to try to reach consensual agreements and trust-building through the concrete implementation of proposed actions that emerged from the discussions. Furthermore, strengthening stakeholders' capacities for negotiation, recognizing themselves in an empowering way so that they may claim a stake in what is being negotiated, in this case their natural resources and heritage, are all collateral benefits to the approach.

Comparing PNTD to Sector-orientated Approaches

The stakeholder-based approach promoted by PNTD has both advantages and challenges compared with more sector-orientated approaches. Sector-orientated approaches are often more straight-forward, as their development and implementation frequently requires only the analysis and expertise of a limited number of experts or development professionals to prescribe objectives and activities. However, this sector approach has several drawbacks[85]:

1) Higher risk that local beneficiaries of development activities view the project as an outside intervention that does not effectively address their needs, therefore failing to gain the trust and support of local actors to make the project sustainable over the long-term.
2) Failure to effectively engage local stakeholders results in the failure to address the root causes of food insecurity and poverty.
3) Increased probability that top-down sectorial approaches are reliant on non-local expertise, resources, and/or intervention that proves unsustainable over the long-term.

With a field-orientated perspective on these drawbacks, developed over decades of supporting rural communities and family farmers, FAO's territorial development work has sought to take a more holistic approach, while continuing to be people-centered. Some core elements of the PNTD approach include:[86]

- **Addressing power asymmetries**: A central component of the PNTD dialogue process is overcoming historical power asymmetries among actors in order to allow fair negotiation to take place. In attempting to create neutral forums in-which stakeholders can debate and negotiate through open dialogue, PNTD can effectively deescalate social tensions and conflict on issues tangentially related to natural resource management and use.

- **Multi-sectoral with multiple potential benefits**: By engaging stakeholders and experts from different fields of expertise, the PNTD approach offers the potential to address multiple land and food related problems at once.

- **Ownership by actors and long-term sustainability**: As the PNTD approach focuses on engaging local actors and empowering them to formulate and implement development projects, the stakeholders gain a stronger sense of ownership over the development process and project result. This sense of ownership is critical for the long-term sustainability of a project.

[85] FAO 2013. *Territorial Facilitation: A One Week Training Course*.
[86] Ibid.

The PNTD approach is not without its own challenges, some of which include:[87]

Firstly, PNTD is time-intensive. Promoting fair dialogue and negotiation, addressing power asymmetries, and overcoming historical conflicts in attempting to achieve peaceful resolutions takes time and resources. There are no simple solutions in complex territorial environments, particularly when dealing with protracted conflict.

Secondly, PNTD is *process*-oriented, rather than results-oriented:
As development projects are based on the territorial vision of local actors and the negotiation process among stakeholders, PNTD is a process-oriented methodology rather than specifically results-driven. Although PNTD maintains overarching goals of supporting environmental integrity, social equity, and economic sustainability, PNTD cannot dictate precise natural resource management and use strategies to achieve these goals without the participation of stakeholders.

Thirdly, PNTD places great emphasis on empowering marginalized actors (particularly women). Supporting marginalized and under-represented stakeholders who may not have the capacity to promote their own interests is a critical component of the rights-based PNTD approach. However, capacity development is a challenging, long-term process. Overcoming ingrained and, at times, institutionalized discrimination requires both a solid historical analysis and the involvement of more powerful actors who do not aspire to share power. Thus, capacity building requires both time and resources to effectively promote marginalized actors.

It should be stressed that PNTD is process-orientated, rather than results–driven. PNTD is a long-term approach to improving sustainability and reducing conflict in dynamic and complex territories, and there is never a single solution to accomplishing these goals. Many of the PNTD steps toward sustainability and reducing conflict over land and natural resources, such as building trust and capacity-development for stakeholders, can be accomplished without creating a final 'product' or single resolution out of the PNTD dialogue process.[88] For example, PNTD can support the gradual strengthening of local institutions, which plays an important role in promoting security and sustainability, but is not realistically achievable in the short-term.[89] Thus, certain issues related to land and natural resource rights, management and use may only be achieved through equitable partnership and dialogue over extended periods.

In situations where stakeholder-based territorial dialogue and negotiation are successful, the output of the PNTD process is a Social Territorial Agreement (STA). The STA is a socially legitimized outcome of the dialogue and negotiation process that provides the foundation for future action and dialogue among the stakeholders. The STA does not necessarily determine specific natural resource use and management initiatives. More importantly the immediate objective of developing the STA is increasing social cohesion, strengthening the long-term bargaining power of marginalized actors, and clarifying the roles and responsibilities of local actors, organizations, and institutions. Furthermore, the STA is used to determine the values, strategies and approaches for improving social, economic, and environmental sustainability of future work in the territory.

[87] Ibid.
[88] FAO 2013. *Territorial Development and Local Knowledge Systems*.
[89] Ibid.

Linking PNTD in Angola with FAO's Strategic Objectives[90]

As FAO formulates its new strategic framework, the PNTD territorial approach and FAO's work supporting family farmers in Angola aligns clearly with Strategic Objective 3: Reduce Rural Poverty:

a) the enabling environment is created or improved so that the rural poor have voice and equitable access to resources, services, institutions and policy processes to move out of poverty.
b) the enabling environment in member countries is created or improved to increase access by the rural poor to decent farm and non-farm employment; and
c) the enabling environment is created or improved for effective social protection to enhance food security and nutrition, and sustainable management of natural resources for the rural poor.

In addition to supporting FAO Strategic Objective 3, the territorial development approach also promotes the framework of the Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure for Land, Fisheries and Forest in the Context of Food Security (VGGTs).[91] The VGGTs recognize the importance of equity and justice for achieving secure tenure and access rights.[92] Most significantly, the VGGTs seek to promote the improvement and development of the policy and legal frameworks regulating the range of tenure rights that exist over land, fishery, and forestry resources. Therefore, the territorial approach can be considered as a solid support of the VGGTs framework by addressing natural resource conflicts, stakeholder asymmetries of power, and justice and equity in the land context.

Pilot Experiences in the Highland Plateau

Utilizing the territorial development approach mentioned above, the current FAO Land Project continues its support at provincial and municipal levels in land and natural resource management. As was mentioned before, the GCP/ANG/045/SPA land project (financed by Spanish cooperation) is currently being implemented and focuses on institutional support for the improvement of land and natural resources management in the central highland provinces of Huambo and Bié in Angola.

Bie was a new province for the FAO action in land issues. The FAO Land project and its civil society partners have opened a new frontier in experiences on access to land by implementing a participatory process for land delimitations, previously tested in other provinces. Because of this, it was decided that FAO would focus on securing access to land in Bie as to train civil society and Government partners in these issues and create a minimum critical mass for further institutional development, and secure land access.

[90] Ibid.
[91] FAO 2012. *Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure for Land, Fisheries and Forest in the Context of Food Security.*
[92] Ibid.

In Huambo province much work had already been done in terms of community land delimitations and lobbying actions have finally made some advancement[93] compared to the previous land delimitations processes carried out in the EU-funded land project.
Additionally, owing to a higher level of awareness about peoples' right to land and right to participate in local development, a provincial level rights-based approach was implemented for the first time in Huambo, allowing all actors in the selected territories to actively participate and contribute to the land-use planning process.

A Territorial Approach for Land-use Planning

In practice, the PNTD methodology in Angola brings together actors[94] around a table to deal with issues in a participatory manner, using dialogue as a way to reach consensus and negotiation techniques as a way to claim or reclaim rights and group interests. By using common human dynamics that are transversal in many cultures (namely *communication*, *dialogue* and *conciliation*), the territorial approach was adapted in an iterative way to local realities allowing for a rights-based approach to land access issues, that stands on the need to communicate and negotiate for different groups' interests. Furthermore, this methodology was oriented to include gender issues in its implementation, especially due to the abundance of evidence on the crucial role of women as a fundamental asset to livelihoods in the economic, social and cultural dimensions.[95]

The first step was to conduct a diagnosis of the territorial dynamics and the identification of all actors. The objective here was not to have absolute values as to what the production capacities were or what the soil composition was, but to have a clear understanding of the interactions that took place in the area, including the actual use of resources, the agrarian systems put to use and more importantly, the interactions between all of these components. Then, together with the local administration, identify and agree to what the local priorities are (if any) and what financial resources may be channeled through the table of dialogue for concrete and tangible actions.

Once all actors were brought together at the table, the 'rules of the game' were established and a presentation of the territorial diagnosis was offered for all to agree on. This was a crucial point because it established the base-line, as far as information is concerned, from which proposals and negotiations could be based on. The importance of this lies on the fact that not all actors have the same economic resources or access to the same information. In other words, the differences of power become evident and the stronger actors will definitely continue to otherwise dominate the discussions. Though it would not mitigate this issue completely, starting from the same baseline and with the assistance of an external facilitation, it certainly contributed to lessen those differences.

A Work in Progress

[93] Five out of 30 communities delimited in Huambo, were less than 1 000 hectares, which means the titles may be processed until their emission at provincial level. After much advocacy, by December 2013 those five communities are nearly ready to finally being legalized.
[94] An actor is hereby defined as any individual, social group or institution that possesses a stake (or interest) in the development of a territory.
[95] FAO-IGETI. 2012.

The PNTD applied in the selected municipalities of Huambo province in Angola, was tested for the first time for the management of natural resources and land-use planning. So far, interest from stakeholders as part of the decision-making process has resulted in increased trust on authorities and an improved self-perception of citizenship.

The approach perfectly fits with two laws: the Law of Territorial Planning and Urbanism (Lei de Ordenamento do Território e do Urbanismo Nº 3/04) and the Land Law (Lei de Terras Nº 9/04). The former in particular, fosters participation at all levels of the planning stages. Article 21, titled *Participation* states:

> *The processes of elaboration, execution and revision of land use and territorial planning must contain mechanisms that contribute to the strengthening of the civic duty and conscience of all citizens[…] and its contribution to the improvement of the quality of life in urban and rural areas, in order to exercise* ***the right to be informed*** *and* ***the right to participate****.*

It is within that framework that the project team approached municipal authorities and proposed an alternative way to manage natural resources that goes beyond just gaining the opinions of a few experts but rather incorporating the structured participation of social actors around a table of dialogue and negotiation.

Individual meetings with identified actors (namely: farmer cooperatives, churches, family farmers' associations, traditional authorities, large land-owning producers, rural merchants, NGOs and staff from the local administration) were held and internal sessions took place in order to (i) understand the group's interests and priorities and, (ii) identify two representatives to play as spokespersons when the table of dialogue would start. That immensely rich process demonstrated a positive attitude against a population that often (as was the case in Huambo), had lost trust in governmental development programs and other initiatives from its local or regional authorities.

Actors at the negotiation table for land-use planning in Ekunha municipality, Huambo province, Angola.

Source: FAO/TERRA/045. Photo by F. Carranza, 2012

Once the actors were summoned to the first meeting of the round table, the rules of the table were established through consensus. The step of validating together the territorial diagnosis took more time than expected, mainly because some of the actors felt it was only fair to check some of the information with their own groups, internally. This was a pleasant surprise because it demonstrated not only that an adequate person was chosen for the task, but that some growth took place internally within that pressure group.

Currently, negotiations are being carried out on issues that were prioritized by the group. Some of these include the importance of forest resources to combine with the agricultural products, the elaboration of a local credit program, the need to have a bank available to invigorate the local economy, and the integration of local vendors in the municipalities' expenditures (supply schools and hospitals with their products, etc...).

The final step was to agree and sign a declaration or social pact, on the actions to be taken and decide who will be willing and capable of directly acting on those issues. This is an example of local level management put to practice to achieve very tangible objectives. A parallel objective here is to begin to switch the "receiving" attitude that people have been accustomed to due to the emergency assistance received in over 30 years of war, causing them to continue to expect answers from the local government, to a pro-active attitude of being directly involved in the efforts needed for the development of the area.

Conclusions

Despite several efforts supported by civil society organizations in the post-war era, securing access to land and the sustainable management of natural resources in Angola remains a challenge. Decision-making continues to be centre-driven and scarcely influenced by bottom-up ideas and initiatives. Whereas there are good specialist skills, these tend to be isolated with few opportunities to develop and reach a great numbers of farmers. Notwithstanding the real and urgent need for infrastructure renovation and construction, physical planning efforts and corresponding institutional capacity outreach are by far the most needed efforts to adequately deal with the rural development challenge.

In spite of recent efforts, knowledge about the concrete status of the main land issues (tenure and management) is still insufficient, and its unavailability to stakeholders, including land-use planners, remains a problem. Data exchanges between different public institutions and departments are weak and considered with suspicion and secrecy.

Some agrarian systems diagnoses have been carried out in the latest phase of the Land Program to highlight the importance of the family farming agriculture in the central highlands plateau. Yet, the amount needed for a good understanding of the functioning of these systems is less than desirable for the future development of the sector.

Initial efforts by FAO and other partners to make inventories and assess the land resource base in Angola are expanding the knowledge base that will serve as a foundation for decision-making on future land use. Provincial level decision-makers are starting to have a clearer conviction now that land resources management is considered a priority for the development of the rural world.

Reforming the practices of local governments to support more accountable and participatory land tenure and resource management must be encouraged.
Creating opportunities to transform the direct beneficiaries of land and natural resource planning in active participants of these governance processes ultimately helps Government in achieving its responsibility to serve its citizens in an open and transparent way.

Annexes

- Law of Overseas Fallow Lands. Law 1856
- Law December 4, 1861
- Law May 9, 1901 on Land Concessions in Overseas Provinces
- Decree July 9, 1909
- Decree n. 5, 847-C 23 July 1919 "Regulamento para a Concessão de Terrenos do Estado na Provincia da Angola"
- Decree n. 132, 28 April 1922 "Regime Especial do Contrato de Concessão da Companhia de Cabinda"
- Decree n. 11994, 28 July1926 "Regime de Fomento da Cultura e dos Mercados Algodoeiros"
- Law n. 2001, 16 May 1944 "Limites das Áreas de Concessões de Terreno e tipos de Concessões"
- Decree n. 33727, 22 June 1944 "Regulamento para a Concessão de Terrenos do Estado nas Colonias Continentais de África"
- Decree n. 43894, 6 September 1961 "Regulamento da Ocupação e Concessão de Terrenos nas Províncias Ultramarinas"
- Law n. 6/73, 13 August 1975 "Lei de Terras do Ultramar"
- Constitutional Law, 1992
- Law 21 C-92, 1992
- Decree 32/95 that regulates Law 21 C-92
- Law 09/04, November 2004. Land Law
- Decree 58/07 "Regulamento Geral de Concessão de Terrenos"

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