

Occasional Paper #1
January 1998

Voices of Reconciliation

Angolans Speak on
Peace and Democracy

Focus Groups

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First in a series of Occasional Papers on the National Democratic Institute's program in Angola. NDI's work in Angola is situated at the crossroads of the peace process and the democratic transition. The program seeks to promote accountable, responsible government by establishing a basis for effective participation of both the government and the governed in Angola's new political system.

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Introduction

Angola is emerging from more than thirty years of civil war. The linchpin of the peace process is the construction of democratic institutions and power-sharing arrangements at national, provincial and local levels. Nothing in Angola's history has prepared either the general public or government officials to participate in a democratically based political system.

NDI has conducted the first comprehensive public survey on attitudes and knowledge of basic democratic principles and processes in Angola since the breakdown of the electoral process in 1992. This three-month research project was designed to gauge attitudes of Angolans regarding an understanding of:

- democracy;
- the functions of local government;
- human rights;
- the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation (GURN);
- extension and normalization of state administration; and,
- the broader process of national and community-level reconciliation.

The focus group-style research was also designed to identify people's chief sources of information on these issues.

The information gathered in this survey will provide the basis for a large-scale civic education effort to be conducted at the grassroots level and through radio programming. It will also provide NDI with baseline information that can be used to evaluate civic education program activities.

Methodology

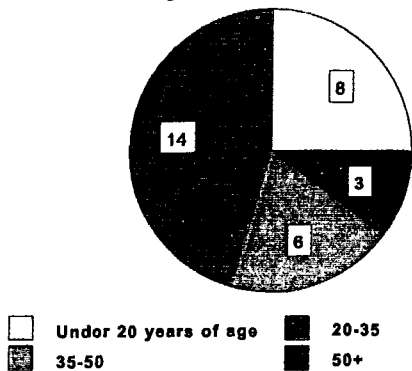
Thirty-one focus groups were conducted, in both government and National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) areas, in the provinces of Huambo, Bie and Uige, and in Luanda. Focus group participants included:

- students (male/female, ages 14-19);
- members of associations, churches, and other community organizations (ages 20-24);
- teachers (male/female, urban/rural);
- demobilized soldiers;
- war-disabled veterans;
- marketplace vendors (women/young men);
- women heads of family (urban/rural);
- adult men of various professions (urban/rural);
- married women;
- farmers;
- internally displaced people; and,
- the elderly.

Focus Groups

and orientation. In Uíge, a two-day training workshop was held to train

Age Groups Surveyed



The project began with broad consultations with Angolan sociologists and survey researchers on sample design and on the development of the discussion guide. Partners were drawn from the Association for Rural and Environmental Development (ADRA), the National Institute of Statistics, and Agostinho Neto University.

From July 2-4, 1997 the first moderator training workshop was conducted by NDI and ADRA in Luanda. Eighteen moderator candidates from Luanda and Huambo underwent two days of training and practical exercises, followed by a day at an internally displaced persons camp for a simulation exercise. Twelve of the 18 people were selected to moderate the focus groups.

Two weeks later, the twelve moderators underwent an additional day of training

additional moderators to work in that province. This was partly in response to the refusal of UNITA officials to permit 'Angolans from Luanda' or any other part of the country to conduct this sort of activity in their areas. (This did not prove to be a problem in Huambo or Bie, primarily because the historically UNITA areas in which focus groups were conducted had all come under government control a few weeks before focus groups started.) In Uíge, the workshop was conducted in collaboration with the bipartisan Provincial Human Rights Commission, an Angolan non-governmental organization which brings together teachers, lawyers and other interested individuals from the city of Uíge (government-controlled) and nearby Negage (UNITA's northern regional capital) to discuss human rights issues.

The Uíge workshop was conducted by NDI on August 1 and 2, 1997. A total of twelve moderator candidates from the Human Rights Commission were trained, six from Uíge and six from Negage. Six were selected (two from Uíge and four from Negage).

The focus groups themselves were conducted from July 7 to August 30, 1997. For exact locations and groups, see Table One on page 3.

TABLE ONE

Focus Group Distribution

A total of 31 Focus groups in four provinces: Luanda, Huambo, Bie and Uige. The average group was composed of eight to ten people.

Occupation	Number of Groups Surveyed
Demobilized	5 (including 3 disabled)
Internally Displaced	2
Market Women	1
Teachers	3
Members of Associations	4
Women Heads of Household	2
Students	6
Farmers	2
Other	6 [youth not in school (3), retired (2), varied employment status (1)]

Focus Groups

Summary of Findings

Attitudes

The prevailing mood among focus group participants was one of uncertainty and instability. When asked how they viewed the situation in the country today, most said they were very apprehensive about a return to all-out war. (The study was carried out at a time of intense fighting between UNITA and the government in the provinces of Lunda Norte and Lunda Sul.)

In general terms, the problems of greatest concern to people were this feeling of being in limbo, neither in war nor peace, followed closely by concerns about socioeconomic issues: employment; food; housing; and, health care.

For most Angolans participating in this survey, the war is far from over. The most important marker signifying the true end of the war is, for most people, free circulation of people and goods. The second most cited signal of the war's end was Savimbi's arrival in Luanda.

National reconciliation is a daunting task, one for which most people feel the government and UNITA bear the lion's share of the responsibility. People believe that the government and UNITA should sponsor organized activities to promote national reconciliation. At community level, *sobas* [traditional authorities], religious leaders and ordinary citizens should take responsibility. Focus group participants confirmed that the most important source of division in their communities was related to the war.

However, this was followed very closely by socioeconomic differences.

Most people were quite well informed about the GURN and extension of state administration. Most understood the GURN as a government that is made up of a number of different parties, though they were not hopeful about the prospects for this government being any different from the last one. A surprising number of people were able to cite specific details about the extension of state administration, when it stopped and why.

Knowledge

Participants had an understanding of some of the basic principles of both democracy and human rights. They were also keenly aware that these principles were systematically violated in Angola. Two fundamental liberties were identified over and over again as being both the most important democratic freedoms and the most difficult to exercise under current conditions:

- freedom of expression; and
- free circulation of people and goods.

Overall, attitudes toward the government, whether in terms of its ability to promote national reconciliation or to meet people's every day needs, are negative among participants of the focus groups. These attitudes should not be read as an expression of hostility toward the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), or the ruling party, in particular, but toward those in positions of authority. The GURN, for example, includes representatives of a number of

Focus Groups

political parties, including UNITA, and it garnered far more criticism than praise.

Despite an overall negative attitude toward government, people were well versed in how local government authorities are supposed to help them resolve the problems they confront in their daily lives. Most, for example, were able to cite specific government departments designed to resolve specific problems. However, people also feel very keenly the government's inability or unwillingness to address their most pressing problems.

While people have an intuitive notion of what government should and should not be doing, there is a much lower level of understanding of the law, particularly the constitutional law which sets out the basic rights and responsibilities of citizens as well as the formal limits on the state. In some areas, notably Uige and to a lesser extent in Luanda, there is also a general perception that the police, the Angolan Armed Forces (FAA), and/or civil defense forces are the principal intermediaries between the people and the government. This perception is probably firmly rooted in local reality. Many people believe that the police themselves make the laws. Again, for all intents and purposes this may be true in some places.

Sources of Information

Radio and word of mouth were the two most important sources of information for people on the topics covered by the focus groups. Interestingly, almost everyone cited radio as the single most important source, but in further discussion it became clear that people meant it was in theory the most

important source, but many people did not have either radios or batteries so their information came primarily from conversations in the street, in the marketplace or with neighbors. This reinforces the need for civic education programming that uses both radio broadcasts and a grassroots trainer network.

People were most interested in news programs, and the type of information they most wanted to hear related to the peace process and to community level issues.

Findings

The findings of the focus group research are presented in three sections:

- Attitudes;
- Knowledge; and,
- Information Sources.

Attitudes – The End of the War, National Reconciliation, GURN, Extension of State Administration

What Will Have to Happen for You to Believe the War is Over?

Focus Groups

*"A radio diz que a guerra acabou mas nós não concordamos...."*¹

"The radio says the war is over but we don't agree...."

*"A radio agita a guerra mas quando a radio e os jornais disserem que a guerra acabou, entao vamos acreditar."*²

"The radio agitates for war -- but when the radio and the newspapers say that the war is over, then we will believe it."

The war is by no means over, according to the majority of people who participated in this research. *The overwhelming majority of people said that, for them, the war would be truly over only when there was free circulation of people and goods.* This is one of the key provisions of the Lusaka Protocol, and usually those who cited this used the 'official' wording – "free circulation of people and goods." Other Lusaka Protocol provisions mentioned were demobilization and reintegration of UNITA soldiers and unification of the army.

In the Lusaka Protocol, the "free circulation of people and goods" refers to unimpaired movement between government and UNITA zones. However, this does not necessarily mean that people are preoccupied with the implementation of one specific piece of the Lusaka Protocol. In fact, the focus group results caution against a strictly political interpretation of this phrase. For focus group participants,

free circulation has two important nonpolitical implications:

- goods continue to be artificially expensive, whether they are imported or produced within Luanda, as long as free circulation is impaired; and
- free circulation also means not being hassled by the police as people go about their daily lives.

For example, free circulation was cited more frequently in focus groups in Luanda than in the provinces. This is surprising, since people in Luanda do not have the daily experience of having to cross between government and UNITA zones to see relatives or buy goods not available in their area. The following comment, for example, is from a focus group with internally displaced people in Luanda. *"People are not living freely, there is not free circulation from one place to another....I myself was intercepted by the police and had to give them 2 million kwanzas and I began to think that democracy is false in our country."*³

The second most frequently cited indication that the war was really over was the arrival of Savimbi in Luanda. This answer came up most often in Huambo and Bie.

Finally, in Luanda, there was a good deal of emphasis on the behavior of the police. One student said that the end of the war would mean, *"that the police stop mistreating the people."*⁴ The police will be discussed in more detail below.

¹ Mutilados de guerra, 20-30, M, Kilombo, Huambo.

² Youth, M, 17-25, Camussamba, Huambo

³ Deslocados, M, 35-47, Luanda.

⁴ Students, F, 15-19, Cazenga.

Focus Groups

Reconciliation

For most people, the greatest obstacle to reconciliation is division caused by the war, principally the fact that people were aligned or were perceived to be aligned with either one side or the other.

The United Nations was also cited as one of the principal entities responsible for reconciliation in Angola. Only one person argued that the people themselves had to provide the momentum and the example for their leaders. *"The people should send to their leaders the message of peace and national reconciliation."*⁵

The overwhelming majority of people said that, for them, the war would be truly over only when there was free circulation of people and goods.

Reconciliation was understood as "forgetting about war," "the end of mistrust," "learning how to live together," "forgetting the past and pardoning our neighbors," "joining hands and singing with one voice," "recognizing that no one has been 'defeated' at the level of the family or the community."

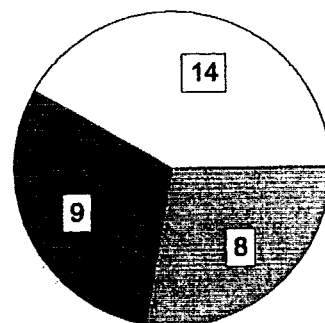
Promoting National Reconciliation

The overwhelming majority of focus group participants felt that reconciliation was the responsibility of the government or of the two warring parties, the MPLA government and UNITA. Most people distinguished between *national* reconciliation and reconciliation at the community level. At the national level, responsibility for reconciliation was most often attributed to the government. At the community level, it was *sobas*, church leaders, and 'the people in general' or 'all of us.'

Those who had concrete suggestions for how to promote national reconciliation tended to favor one of two remedies:

- government intervention at the community level, in the form of meetings and speeches about reconciliation; and
- improved communication about the peace process.

Urban vs. Rural Participants



□ Urban
■ Rural
▨ Peripheral Neighborhoods

⁵ Market women, 35-55, Kunge, Bie.

Focus Groups

Many identified the need for a change in mentalities in order for reconciliation to be successful. *"There must be a revolution in the mind of each person. I cannot stop talking to someone just because his father is from UNITA."*⁶ Others emphasized the importance of communication, of opening a dialogue in order for reconciliation to occur. As one participant put it, *"communication is necessary in order for people to unite."*⁷ More concretely, the media should play a role in promoting reconciliation. *"On both sides there are people who want war, and the media should broadcast messages against war."*⁸

There was a strong perception that reconciliation would be easier at the grassroots level than at the political level. *"In politics there is no such thing as reconciliation."*⁹ On a social level, however, people were able to cite numerous examples of informal reconciliation occurring. One participant cited the following example of reconciliation in practice at the community level:

*"Here there is a neighborhood for UNITA deputies where a party was organized 15 days after they arrived, a so called "National Reconciliation Celebration." And no one asked if your father was from the MPLA or from UNITA. At these small parties people start to become friends and the separation ends."*¹⁰

In addition to political differences, people underscored ethnicity and differences in living standards. Other factors mentioned were skin color; differences in customs and manners of urbanites vs. those recently arrived from rural areas; and, religion.

GURN and the Extension of State Administration

The vast majority of focus group participants had heard of the Government of National Unity and Reconciliation and knew what it was. Those few who had never heard of the GURN or who had heard of it but did not know what it was were distributed fairly evenly between Luanda and the provinces. Typical descriptions of the GURN were:

*"The GURN is the union of people from many parties."*¹¹

*"The GURN is a government constituted by members of various parties."*¹²

⁶ Community activists, 20-24, M, Golfe, Luanda.

⁷ Teachers, 26-37, M/F, Golfe, Luanda.

⁸ Students, 25-30, M, Kuito, Bie.

⁹ Men, 50-59, Operario, Luanda.

¹⁰ Community activists, 20-24, M, Golfe, Luanda.

¹¹ Catequists, Chivela, Huambo.

¹² Students, 25-35, M, Kuito, Bie.

Focus Groups

*"The GURN is a group formed by people from all parties to be able to lead the country..."*¹³

*"It is to see whether in fact Angolans can achieve reconciliation."*¹⁴

Most people had heard about the GURN through radio, television or friends and neighbors. Other important sources of information were newspapers, local religious leaders and government officials.

Attitudes Toward the GURN

In general, the less people knew about the GURN, the more they were inclined to be optimistic about it. As one participant put it, *"I don't know anything about the GURN, but it seems that it will resolve the problems of the people."*¹⁵

Among those who said they knew what the GURN was all about, feelings about what the GURN could do were mixed, although the great majority was cynical about the likelihood of any positive impact. Those who did believe the GURN would be able to deliver thought that it would bring an end to the war and promote reconciliation, but that this would take time.

*"I think that we cannot construct a life from one day to the next. When you get a job, on the first day you commit many errors. Those who are in the government now don't have experience. We have to give them time to improve their work."*¹⁶

¹³ Teachers, 25-35, M, Chinguar, Bie.

¹⁴ Women, 59+, Operario, Luanda.

¹⁵ War disabled vets, 30-59, M, Kilombo, Huambo.

¹⁶ Youth, 22-26, F, Golfe, Luanda.

The GURN *"was a positive step, a sign of hope for a better Angola."*¹⁷

The GURN - *"that's where we can end all the talk that we have heard, about war."*¹⁸

The majority of focus group participants, however, saw in the GURN business as usual. Their responses reflect not so much an opinion of the performance of the GURN itself, which had only been functioning for a few months at the time of the research, but a profound skepticism about the abilities and intentions of government in general.

The GURN *"is lard and only those who are there are going to get fat and not us."*¹⁹

The GURN *"is not going to resolve the problems of the population and it is going to create an economic crisis because of the purchase of luxury cars and because they [in government] only think about themselves."*²⁰

*"The GURN will resolve the problems of the government and not the people."*²¹

*"The GURN is not resolving anything, it puts nothing in practice, there are even new threats of war."*²²

¹⁷ Students, 16-18, F, Uige.

¹⁸ Deslocados, 45-59, M, Benfica, Luanda.

¹⁹ Students, 16-18, Cazenga, Luanda.

²⁰ Youth, 19-25, M, Uige.

²¹ Students, 14-18, M, Uige.

Focus Groups

*"It came to make our problems worse, since now there is enmity and distrust [within the government]."*²³

*"From the information that I have, the GURN met and then nothing."*²⁴

The GURN *"is ungoverned. Up to now it has done absolutely nothing."*²⁵

*"I don't see reconciliation – they just point fingers, that's what I know about the GURN."*²⁶

*"The GURN will only have value when it is understood that governance means providing services to the people."*²⁷

*"The simple fact that we have Ministers from four parties doesn't mean Reconciliation. Are they the only Angolans? If so then we will also make our war."*²⁸

Others were more positive about the potential positive effects of the GURN, if only the GURN functioned the way it was envisioned, if only it were genuine.

The GURN *"does not exist – if it existed in Angola we would already have peace."*

*"The GURN might bring us good intentions, but we want them to be put into practice."*²⁹

*"We don't see evidence of their work. Lots of promises, little practice."*³⁰

*"There is hope but only Dr. Savimbi knows for sure."*³¹

*"On April 11th when the GURN was presented I was very happy, I thought that it would mean big changes. But until now nothing has changed because we see that those in government only want to fill their pockets and those of their families, to make up for lost time."*³²

²² War disabled vets, 20-30, M, Kilombo, Huambo.

²³ Students, 16-18, F, Uige.

²⁴ Students, 16-18, F, Cazenga, Luanda.

²⁵ Community activists, 20-24, M, Golfe, Luanda.

²⁶ Community activists, 20-24, M, Golfe, Luanda.

²⁷ Community activists, 20-24, M, Golfe, Luanda.

²⁸ Community activists, 20-24, M, Golfe, Luanda.

²⁹ Women, 59+, Operario, Luanda.

³⁰ Students, 16-18, F, Uige.

³¹ Demobilized soldiers, 19-32, M, Uige.

³² Youth, 22-26, F, Golfe, Luanda.

Focus Groups

Extension of State Administration

"Na Quibala o GURN foi espanquiado..."³³

"In Quibala the GURN was beaten up..." [The first exercise in extending state administration ended in failure at Quibala after reaching only a few municipalities. Members of the GURN were beaten severely in Quibala.]

Focus group participants were surprisingly well informed about the process of extending state administration. Most not only knew what it was but knew some detail about it – either where administration had already been extended, why or when it was stopped. Many gave reasons for why the process had failed.

"It is difficult now for someone who fought for 20 years against a regime to accept a new flag."³⁴

"If the leaders were thinking about the people, state administration would already be extended."³⁵

"UNITA doesn't want extension of state administration, because UNITA wants to stay at war."³⁶

³³ Employed men, 25-59, Golfe, Luanda.

³⁴ Community activists, 20-24, M, Golfe, Luanda.

³⁵ Deficientes físicos /community leaders, Kilombo, Huambo.

³⁶ Deslocados, 45-59, M, Benfica, Luanda.

Several people emphasized the importance not only of extending the state physically, but of changing people's attitudes toward the process and educating them about it. *"We have to create the right mentality for a real reestablishment of the state."³⁷* As another participant put it, *"we don't believe in extension of state administration because all the forces of society are not in agreement that this process should be carried out, so we simply have vandalism by one side against another."³⁸*

Knowledge – Democracy, Role of Local Authorities, Human Rights

Meaning of Democracy

"Estamos a pagar pela democracia muito mal dada."

"We are paying for democracy badly done."

"Democracy is to speak the truth freely."³⁹

A surprisingly high proportion of focus group participants demonstrated at least a basic understanding of the term 'democracy.' In only one group did members say they had no idea what democracy was.

³⁷ Community activists, 20-24, M, Golfe, Luanda.

³⁸ Women, 59+, Operario, Luanda.

³⁹ Women, 59+, Operario, Luanda.

Focus Groups

Democracy was most closely associated, for the majority of focus group participants, with freedom of expression. Freedom of movement, tolerance and mutual respect were also cited as key aspects of democracy.

The three most frequently cited elements of democracy were:

- freedom of expression;
- freedom of movement; and,
- tolerance and mutual respect.

Freedom of expression was far ahead of the other two, however, in terms of the number of times it was cited. Linked to the issue of freedom of expression is the idea that in democracy, citizens' voices should have an impact on governance.

In neither respect, however, did democratic theory and practice coincide in Angola, in the minds of focus group participants. For example, most participants believed that in democracy, people are free to speak their minds without fear of reprisal. They then went on to explain that this was not the case in Angola.

Those who cited freedom of expression as a fundamental part of democracy usually ended the phrase with the words "without fear of reprisals," or simply, "without fear." One group pointed out that, "*people call in to radio shows to express their*

opinions and ideas but they have to request anonymity to protect themselves."⁴⁰

Similarly, in terms of accountability of government to the people, Angola does not qualify as a democracy in the minds of most focus group participants. "*In democracy, the government should listen to the ideas of the people who elected them, but in this democracy [in Angola] this provision does not yet exist in practice....*"⁴¹ Another group reinforced this view, saying there is no democracy now because "*the population does not have a voice.*"⁴²

Democracy in Theory and in Practice

A surprisingly high level of understanding of the basic values that make up democracy is matched by equally high levels of frustration and cynicism regarding the wide gap between the theory and practice of democracy in Angola.

*"Our leaders want to show the people that democracy means to rob, kill, and do whatever you want without being punished."*⁴³

⁴⁰ Teachers, 26-37, M/F, Golfe, Luanda.

⁴¹ Students (medio), 25-35, Kuito, Bie.

⁴² Teachers, 26-37, M/F, Golfe, Luanda.

⁴³ Students, 16-18, Cazenga, Luanda.

Focus Groups

There is also a strong link in people's minds between democracy and the functioning of specific government institutions – people understand that in democracy there are certain institutions that ought to work in a certain way. The behavior of the police, for example, is for many people linked to the concept of democracy. *"When I hear the word 'democracy' I get irritated because it is a word that is used very often but does not exist in practice....Someone comes and steals my wallet, my watch, and the police do nothing."*⁴⁴ Government institutions do not function the way they should and are not accountable to citizens.

This was particularly true in the case of the police, and not simply because they are unresponsive to citizens' needs. If there was one theme that ran across region, gender, age, occupation, and educational level, it was a preoccupation with active police abuse. Although the discussion guide did not contain a separate section on the police, the discussions elicited so much comment on the police, almost all of it negative, that we think it is important to highlight these comments here.

Older women in Luanda: *"If you see a policeman – run!"*⁴⁵

According to one young community activist, *"it is much better these days to come across a 'marginal' than to come across the police."*⁴⁶ Others agreed:

⁴⁴ Youth, 22-26, F, Golfe, Luanda.

⁴⁵ Women, 59+, Operario, Luanda.

⁴⁶ Community activists, M, 20-24, Golfe, Luanda.

*"Our security is always at risk, the police who should protect us turn out to be more dangerous than the criminals."*⁴⁷

*"The police very often contribute to disorder."*⁴⁸

*"The police exist to serve the people and not to abuse them. They must respect the people..."*⁴⁹

Interestingly, despite the fact that most people said they believed the police were responsible for causing at least as many problems as they resolved, nearly everyone named the police as the entity that guarantees their personal safety.

Another intriguing twist is that most people, when asked what they would do if they suffered police abuse, said they would complain to the officer's superiors. This would seem to indicate a certain amount of faith in the institution of the police, if not the individual officers with whom people come into contact.

A few people voiced despair: *"We have no recourse, there are no courts, if the authorities abuse us, to whom can we complain?"*⁵⁰ Or: *"We are always suffering abuse and there is nothing we can do. The system allows these abuses to multiply."*⁵¹

⁴⁷ Community activists, 20-24, M, Golfe, Luanda.

⁴⁸ Students, 16-18, F, Uige.

⁴⁹ Students, 16-18 F, Cazenga, Luanda.

⁵⁰ Youth, 19-24, M, Uige.

⁵¹ Community activists, 20-24, M, Golfe, Luanda.

Focus Groups

Most however had concrete solutions for police abuse. Asked what they would do, most answers were along the following lines:

*"Try to find [the police officer's] unit and inform them."*⁵²

*"...we should go to the competent authorities of his squadron and if that doesn't work go directly to the tribunal."*⁵³

*"...if going to his squadron didn't resolve the case, one would go immediately to the Provincial Command of the Angolan National Police to see if they can resolve it or no. If not, one would go to the institutions of military justice, since he is part of the military."*⁵⁴

*"Inform the radio, newspapers, TV."*⁵⁵

Not all of the proposed solutions were so positive:

*"In cases of police abuse one makes a complaint to the police commander of that zone, or else you arrange someone to punish or beat up the police officer."*⁵⁶

⁵² Deslocados, 45-55, M, Benfica, Luanda.

⁵³ Youth, 15-19, F, Cazenga, Luanda.

⁵⁴ Women, 59+, Operario, Luanda.

⁵⁵ Deslocados, 45-55, M, Benfica, Luanda.

⁵⁶ Youth, 15-19, Kunje, Bie.

Equality Under the Law

There is a widespread perception among the groups surveyed that a double standard is in effect in Angola's political system. Cynicism was expressed in general terms as well as through specific examples. For example, two common responses were:

*"In other countries it means freedom, but in Angola democracy is only for 'the haves'."*⁵⁷

*"The word 'democracy' is only for those who eat well."*⁵⁸

A group of teachers in Luanda gave a more specific example, which highlights the responsibilities rather than the rights associated with democracy. "Democracy extends only to the masses, it doesn't reach elites. *For example, if a high level person kills someone, nothing happens. Justice doesn't reach this person, he takes the law into his own hands. For democracy, everyone must be equal under the law.*"⁵⁹

Two other issues were closely associated with democracy in participants' minds. These were peace, and an improvement in living standards. Democracy is not possible without peace, and peace and democracy will bring about an improvement in people's well-being.

⁵⁷ Community leaders and administration, Kilombo, Huambo.

⁵⁸ Deslocados, 25-45, M, Benfica, Luanda.

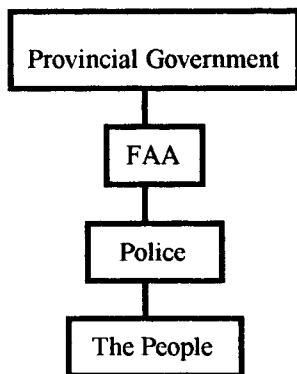
⁵⁹ Teachers, 26-37, M/F, Golfe, Luanda.

Focus Groups

Local Government: Who is in Charge?

This question was posed first in the form of 'who are the local authorities here,' or 'who is in charge here?' Moderators then presented a series of hypothetical problems, and asked how members of the group would go about trying to resolve them. The resulting answers were put into the form of a diagram of the local hierarchy of authority. In some cases, each focus group participant made their own diagram. In others, the moderator drew the diagram on the basis of what the group said.

Virtually all focus group participants in Uige, including demobilized soldiers and male and female students, described the hierarchy as follows:

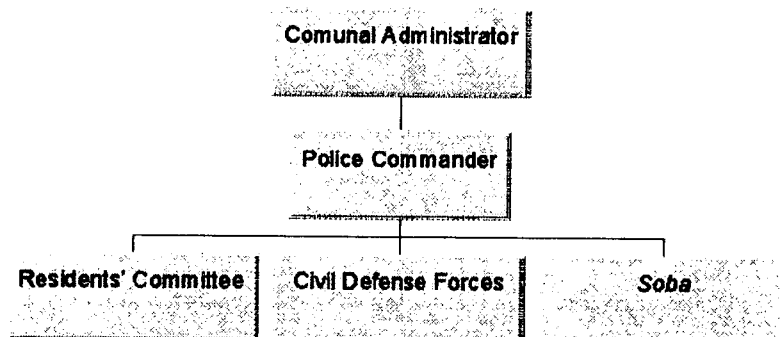


In some cases, FAA and the police were at the same level of authority. This perception of the police, military and paramilitary units as intermediaries between the government and the people was also present in Luanda but less prevalent. In Luanda the police figured most prominently for younger focus group participants (ages 15-25). Since Uige focus group participants were disproportionately young compared to Luanda, Huambo and Bie, age may play a part. Also important may be the fact that the city of Uige is seen by the government as 'an island in a sea of UNITA,' which very likely translates into tighter security and a bigger role for the police and defense forces.

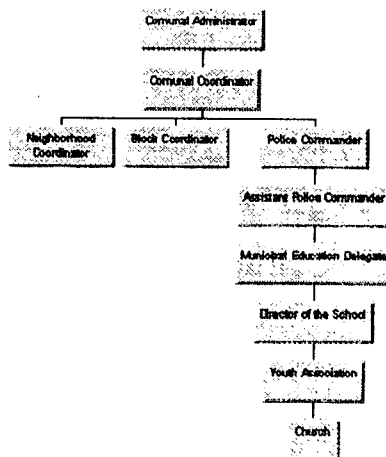
In Luanda, as noted above, the police figured less prominently in people's diagrams but were still present. Two of the nine groups who said they had a clear idea of who the local authorities were named the police in second place, right after the local administrator. The organigrams that people drew in Luanda were less uniform than those in Uige. As a rule, people gave more detail about formal structures at the local level. For example, most people named not only the local administrator, but also the neighborhood administrators and heads of residents' committees. (Three examples of Luanda diagrams follow.)

Local Government Hierarchy

Luanda: Periurban Areas (Students)

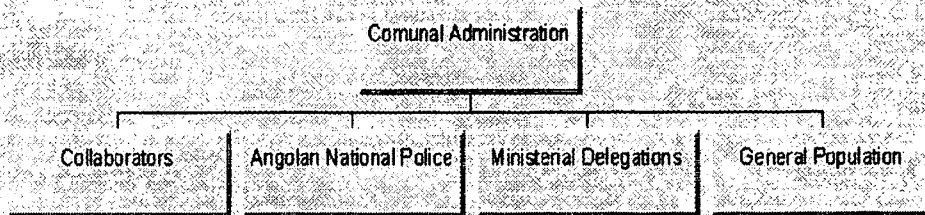


Luanda: Periurban Areas (Teachers)



Local Government Hierarchy

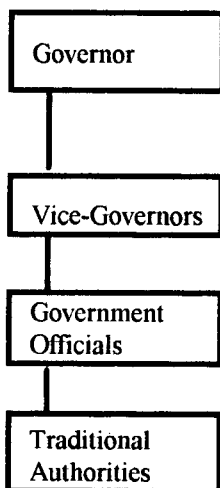
Luanda: Periurban areas (Elderly women, Operario)



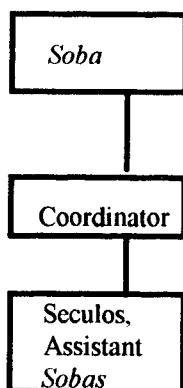
Focus Groups

In Huambo and Bie, there was more emphasis on the governor, the four vice-governors and traditional authorities. There was also a very clear separation between urban and rural areas. Two kinds of organigrams were typical:

Urban Areas:



Rural Areas:



Traditional authorities were hardly mentioned in Uige and in Luanda. This is no doubt because focus groups took place primarily in urban or peri-urban areas there.

In addition to seeking to understand people's notions of the hierarchy of local government authority, the focus groups sought, through the specific examples of various kinds of problems, to get a general idea of how people viewed the role of various government and nongovernmental actors in resolving the challenges they face on a daily basis.

For the most part, people appeared to have low material expectations of the government, but they apparently

retained faith in government institutions. When the community was in need of social services, for example, in very few cases was the solution simply to 'go to the government and seek support.' Usually, as in the case of rehabilitating a school or a clinic, people said they would try to organize members of the community to do the required work, would get together and buy medicines to supply a clinic, or would turn to nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) for help.

At the same time, however, people across the board had very clear ideas about which authorities were supposed to deal with which kinds of problems. If people almost never invoked 'the government' in general as provider of their needs, they almost always named a specific government department responsible for resolving a range of problems from conflicts over housing and land to teacher corruption. For example, almost everyone responded that if a problem arose over conflicting claims to a house, one would demand documentation from the other claimant and direct the problem to the Department of Habitation. In the case of teachers demanding bribes from parents to allow their children to study, the most common answer was that one would speak to the director of the school, and if that did not work one would speak to the local or provincial delegate for education. Similarly, in the case of a clinic that was surrounded by mines, most people had concrete suggestions as to whom to ask for help – usually the police or the local army unit, and in one case the Angolan government agency that is responsible for de-mining operations (INAROI) was identified. As noted above, people even said that they would report an abusive police officer to his commander.

Focus Groups

Government and the People's Needs

No one, however, said that the government was satisfying their needs, and most of the answers to this question, when it was posed directly, were extremely cynical. Following are some typical answers to the question, "Does the government succeed in satisfying your needs?"

*"There is no support from the government, and they satisfy our needs when it suits them."*⁶⁰

*"The government might do some things, but it is not enough. NGOs help us more...."*⁶¹

*"Years ago, the government had the capacity to satisfy our needs, but today it doesn't and is considered incapable. Now we get some help from NGOs, who help us in the construction of schools, clinics, etc. That's how the people survive."*⁶²

*"Local government doesn't meet the needs of our families. We only survive with the help of NGOs and the church...."*⁶³

*"The local authorities don't succeed in meeting anyone's needs because they are only interested in the wellbeing of themselves and their families...."*⁶⁴

*"The government hasn't helped the people in a long time. On the contrary, it is the people who help the government."*⁶⁵

Traditional Authorities

Traditional authorities play an important role in meeting community needs and resolving conflicts at the local level. For most people contacted in Huambo and Bie, *sobas* are the first and most important line of authority at the community level. In general, *sobas* appear to be most important in solving problems within the family, and in disputes over land. People tended to distinguish between *sobas* and local administrators in terms of the origins of their authority: "Government authorities receive orders from the government and resolve issues on the basis of government law. Traditional leaders work on the basis of traditional law, their orders come from tradition."⁶⁶

Human Rights

A surprisingly high number of focus group participants, across age groups, regions, and occupational and educational status, are familiar with the concept of 'rights' and have a basic notion of what human rights are.

*"Human rights are the rights of the citizen."*⁶⁷

*"Human rights means to treat others as human beings."*⁶⁸

⁶⁰ Students, 16-18, F, Cazenga, Luanda.

⁶¹ Students, 16-18, F, Uige.

⁶² Women, 59+, Operario, Luanda.

⁶³ Youth, 18-20, M, Operario, Luanda.

⁶⁴ Students, 25-35, M, Kuito, Bie.

⁶⁵ Catechists, Chivela, Huambo.

⁶⁶ Women, 59+, Operario, Luanda.

⁶⁷ Youth, 18-20, Operario, Luanda.

⁶⁸ Women, 59+, Operario, Luanda.

Focus Groups

*"Human rights mean human dignity, liberty, the right to health, housing and above all respect for human beings."*⁶⁹

*"Respect for life, the rights of others."*⁷⁰

*"To have the right to live, do what you know how to do without any interference from anyone."*⁷¹

*"Human rights means not killing the people without cause, because each one of us has rights."*⁷²

*"Human rights means that every Angolan citizen should feel free, should not be oppressed."*⁷³

*"It is to feel at peace, and to have everything that you work for."*⁷⁴

*"It is to walk freely without fear of stepping on land mines."*⁷⁵

Equally striking, however, is the sense among participants that human rights,

⁶⁹ Teachers, 25-36, M/F, Golfe, Luanda.

⁷⁰ Youth, 19-24, M, Uige.

⁷¹ Students, 16-18, F, Cazenga, Luanda.

⁷² Students, 16-18, F, Cazenga, Luanda.

⁷³ Demobilized soldiers, 19-32, M, Uige.

⁷⁴ War disabled vets, 30-59, M, Kilombo, Huambo.

⁷⁵ War disabled vets, 30-59, M, Kilombo, Huambo.

as they define them, are not systematically respected in Angola.

*"Human rights is freedom of movement, personal liberty, in sum everything that no one has been able to achieve up to now."*⁷⁶

*"Many die and are killed because these [human] rights have been taken away."*⁷⁷

*"There are no human rights in [bairro de] Golfe."*⁷⁸

In addition to the conventionally defined concept of human rights, among the focus group participants human rights also meant socioeconomic rights – to housing, employment, decent salaries, and education.

*"Human rights are all those rights that the person should have for their social, economic and cultural well-being."*⁷⁹

*"It is to have a house, clothes, money, a job with a decent salary."*⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Community activists, 20-24, M, Golfe, Luanda.

⁷⁷ Students, 16-18, F, Uige.

⁷⁸ Teachers, 25-36, M/F, Golfe, Luanda.

⁷⁹ Students, 25-35, M, Kuito, Bie.

⁸⁰ War disabled vets, 30-59, M, Kilombo, Huambo.

A surprisingly high number of focus group participants, across age groups, regions, and occupational and educational status, are familiar with the concept of 'rights' and have a basic notion of what human rights are.... Equally striking, however, is the sense among participants that human rights, as they define them, are not systematically respected in Angola.

Focus Groups

*"There are no human rights because we have trouble just getting enough to eat, we are very limited in financial terms."*⁸¹

*"It is to enjoy a little bit of all the riches of the country. Right now we are stagnating and no one enjoys the riches of the country and this is not Human Rights. Human rights is to have everything you need to live."*⁸²

One group pointed out that it is incorrect to think that human rights violations are only committed by the police. All forms of deprivation – absence of electricity, water, salary are violations of human rights. We need to look at how the country is governed as a whole.⁸³

Asked what were the most important individual rights, participants again highlighted freedom of expression and freedom of movement. Most frequently cited were: freedom of movement; socioeconomic rights; and, freedom of expression.

⁸¹ Community leaders, Kilombo, Huambo.

⁸² Demobilized, 20-36, M, Huambo.

⁸³ Community activists, 20-24, M, Golfe.

The most important rights are:

- Freedom of Movement (including free circulation between government and UNITA zones, and freedom to move about town and between their homes and fields without being harrassed.);
- Socioeconomic Rights -- work, decent salary, education, home, health care; and,
- Freedom of Expression.

One participant summed up freedom this way: *"To be able to leave here and go anywhere at all without fear and talk about the problems that afflict us without suffering reprisals."*⁸⁴

Responsibilities as well as Rights

One of NDI's goals in this section was to ascertain whether people had a notion of rights as being accompanied by duties, and whether 'freedom' also implied responsibilities. The answer was a resounding 'yes.' Virtually everyone was careful to make the distinction between *liberdade* and *libertinagem* [liberty and libertinism]. For the focus group participants, laws, and the duty to uphold them, made the difference between liberty and anarchy. *"Without laws, we have libertinism."*⁸⁵ Another important point that was underscored by many groups was that individual freedom also implies respect for others.

⁸⁴ Community activists, 20-24, M, Golfe, Luanda.

⁸⁵ Students, 16-18, F, Uige.

Focus Groups

Laws – What are They and Who Makes Them?

For most people, laws exist to preserve order and to organize the life of the community.

“Without laws the people does not advance...without laws no one has respect for anyone else.”⁸⁶

However, once again they expressed the sentiment that while this was true in the ideal, it was not the case for them.

“In our neighborhood there is no liberty...There is only personal freedom when there are no obstacles.”⁸⁷

“The law does not exist. Where it comes from we have no idea.”⁸⁸

“The law exists but it is not carried out.”⁸⁹

“The laws are just but they are not carried out.”⁹⁰

Another recurring theme reemerged in this section – the notion of a double standard in terms of the way elites versus ordinary people are treated.

Earlier, someone noted that ‘democracy was for the poor,’ meaning only ordinary people were subject to the limitations of the law and other

democratic institutions. Here the same idea resurfaces:

“Law is for the poor.”⁹¹

This group went on to give an example of a general, now an ambassador, who had killed someone and never went to prison for it. Another group cited a similar example, involving a local military commander and an ordinary citizen.

Most people know that the law comes from ‘the Government.’ A slightly smaller number of people were able to identify the parliament as the country’s chief legislative organ, although given that most bills originate in the executive and must pass through the Council of Ministers before going to parliament, perhaps the ‘Government’ (in the sense of the executive) is the most accurate answer.

Most interesting in this section were the minority responses. The third most frequently given answer to the question, “who makes the laws” was “the police.” Other answers included local administrators, *sobas*, and the courts. Only one person answered that the people make the laws.

⁸⁶ Demobilized, 29-32, M, Uige.

⁸⁷ Women heads of household, 20-40, Camussamba, Huambo.

⁸⁸ Women, 59+, Operario, Luanda.

⁸⁹ Youth, 2-26, F, Golfe, Luanda.

⁹⁰ Youth, 19-24, M, Uige.

⁹¹ Men of diverse labor status, 25-59, Golfe, Luanda.

The Constitution

As for the Constitutional Law (the existing version of the constitution), the number of people who had and had not heard of it were about evenly divided. Those who ventured an answer as to what it was were for the most part correct in their perceptions. The following are some sample answers:

*"The constitutional law is guidelines drawn up by the government which the people should follow; it is a statute or regulation that we can all follow."*⁹²

"Constitutional Law is the laws of the country."

*"It is an order that establishes what must be done in a country."*⁹³

*"The Constitutional Law is a document that regulates the laws of a given country."*⁹⁴

Others had heard of it but were disinterested or disgusted.

*"We have heard of the Constitutional Law but we don't pay any attention, we are not interested in it...."*⁹⁵

*"It has no practical utility – they are always changing it."*⁹⁶

⁹² Teachers, 25-35, M, Chinguar, Bie.

⁹³ Students, 16-18, F, Cazenga, Luanda.

⁹⁴ Youth, 22-26, F, Golfe, Luanda.

⁹⁵ Deficientes fisicos, M, Kilombo, Huambo.

⁹⁶ Community activists, 20-24, M, Golfe, Luanda.

*"We have never heard or seen a copy of the Constitutional Law – I think this law must be little disseminated."*⁹⁷

Sources of Information

In all provinces, whether in urban, rural or sub-urban areas, the most commonly cited source of information was radio. Newspapers were the second most-cited formal source of information, although they usually arrived late. Television was a distant third.

However, while most people said that radio was their most important source of information, they then went on to say that very often they did not have access to radios, which made it hard for them to get information in a timely manner.

The alternative source many people cited was people talking 'in the street' or in other public places, such as the market. Given uneven access to radio transmissions (due to problems with batteries if nothing else), the most important source of information may well be word of mouth. The most commonly cited source for 'word-of-mouth information' – 'a rua [the street].' Other sources cited were friends, people who had traveled and markets. Given the importance of word of mouth, surprisingly few people cited community or religious leaders as their primary sources of information. In only one *bairro* [neighborhood] in Luanda, Bairro Operário, did members of a focus group mention community leaders as an important information source. In that case it was the Comissao do Bairro or Organizacao da Mulher Angolana. In Huambo and Bie, a few people did mention that they received information through

⁹⁷ Students, 25-35, M, Kuito, Bie.

Focus Groups

'mass meetings,' but most relied on radio and friends or neighbors.

In one *bairro* in Luanda [Golfe],⁹⁸ members of community associations complained that the media did not provide sufficient, accurate information about the problems of communities or what the government was doing, particularly in local areas. They argued that there should be community-level sources of regular, reliable information. These should include community associations and the communal administration.

*"Communal administration should have people whose job it is to inform the people. For example, they tear down houses and no one knows why."*⁹⁹

*"Community associations should have a greater role in keeping the community informed. If the information came from these groups, it would be better received and understood."*¹⁰⁰

Specific programs or radio stations cited (in addition to state-run Radio Nacional da Angola and UNITA's Radio Vorgan), in order of greatest number of references to the program were:

- Caminhos da Paz, the program produced by the United Nations Peacekeeping operation in Angola (most popular in all provinces);
- Radio Luanda (a station affiliated with RNA but devoted to live programming);
- LAC (a commercial radio station in Luanda); and,
- Voice of America (Luanda and Uige).

In general people were more readily able to name specific radio programs or stations in Luanda than in the provinces.

The most popular types of radio programming were:

- news programs; and
- sports.

People were most interested in hearing about the following topics:

- the war and the peace process;
- social issues and development projects, especially in their own communities or in the communities they had to leave because of the war; and,
- news about community quality of life issues – for example, electricity and water supplies.

In Huambo and Bie, there was greater awareness than elsewhere about specific topics related to the peace process, such as extension of state administration and demobilization. This was probably because these

⁹⁸ Men, 20-24, members of community associations, Golf, Luanda.

⁹⁹ Men, 20-24, members of community associations, Golf, Luanda.

¹⁰⁰ Men, 20-24, members of community associations, Golf, Luanda.

Focus Groups

processes were underway at the time of the survey in Huambo and Bie.

Programming in national languages was very important in rural areas, less so in urban areas, as expected.

Conclusion

This was the first in a series of focus groups that NDI plans to carry out annually. In sum, the most important findings of the focus group research are the following:

- There is a relatively high level of awareness regarding democratic values and a good measure of practical knowledge about the way in which government is supposed to function in specific areas, particularly in terms of resolving people's daily problems.
- This awareness and understanding is coupled with overwhelmingly negative and cynical attitudes about the peace process and about government's ability to satisfy people's daily needs.
- The most highly valued freedoms are freedom of expression and freedom of movement, whether locally or across political lines. Neither is available to the satisfaction of most focus group participants, and there were few ideas in terms of what ordinary people might do to improve the situation – to be able to exercise these rights. Freedom of movement depends somewhat, but not entirely, on the security situation in the country. As noted above, for focus group participants, freedom of movement also means freedom to go from home to

marketplace without being harassed by the police.

- There is little understanding of the law, or of the kinds of opportunities that exist on paper for people to exercise their rights, and in particular to obtain access to and have some impact on government officials.

This information suggests that the overarching goal must not be simply to provide basic education about 'what is democracy' to citizens, though clearly it is important to ensure that citizens have access to information about the basic values and institutions that formally make up Angola's democratic political system.

However, for many participants, government is not a bewildering maze but a place with known departments that are meant to resolve specific problems. The difficulty is that when people go to these departments, when they interact with the individuals who represent 'government' in their daily lives, their needs are not met and their faith in the system is continually eroded. This is demonstrated in the striking contrast between what people say about how they would resolve specific problems, and their attitude toward the government as a whole. They say they would go to a specific department, yet their expectations that their needs would be met there are close to zero.

An effective civic education program should build on people's pre-existing knowledge of, and remaining faith in, government institutions by bringing citizens and local government officials into contact to discuss the implementation of democratic governance.

Focus Groups

ANNEX 1. FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANTS

Uige (5)

Date	Location	Occupation	Gender	Age	Urban/ Periurban/ Rural
14 August	Uige city	Demobilized	M	19-32	Urban
13 August	Uige city	Students	F	16-18	Urban
13 August	Uige city	Students	M	14-19	Urban
13 August	Uige city	Members of Associations	M	18-24	Urban
2 August	Uige city	Students (8 th Grade)	F	14-19	Urban

Luanda (11)

Date	Location	Occupation	Gender	Age	Urban/ Periurban/ Rural
30 August	Operario	Youth	M	18-20	Periurban
30 August	Operario	Ex-Soldiers	F	59+	Periurban
30 August	Operario	Retired	F	50-59	Periurban
16 August	Golfe (Sector 10)	Youth - Members of Associations	F	22-26	Periurban
16 August	Golfe (Sector 10)	Varied	M	25-57 (mostly older)	Periurban
9 August	Golfe (Vila Estoril)	Youth - Members of Associations	M	20-24	Periurban
9 August	Golfe (Vila Estoril)	Teachers	M/F	Most late 20s	Periurban
9 August	Cazenga	Students	F	15-19	Periurban
9 August	Cazenga	Students	F	15-19	Periurban
7 July	Benfica	Deslocados	M	35-47	Rural
7 July	Benfica	Deslocados	M	22-32	Rural

Focus Groups

Bié (6)

Date	Location	Occupation	Gender	Age	Urban/ Periurban/ Rural
13 August	Kuito	Students	M	25-35	Urban
13 August	Kuito	Students/ Heads of Household	F	25-35	Urban
12 August	Kunje	Youth	F	15-19	Periurban
12 August	Kunje	Market Women	F	35-55	Periurban
9 August	Chinguar	Teachers (Primary)	F	25-35	Rural
9 August	Chinguar	Teachers (Primary)	M	25-35	Rural

Huambo (9)

Date	Location	Occupation	Gender	Age	Urban/ Periurban/ Rural
15 August	Huambo city	Demobilized Soldiers (UNITA)	M	20-36	Urban
8 August	Sao Jose Kilomo (Comandante e Vilinga)	War-Disabled Soldiers	M	20-30	Periurban
8 August	Sao Jose Kilombo (Comandante e Vilinga)	War-Disabled Soldiers	M	30-54	Periurban
8 August	Kilombo	Community Leaders	M	30-55	Periurban
7 August	Camussamb a	Youth	M	17-25	Rural
7 August	Camussamb a	Women Heads of Households	F	20-40	Rural
6 August	Chivela	Farmers	F	40-59	Rural
6 August	Chivela	Farmers	M	50-64	Rural
6 August	Chivela	Catequists	M/F	25-40	Rural

ANNEX II: DISCUSSION GUIDE

NDI FOCUS GROUPS ON CIVIC EDUCATION

Introduction

The moderator gives a brief introduction to explain NDI, the research project, and its goals.

Sources of Information

(The information we are collecting will be used to design a program of civic education about the democratic system that exists in the country, and especially on the rights and responsibilities of citizens and local government authorities in this system. Therefore, it is important to collect information about the sources of information available in different communities.)

1. Through what sources of information do you obtain information about government projects or community issues?

Radio/TV
Newspapers
Neighbors/friends/family members
Market
Church
Community leaders

2. What type of information would you like to receive regularly?
3. What radio program do you like the most?
4. What type of radio program do you prefer to listen to (news, music, radio soap opera, etc.)
5. When programs are given in various languages, what are the languages you normally listen to?

Attitudes/Perspectives

(Warm-up questions)

1. In your opinion, how are things going in this country?
2. What is the biggest problem that you and your family face right now?

Concepts

1. What words come to mind when you hear the word 'democracy'?
2. Some people say that democracy means freedom, liberty. What do you think about that?
3. What does the word 'peace' mean to you?

Community Reconciliation

1. What does the end of the war mean for you and your family?

(Or: What has to happen in order for you to believe that the war has really ended?)

2. In your community, what are the most important divisions that exist between people?

(Or: What are the principal divisions that separate people?)

3. Recently, there is a lot of talk about 'reconciliation.' In your community, what does reconciliation mean?
4. (If people have a notion of the concept of 'reconciliation,' ask the following question. If not, omit.) Are there barriers to reconciliation within families and communities? What are the most important ones?
5. Who should take responsibility for reconciliation? (at the national level, at the community level)
6. What words come to mind when I say the word 'enemy'?

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GURN/Extension of State Administration

1. (The moderator reads an announcement about the formation of the GURN, maybe showing photographs. "On April 11, the GURN was sworn in...") What do you think about this?
2. What have you heard about the GURN?
3. How did you hear about the GURN? (Radio/TV, newspapers, friends/neighbors/family, market, church, community leaders)
4. Some people say the GURN is going to resolve everything. Others say it is going to create more problems. What do you think? What are the problems that the GURN will resolve? What problems might the GURN bring?
5. (Another announcement about the extension of state administration). What have you heard about this?

Local Government/Rights of Citizens

1. Who are the local authorities here (Who is in charge here)?
2. What are the responsibilities of each of these authorities?

(For the two questions above, the moderator creates, through discussion, a simple 'organizational chart' of the community, tracing a diagram on the ground or using other means readily available.)

3. When you have a problem or issue to deal with here in your community, who do you go to to resolve it? (Discuss some examples, selecting those that are most relevant for the current context.)

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- An official from the school where your child is enrolled says your child can no longer attend classes.
- Someone appears and says that they are the rightful owners of the house in which you are living, since it was theirs before being nationalized after independence. This person says he has begun the legal process of reclaiming the house.
- You have a piece of land, which you have worked for many years. A company appears and says that you must leave the land, because it was given title to the land by the authorities.
- You have a field alongside that of your neighbor. Your neighbor starts cultivating part of your field.
- Your husband died last year, and his family is seeking to reclaim the house in which you lived with your husband.
- The community has a school that needs furnishing and renovations.
- There is a health post but the area around it is mined.
- The community health clinic does not have enough medicine or trained nurses.
- The community does not have sufficient food supplies, because of lack of rain.
- You are the victim of abuse by the police.
- You believe you have suffered discrimination because of your party affiliation, religion or ethnic affiliation.
- You are going from one municipality to another. You must pass through a zone controlled by UNITA (or the government), and are prohibited from continuing.

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4. If the following questions were not addressed in the discussion of the above examples, the moderator should ask them now:

What are the responsibilities of government authorities at the local level?

What are the differences between the responsibilities of traditional leaders and government authorities?

What are the differences between the responsibilities of traditional leaders and religious leaders in the communities they serve?

5. Does the government (the local authorities) succeed in satisfying the needs of your family, of your community? Are there other organizations or entities at the community level that also help?
6. What do you think you can do to improve the situation or resolve these problems?

Human Rights

1. I am going to give you some examples of situations I have heard about in conversations with people in other communities. Please give me your opinion about them.
- Your neighbor's son is accused of robbery, and the majority of the community believes he is guilty. The police come and put the boy's father in prison. What do you think about this?
 - A group of people is gathered under a tree discussing various topics, such as family health, the lack of food in the community and other similar issues. After some time, an official from the local party committee comes by and says the discussion must stop. What would you do in this situation? What would you say to the official?
 - A young man who has friends on the other side starts saying that the local administrator is not carrying out his duties, that he does not provide for needs of the community and that he should name someone else to replace him. The police hear of this and put him in jail for two nights. What do you think?

Discussion Guide
NDI Focus Groups on Civic Education

- Someone has stolen your radio, and he was seen leaving your house with it. The person was apprehended by the police. What is going to happen to this person?
2. Have you ever heard the term 'human rights?' (If yes) What are human rights?
 3. Many people speak of the importance of personal freedom, others are always talking about their responsibilities and duties toward the community. What do you think about this?
 4. Do you think there are times when the government has the right to limit your personal freedom? Could you give a few examples?
 5. What personal liberties are most important for you?
 6. In your opinion, what are your main responsibilities toward the community? And toward Angola?
 7. Who guarantees your personal security?
 8. What are laws for?
 9. Who makes the laws? Where does the law come from?
 10. Have you heard about or seen a copy of the Angolan Constitution?
 11. (If the answer to #8 is yes) What is the Constitution?

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