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COMÉRCIO INFORMAL, IDENTIDADE E DIREITO: O CASO DAS ZUNGUEIRAS DE LUANDA  
INFORMAL TRADING, IDENTITY, AND THE LAW: THE CASE OF LUANDA'S ZUNGUEIRAS  
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### Abstract

*Zungueiras* is the term given that designates street vendor women in the Angolan informal market, who travel for miles in hoping of selling various products such as food, accessories, and clothing. The word *zungueira* derives from the term *zunga* from the Angolan national language *kimbundu*. *Zunga* means to circle, walk around, rotate and in Luanda refers to informal vendors, particularly street hawkers. This practice of selling on the go is a product of social, political, and economic changes in the country, and it is unfortunately marginalized by public bodies. Police inspectors often pursue those people by force and violence to expel them from public areas, which often carries the death of those women. Based on bibliographic and documentary research methodology, we aim to analyse aspects of the *zungueiras'* informal trade in Luanda, given the State's position, the rights of these women to the city and the cultural identity they carry. The results point at the need of reinforcing horizontal relationships that are less hierarchical or conditioned by the imperatives of hegemonic capital, which can be seen in analogous situations in the Global South. In the context of Global South, we understand this case study as a valid reference. The urban dynamics of survival, with ancestral socio-cultural roots and permeated by contradictions between precariousness and rights reveal the local knowledge and a resistance to the intentions of hegemonic alignment to globalization patterns conducted by the State.

**Keywords:** Zungueiras, Informal trade, Luanda, Angola, Public space

## 1 Introduction: considerations on Luanda

In this study, we understand the Global South in its diversity, as a geopolitical South, “a metaphor used to identify the set of movements, collective actions against forms of oppression, exploitation and discrimination” (Meneses, 2016, p. 178, our translation). The *zungueiras* case study seeks to present a localized phenomenon, whose discussion reveals, however, recurrent tensions between the struggle for rights, the precariousness of urban contingents, and the dispute between habits and vernacular knowledge facing modernization forces as molded by globalization. We understand this particular phenomenon as a circumstance that can be deployed to the countries of the Global South. Its mention as a reference may indicate specificities or analogies to other territories. Its condition stands out as an example of precarious social contingents fighting for survival and the right to remain in the public scene as a gender minority in extreme poverty. Its urgent ruses, intertwined in tension to ancestral ways of life, become compromised by colonial historical effects, and national independence wars. In addition, there is a certain eagerness of the dominant social strata to align themselves with the internationalized prescription of globalization, in light of the Global North.

The methodology that conducts the investigation – whose impulse stems from the daily experience of one of the authors – has as its structure the bibliographical and documental investigation of the intertwined aspects of the *zungueiras* phenomenon. We consider such a phenomenon as a particular circumstance to urbanization pressures conditioned by hegemonic forces in Luanda, the capital of Angola – a country subjected to colonization, slavery, patriarchy, civil war, and, more recently, to the condition of the periphery of globalized capitalism.

The city of Luanda, by itself, does not reflect the country's specificities. Angola is made up of several territories, and the *zungueiras* often appear in those urban spaces. They carry their way of life as a constituent element of the urban landscape. The *zungueira's* activities are considered as informal by the State, even though we can understand them as being included in a trading system that generates income and useful interrelationships with the society as a whole. After gaining its independence from Portuguese settlers, Angola went through a long civil war that lasted approximately thirty years, from 1975 to 2002. The war took place in the rural areas of the country and contributed to accelerated rural depopulation, turning the most developed cities into target of migration in a search for safety and better surviving conditions. Thus, Luanda ended up becoming one of the most sought-after destinations for people who sought to rebuild their lives, especially economically (Bettencourt, 2011).

Consequences of the rural exodus were the increase of population density in Luanda, the high unemployment rates and the housing deficit in the city, which resulted in the expansion of informal neighbourhoods. Many displaced citizens perceived informal trading as a means of subsistence, opting to work as street vendors, drivers and transporting goods, such as the so called *roboteiros*, among others. In 2014, the city of Luanda was home to more than a quarter of the country's population (Governo de Angola, 2016). One of the programs for reintegrating the population was the offer of financing to former war combatants and ex-military staff. However, their widows would not benefit from any financial aid from the state. According to Orlando A. Santos (2010), many of these women currently work in street sales, at street corners exchanging dollars or as maids, with a salary that is equivalent to US\$ 50. They are still discriminated for the work they perform. However, they support their families not only paying for their children's studies, but often also supporting their spouses (Santos, 2010, p. 16-17).

Even though informal workers are seen as part of Luanda's culture, they are sometimes criminalized and excluded from the urban environment, from commerce to housing. The reconstruction process aiming to reach the characteristics of a global city does not have room for the informal, and in the case of Luanda, it has the peculiarity not only of portraying inequality or a duality of the city, but it also represents culture and tradition. The socio-spatial precariousness cannot be ignored. The duality of the city of Luanda mirrors distinct and complementary realities; if on the one hand the formal city was structured during the colonial period, having a planned road network and corresponding infrastructure, on the other hand there is the informal city, called *musseques*. It spreads out in the peripheral limits around the city, with growing population density and lack of infrastructure such as sewage sanitation, waste collection and disposal, provision of drinking water, access roads, lighting, and public equipment. The quality of life of this population, victim of socio-spatial inequality, is further aggravated by the draining of rainwater, floods, open-air garbage, and poor quality of public transport (Prates, 2016, p. 51).

The Angolan State has made several efforts to leverage the city in global standards through industrialization and economic growth; however, urban redevelopment plans and projects, especially in Luanda, only partially solve some functional problems and bring an air of aesthetic renewal to the city, much like a mirage that mirrors precariousness. Despite all the growth and recovery after the civil war, the Angolan economic improvement has been incompatible with the real needs of the people in general. The socio-spatial inclusion in these projects is questionable, as inequality in Luanda is an ever-widening gap. The concept and definition of *musseques* have changed over time, depending on the changes in the city and its population. Currently,

informal commerce and *musseques* are seen as disarray and marginality by the upper social classes, as well as by portions of the State; for other social strata they mean resistance, survival, and subsistence.

The *musseques* host most of the population of Luanda who work in some kind of informal trade. According to Cain (2019), approximately 70% of the population lives in *musseques* or precarious housing. According to the National Institute of Statistics of the Ministry of Planning of the Government of Angola (Governo de Angola, 2016, p. 71-75), in 2014 data, only 31% of Angolan population housing had electricity and less than 30% had access to adequate drinking water; 7% had urban sanitary equipment connected to the public sewer system, with 91% connected to septic tanks. Waste was disposed of in the open by 59% of urban households. In Angola, 70% of women worked in the informal economy and 90% of street vendors lived far and away from the place where they worked, and informal jobs represented 60% of the economy in 2014 (Queiroz, 2016). In this article, we propose an approach to the concept of informality in Angola, believing that it is part of the urban environment of African cities as a form of self-organization and subsistence, and interferes in the urban space. According to Queiroz (2016):

Self-organization as a popular response to the obstacles of everyday urban life has awakened a new vision of African cities, as explained by urbanist Abdou Maliq Simone about cities in the Global South: There is something happening, efforts are being made, bringing about new ways to support life, to help other people and create interesting cities (Simone, 2011). Informality is part of the popular set of self-organization, a means of appropriation and production of space (Queiroz, 2016, p. 37, our translation).

Informality in the urban environment and hegemonic organization represent a paradoxical relationship of interdependence. The characteristic of a dualistic Luanda was already evident in the colonial period. The difference between social classes was transmitted to the urban fabric, the dominant class residing in the city center, with access to services and infrastructure, and the subordinate classes in peripheral communities, without infrastructure and far from services. This socio-spatial dynamic comes as result of a political organization of space, that is reflected in the lifestyle, in the way of living, inhabiting, and relating, with repercussions up to present day.

Spaces for exchange and sale, markets and fairs have existed in the daily lives of civilizations for millennia. In Luanda, those institutions were characterized by *quitandas* (grocery markets). According to Van-Dúnem (1987, cited in Santos, 2011, p. 37) the word *quitanda* comes from the term *itânda*, in the *Kimbundu* dialect, and its plural, *kitanda*, means a wooden platform that may serve as a bench or a measurement display, especially to regulate the sale of rope tobacco. From the Portuguese version of the word, the term *quitandeira* (grocer, a woman who carries out business in a *quitanda*) comes from the elimination of the particle "a" and the addition of the suffix "eira". In this version of a *quitanda*, the following meanings can be found: market, square, post for sale of fresh food, small shop or business stall, farm or tray to sell goods on the streets (Ribas, 1989, p. 174, cited in Santos, 2011, p. 37).

Although informal commerce originally occurred more frequently in peripheral and peri-urban areas in the colonial period, the *quitandeiras* began to wander more frequently in the urban center due to urban expansion and modernization. However, the *quitandeiras* were not as popular in the urban environment as they were in the periphery of the city. Pantoja (2000) mentions the regulations and restrictions imposed on the *quitandeiras* in Luanda and, later, the fomentation of conflicts between the native *quitandeiras* and new European traders for spots in fairs and markets. In this scenario, the grocers and artisans who could not pay the rent had to move from the urban center and go to the *musseques* to carry out their commercial activities. As Pantoja (2000) addresses, at a given moment of modernization at the beginning of the 21st century,

The city of Luanda takes on a new configuration and *quitandeiras* tend to disappear from the Luandan scene. With no housing conditions in the city, African houses began to be concentrated in *musseques*. The market was left to a few who could afford to rent the space and compete with companies that started to supply the city. Another market was created, but it had a short stay due to its precarious conditions (Pantoja, 2000, p. 32, our translation).

The expropriation of *quitandeiras* from Luanda's markets was the result of both laws and actions enacted by the government, which sought to dominate commercial spaces of markets appropriated by Portuguese traders. In parallel, street fairs predominated in *musseques* occupied by the *quitandeiras*. Upper classes started to visit the markets in the center of the city while lower classes went mainly to the markets in the *musseques*. The explicitness of the social difference stated and reinforced the borders within urban spaces. According to Orlando Santos (2011), the plan to build markets in peripheral areas aimed to eliminate open markets from the urban center, to eradicate informal trade from the "white city" and bring open markets under control. A modern and progressive urban plan in the frame of hegemonic domination was important for the State as an instrument of control, punishing places as well as populations that resisted the *status quo*.

In this sense, open markets in spaces with social rules that did not follow capitalist reason, and which were formerly under popular domination, became subject to the disciplinary action of markets controlled by the municipal government. Conflict between the government and the merchants were results from that transition. Merchants did not limit themselves to circulating only in peripheral neighbourhoods and were not intimidated by the political power. The practice of *zunga* in informal commerce came across as a product mostly done by *quitandeiras* in the post-colonial age. Nevertheless, now *zungueiro* men are also mentioned due to the increase in the unemployment rate in the country.

Orlando Santos (2010) reveals that *zunga* is not a new practice, but rather an adaptation. He claims that the flow of street vendors increased in Luanda, re-acquiring the practice of selling and valuing their products through chanting (Santos, 2010, p. 91). The *zungueira's* daily life consists of walking around warehouses, markets, streets and neighbourhoods, in door-to-door sales, carrying their products usually on their heads or arms. When analysing the social structure of the commercial activities in Luanda, Orlando Santos (2011) describes *zunga* as one of the practices with lower socioeconomic status within informal commerce; however, we understand that such statement is relative, considering that the daily income of many *zungueiras* may be even higher than that of other workers in the informal trade.

According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), *zungueiras* are part of the more than 50% of the Angolan population who lives under conditions of extreme poverty, surviving on just US\$1.20 a day (UNDP, 2019). Most *zungueiras* live in peripheral areas or in informal neighbourhoods, the *musseques*. The already quoted *musseques* are informal neighbourhoods that correspond to *caniço* in Mozambique, *slums* in India and *favelas* in Brazil, precarious housing without land guarantees or any legal protection against forced eviction and other actions which violate human rights. Many residents do not have any level of education, nor do they have a national identity document, which makes them extremely vulnerable (Rimli, 2013). The *musseques* suffer demolitions and evictions and their residents are relocated to regions far from their daily activities, according to interests of the real estate market, which owns some *musseques* located in areas that are attractive to the private sector, such as projects that generate profits for those involved.

Rehabilitation and re-urbanization of the city of Luanda are a continuous search for the conception of modern cities. They result in speculative urbanism, which ends up favouring a certain social layer and neglecting the majority of the population, in a process of gentrification and urban restructuring based on socio-spatial inequality. The current urbanism implemented in Luanda is presented in an innovative guise, but it is, nevertheless, based on old structures. To re-engineer the urban space, it results in a mischaracterized city in face of complex African specificities, turning its back to the problem of social exclusion. This reurbanization of socio-spatial impact, accompanied by forced evictions, affects the population residing in the *musseques*, mainly workers in the informal sector.

## **2 Frame and colours of the *zungueiras'* scene**

It is notable that the population of the lower classes and the *musseques* are inserted in the urbanized city, since that is where they live, and they also work in urban centers. The expansion of those informal neighbourhoods stems from inequality and the city's modernization process. The disregard for local needs makes Luanda a city that disqualifies traditional activities such as *zunga*, leading it to a forced and incomplete adaptation as a global city. According to Harvey (2012), the right to the city has currently been appropriated by the real estate market in search of new ventures and income privatizing processes of production of urban space. According to the author, the urban crisis is unrolled as a global process, prioritizing investors and financiers eager for accumulation. Such mode of colonization of urban space comes due to the insufficient power to mobilize social movements to control the use of surpluses and their own production conditions (Harvey, 2012, p. 88). According to Harvey (2014):

The right to the city, as it exists and is conceived today, is much more closely confined, in most cases, within the hands of a small political and economic elite capable of shaping the city more and more according to their particular needs and deepest desires (Harvey, 2014, p. 63, our translation).

Informality, as a complementary part of this whole scenario, arises as a means of survival and resistance for a population who is able to find ways to survive in the midst of extreme poverty and resisting to measures imposed by the State and often carried out by large construction companies such as Odebrecht, involved in the forced removal and demolition of many *musseques* in Luanda. Thus, informality in the urban and economic space is an expedient for the low-income population to claim the right to the city. As Harvey claims (2014):

If the public goods offered by the State decrease or become a mere instrument for private accumulation (as has been happening with education), and if the State stops offering them, then there is only one possible answer, which is the populations themselves self-organize to offer them their own commons (Harvey, 2014, p. 167, our translation).

According to Milton Santos (2004), a constant characteristic of activities considered as belonging to the upper circuit is that they are “capital intensive” - they have technology, bureaucratic organization, and access to bank credit as their common base. At the same time, the strong presence of oligopolies, such as some multinational companies, and their favouring by the State in the provision of infrastructure, tax subsidies and market reserve are decisive. Such aspects define the relationship between the activities of the two circuits — upper and lower — and of each of them with the territory (Santos, 2004, p. 33). In this sense, Kauê Lopes dos Santos (2020, p. 17) points out that in addition to the notion of formality, the levels of organization and capitalization identify the integration between the different circuits.

The unfolding of the lower circuit concept in Angola can be considered as a symbol of refuge, resistance and resilience for the low-income population that sums up to 80% of the working population in the country, who only find opportunity of financial support informally (Reis and Chamassuco, 2021). Observing the predominance of the lower circuit in the Angolan urban economy, we can measure its importance for the subsistence of most of the population with low purchasing power, such as the various characters in informal trade — *zungueiras*, *roboteiros* and *candongueiros*. With regard to sale practices and persuasion techniques, it is possible to identify dynamics used by *zungueiras* to attract their target audience. Some tend to change the price of products depending on the race, nationality, or even social class of the clientele.

Their sales success depends a lot on the interaction with their customers. Chants and songs become the *zungueira's*, main technique to attract customers, following what the *quitadeiras* previously did. According to Orlando Santos (2010, p. 95, our translation): “the cry of the *zungueira* woman was one of the main connections to the traditional proclamation of the *quitadeiras* of old”. Both formality and informality become relevant and determining elements in the circuits established by Milton Santos (2004). In “Towards an Other Globalization”, Milton Santos (2001) analyses organizational dynamics and identifies different levels of raising financial funds related to different circuits in the cities of underdeveloped countries, corresponding to the Global South (Santos, 2018; Meneses, 2016), of which Luanda is part.

The importance of *zungueiras* in their production chain is well-known. The predominantly informal commerce in Luanda generates employability and attends the consumption of the city's population. The dynamics that exist in Luanda's urban economy are similar to those imposed by poverty in other cities in the Global South, as a result of the lack of formal jobs and opportunities (Santos, 2004). The social and sexual division of work is an evident factor in the Angolan historical and cultural context, with women subordinated to what is perceived as feminine nature activities, such as motherhood, caring for the family and house chores. However, the daily life of *zungueiras* shows the opposite.

Orlando Santos (2010) states that the *zungueiras* have low levels of education, come from provinces other than Luanda due to the civil war, and many support their families, despite being married. They live in homes which are led by their spouses, but truly supported by them. It is important to raise awareness about the daily lives of *zungueiras* so that their contribution to supporting the family and, ultimately, a form of interfamily exploitation, can be realized. Despite the *zunga* being praised by the population and the *zungueiras* being considered a symbol of empowerment for Angolan women, the practice has been the subject of numerous articles published by the country's media, sometimes labelling them as strong women, and other times berating and stigmatizing street sales in the city. The *zungueiras* have been marginalized and suffered daily acts of violence and brutality by inspectors from the Government of the Province of Luanda and agents of the National Police.

The Angolan newspaper O País once presented a report with the headline “When you lose your life running away from inspectors” (Gomes, 2018, our translation), alerting the population for the consequences of police violence against *zungueiras* in Luanda, as shown in Picture 1 below. Here is an excerpt from that article:

Many street vendors become disabled, seriously injured, and even lose their lives because of fleeing the inspectors and/or police. The Luanda Association of Street Vendors has a deficit in statistics but claims that the culprits are not held criminally responsible. (Gomes, 2018, p. 1, our translation).

The same article then mentions the death of a *zungueira* in 2016, run over by a car in Viana while fleeing from tax agents:

At the end of December 2016, a *zungueira* died in Viana, near Fibrex, after been persecuted by National Police agents. Dressed in a skirt made of *samakaka* cloth, the cookie seller in the search of support for her children was not successful in that *zunga* and lost her life on December 28, 2016, in a hit-and-run, while fleeing from police aggression. With her blood on the asphalt and people around her, the *zungueira* lost her life on the spot due to head trauma. Even with the National Police denying that she lost her life as a result of their persecution, people who witnessed the act, as well as the voices that were raised on social media, said the opposite. (Gomes, 2018, p. 1, our translation).



**Fig. 1:** Zungueira killed after being run over in Viana, Angola, in 2016. Source: O País. Gomes, 2018. Available at <https://opais.co.ao/index.php/2018/04/15/quando-se-perde-a-vida-fugindo-dos-fiscais/>. Accessed 12 May 2021.

From the colonial period to the present day, the Angolan State has sought to eradicate itinerant sales. President João Lourenço, in his current government, intends to put an end to street sales in Angola with his “Operação Resgate”. The president of the National Association of Street Vendors, José Kassoma, when interviewed by DW, holds the Angolan state responsible for the deaths of the *zungueiras*. He stated that:

There have been excesses in all operations which tried to organize the *zungueiras* and itinerant sales. That's why there are deaths and more and more saleswomen with injuries. There are sellers who have been pushed off footbridges and ended up with physical disabilities [...] Enough with the deaths of *zungueiras* as it has been happening in our country (Kassoma, J., cited in Luamba, 2019, p. 1, our translation).

The *zungueiras* report being tired of all the physical aggression and accuse the police of mistreatment, corruption, and destruction of the products they sell. “When the police come, they don't have any appreciation, they wreck our business” [...] they also claim the police should “talk to people” and not “beat ladies down” (Luamba, 2019, p. 1, our translation). Human Rights Watch (Rimli, 2013) documented several

examples of police brutality and violence suffered by *zungueiras* and condemned the stance of National Police agents, exposing the harassment and intimidation that reflect Angola's growing repressive environment. The documents also give voice to a *zungueira*:

At the place where I sell there are many *zungueiras* [street vendors] carrying babies on their backs. The police and inspectors come by motorcycle. They kick us and throw our things to the ground. Some take our stuff away. They will only not take it if we pay up. They say, "Get this crap out of here. This is not a place to sell." We ask: "And where are we going? There are no markets for us. What are you doing with our things?" Others are silent. They are afraid (interview with a *zungueira*, cited in Rimli, 2013, p. 1, our translation).

The practice of *zunga* is legalized by the Angolan State, and regulated by Law 1/07 on Commercial Activities, which standardises the exercise of informal commerce (República de Angola, 2007). Therefore, it needs to be analysed as a structural and social factor, as the reason behind the *zunga* is the extreme poverty and the lack of employment opportunities. In this sense, *zungueiras* are agents that contribute against the low rate of employability in the country. That same law, which regulates commercial practices and standardises informal trade, establishes that:

To safeguard commercial urbanism, the following must be observed: a) Urban areas - commercial surfaces in general, namely supermarkets, shopping centers, mini-markets, as well as urban municipal markets, facilities which provide relevant commercial services and wholesale commercial activity in the form of cash and carry; b) Suburban areas — in addition to commercial areas, they also encompass retail and precarious trade, urban municipal, supply and street markets, street fairs, commercial warehouses and other activities provided for by law which are generally established in these areas; c) Rural areas — establish in general retail trade, precarious trade, general trade, itinerant trade, fair trade, rural municipal markets, small agricultural and transport activities, and other activities stated by law. (República de Angola, 2007, art. 27, our translation).

Therefore, we are faced with a law that defines borders between the different segments of commerce, excluding and limiting the *zunga* to peripheral or rural areas - a behaviour not different from that of the colonial period. Although immersed in adversity, it is paradoxically necessary to consider *zunga* as a practice that has roots in the Angolan tradition, from the point of view of identity. It is important to reinforce habits and ways of life to fight hegemony in countries with colonial and patriarchal tradition. Faced with pressure from global Capitalism in its bets on either incomplete or uneven and combined modernization, in countries of the Global South which mainly export commodities — in the case of Angola, especially oil — the stakes on the urbanization of strategic sectors provide a misleading image of modernization. Contradictions are revealed as a complementary component in the deprived sectors of the city before the choice of public investments in association with the interests of the internal dominant classes versus the excluded contingents of the population.

We live in a period of transformation. In the process of social, political, and economic struggle, we find a certain type of knowledge to be preached as the only, legitimate, and universal standard to aim for, ultimately ruled by the globalized capitalist economy. In countries of the Global South, the struggle to establish identities as postcolonial nations involves decisions towards social equity or submission to the dominant neoliberalism, which can be seen in the urban morphology through elections carried out by the State. The most elementary means of survival under harsh inequality bring up ways of life that express vital knowledge. When we approach this discussion from the perspective of Southern epistemologies it reveals ways of resistance against this oppression of exclusive knowledge — which encompasses knowledge, habits, social practices, and struggle for existence rights — articulated to the understanding of the *zungueiras* phenomenon. According to Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2018):

Capitalism is currently experiencing one of the most destructive moments in its recent history, as witnessed by new forms of primitive accumulation through dispossession, the re-edition of the colonial prey, which now extends throughout the Global South, from land grabbing to wage theft and bank bailouts, subjected to the capitalist law of the value of resources and common goods, causing the displacement of millions of poor peasants and indigenous peoples, environmental devastation and ecological disasters; and the never ending renewal of colonialism, which reveals, in both old and new aspects, the same genocidal impulse, racist sociability, the thirst for appropriation and violence exerted on considered endless resources and on people viewed as inferior and even non-human (Santos, 2018, p. 298-299, our translation).



The idea that Eurocentric knowledge is the only legitimate one in confirming science and, therefore, in analysing the Global South under Northern lenses, creates an oppression of other sources and types of knowledge. Faced with the dilemmas of countries with colonial roots in their march towards the consolidation of independence, the role of the State can often reiterate new forms of domination, including internal ones. Boaventura de Sousa Santos states that systematizing what he defines as Southern epistemologies aim to identify and appreciate what is often not recognized as knowledge, given the dominant epistemologies, and that this knowledge arises as a resistance against the repression of epistemologies that legitimate this repression. (Santos, 2018, p. 303, our translation).

Given this understanding, it seems desirable that, when we analyse informal trading in Angola, we move away from critical Eurocentric thinking and understand it under aspects of African logic, considering the social, political and economic context of the country and the struggle of the classes which maintains, after all, the neo-colonial persistence. The intention would not be to create a stagnated distance from critical and scientific thinking to nullify or disregard the Eurocentric tradition. On the contrary, we aim here to open spaces for analysis of realities of former colonies that are little discussed and often ignored by the dominant tradition, despite their struggles for independence and self-determination. We consider the case of *zungueiras* outlined here as a relatively particular phenomenon that deliberates a broader discussion inserted in the conception of the Global South in its diversities.

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