



# IMD

*Partner in democracy*



REPORT ON THE EVALUATION  
OF THE

NZA/IMD PROGRAMME IN  
MOZAMBIQUE

2000 - 2003

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## List of acronyms

AWEPA	European Parliamentarians for Africa
AJC	Associação Joaquim Chissano
CBE	CBE Mozambique Lta. – Consulting firm
CNJ	Conselho National da Juventude
FES	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
IPADE	Instituto para o Desenvolvimento da Democracia
KAF	Konrad Adenauer Foundation
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa’s Development
NIMD	Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NDI	National Democratic Institute
PMS	Programme Management System
PWC	Price Waterhouse Coopers
SNV	Stichting Nederlandse Vrijwilligers
(S)NZA	Stichting voor het Nieuw Zuid-Afrika
STEA	Secretariado Técnico da Administração Eleitoral

## I. Executive summary

1. At the request of IMD, an external team of assessors undertook an evaluation of the NZA-IMD programme in Mozambique from 9 to 31 July 2003. The objectives of the evaluation were to measure the results achieved and, if possible, the impact of the programme in relation to its initial objectives; to review the programmatic processes, including the form of the co-operation, the administrative procedures and the role of the representation and the partnership with other organisations, and to indicate any lessons which could be learned.

2. The evaluation included the study of documents and project files, interviews with IMD staff in the Netherlands and the IMD representation in Maputo, interviews with selected party leaders and functionaries, heads of agencies running similar programmes, and other stakeholders such as local partners and consultants involved in carrying out programme activities, as well as the programme's auditor. During a workshop involving members of the political parties registered in Mozambique and partners of IMD, common issues were discussed. The evaluation team also had a meeting with the Netherlands Ambassador in Mozambique.

3. NZA started the three-year programme in Mozambique in 2000. This was the follow-on to the positively evaluated NZA pilot project implemented in 1998/99. The main purpose of the programme is to support the political parties in Mozambique in the field of capacity building and institutional strengthening. NZA received a subsidy of Euro 2,846,815 for the programme from the Netherlands Minister for Development Cooperation. The specific programme objective is the promotion of the process of democratisation by supporting political parties in Mozambique in the area of capacity building. The main components are a bilateral fund for direct projects with political parties and a special fund for cross party activities.

### **Significance and added value of the programme**

4. The need for support to political parties is appealing in terms of the existing and increasing demand. Since democracy is not simply a matter of fine words and institutional reforms, but also of participation in the process, parties are an important element in modern democracy and their participation in that process is expensive in terms of building structures and carrying out activities. NZA/IMD is the only organisation in Mozambique that supports the process of democratic development by giving directly to the parties the necessary tools to give them a more solid position within the national setting, putting them more in touch with their own constituencies and their provincial and district delegations, as well as teaching them directly or indirectly how to manage their own affairs in terms of dealing with funds and planning and carrying out

activities. The evaluation's main conclusion is that there is a need to continue the programme and its particular approach and that improvements can be made to the programme design, based on present experiences.

5. The effects of bilateral projects on the institutional capacity of each one of the parties have to be appreciated in the light of the fact that many of the smaller parties would have had great difficulty in undertaking programme activities without this type of assistance. The effects on institution building of the two largest parties were also important, though the emphasis on priorities differed. There is sufficient scope for sustainability at the level of individual parties, which will be further enhanced when parties programme actions in a more structured and coherent fashion. Parties will continue to depend highly on bilateral assistance for the realisation of programmatic activities, but in the context of Mozambique this is unavoidable.

6. The parties have been growing in qualitative terms by carrying out bilateral projects of better quality and greater relevance for the objectives of the NZA/IMD programme. This process has never implied that the sense of ownership was not present from the very beginning. Various statements by party leaders have illustrated the strong sense of ownership felt throughout the process of co-operation.

7. In developing its programme in Mozambique, NZA/IMD has been successful. It has established contacts with most of the parties, built partnerships, supported bilateral projects that have been designed and implemented by the parties, organised cross party activities and carried out internal and external audits. It was concluded that an important added value in the whole process so far of both the bilateral and the cross party activities has been that NZA/IMD has brought on board a variety of players to be part of its programme. In so doing it has not provoked any criticism whatsoever from the local civil society, but has received praise for the attitude it has adopted in establishing relationships, the methodology it has used, and the results achieved so far. The general achievements, measured in the evaluation mostly in terms of the programme's immediate results and effects, are that parties are better organised and there is more structure in the way they function internally.

8. The added value in the cooperative relationships at cross party level with other international partners lies in the greater degree of partnership, the enhancement of the credibility of joint actions, the effectiveness of joining forces in co-operation, and the broadening of the scope of activities. At operational level, added value is to be found in the areas of flexibility and efficiency. NZA/IMD's participation in joint activities makes it possible to carry these forward in its bilateral cooperation with political parties.

**Individual projects**

9. With regard to the results of the bilateral projects, it was found that the programme's target groups were in general very well addressed. Meetings, trainings and seminars have taken place as proposed, notwithstanding delays in implementation. It was more difficult to evaluate whether the preparation and methods used for carrying out the activities were all appropriate because of lack of supporting documentation; all of them followed classical methods such as lectures, group work, plenary discussions, etc. The parties have not yet used the full range of options available in the bilateral programme, which can be explained by the needs that were felt to be most urgent at that stage of the programme. The results of cross party projects were generally positive, including the methods used for conducting the meetings. The target groups were in general provincial and district delegates and party cadres. Most of the planned events were carried out; some were delayed for reasons of constraints on the implementation side.

**Institutional capacity of the parties**

10. One of the main results of the bilateral projects for the individual parties has been the opportunity to involve party members in discussions on themes related to multiparty democracy, besides benefiting from the more technical inputs on capacity building. The bilateral projects were particularly relevant for the political parties, encouraging them to organise and structure themselves as true organisations with democratically elected bodies, to build close links with their members at the grassroots level and to have a broad and conscious participation from the members in open, frank and direct discussions about the internal problems of the party and the civil society.

11. Cross party projects have also contributed significantly to strengthening the institutional capacity of the political parties individually. For example, through seminars on the relationship between the media and political parties, party members at national and provincial level had the opportunity to learn skills and exchange experiences on how the party can "sell" its image to national and international public opinion. Provincial seminars on elections have helped the political parties to improve their internal operation significantly in terms of improving the organisation of activists for political campaigns and other needs of the party and of the country's democratic process. A number of parties have been able to develop strategic plans, based on the assessment of their current situation, thereby also improving the basis for future action and support.

**Process of democratisation and multiparty democracy**

12. Inferred from what is achieved in terms of the results of individual bilateral and cross party projects and of the effects of projects at party level, there is evidence, though not quantifiable, that

the programme made a contribution to the growth of democracy in Mozambique. Political parties are one of the basic pillars, key players and subjects of democracy, along with the government, trade unions, private sector and civil society. By creating better communication channels with their members and voters and by electing their bodies in an open manner, political parties are implementing internal democracy. Democracy cannot take place in a void, but must take place in real environments, and one of those privileged environments is the political party. If there is no internal democracy in the parties, there will be no democracy in the country. IMD support has for most parties created additional opportunities to reach out and to facilitate their democratic functioning. Cross party projects facilitated interaction and discussion between participants, brought parties closer together and helped to build trust. In this respect, the IMD programme has made a contribution to the democratic process in the country.

### **Programme quality**

13. The quality of the projects has improved substantially, although there is still a general need for further improvement. The quality of the projects is thus a reflection of the overall situation in the country. On the project side, the start was bleak and fell short of what was really desired, but the improvements are clearly there, very much as a result of the support given by NZA/IMD through the bilateral and cross party activities. One lesson which has been learned is that there is a need for further improvement of project proposals and financial reports, as well as narrative reports. This will also facilitate programme monitoring. A further important lesson is that extra training will be the main element in improving the quality of the projects while keeping the ownership with the parties.

### **Bilateral programme component**

14. NZA/IMD has involved all registered parties in the first phase of the programme without a priori discrimination or further criteria. The process of selection of parties has developed from there based on how they would perform in the process of partnership and in the political life in the country in general terms. The evaluators consider this to be a good principle as it has contributed to avoiding criticisms of favouritism and to creating imbalances in the political life of the country. It has contributed to building confidence in the programme across the spectrum of all political parties, which is a good result, not only for NZA/IMD, but also for supporting the process of reconciliation and the inclusion of more ideas in the political life of a country that is still in transition after a decade of formal democracy. Though many projects include participants in parties from women's or youth leagues, there is as yet no formal structural approach to further the inclusion of these target groups in activities. The wider participation of women in the planned activities has been initiated and has for some parties become reality.



15. The principle has gradually grown to become more systematic in terms of adopting principles of performance vis-à-vis the rules valid for any type of partnership, which were adopted as guidelines by NZA/IMD, and distributed to and discussed with the parties. In the process some parties failed to qualify further and others have improved in quality terms even if they do not yet meet the standard of the best proposals presented. In that sense the NZA/IMD approach for assessing the parties' performance is shared by the evaluators. The drawing rights system as applied over the three programme years has shown some differentiation as a result of the consequences linked to inadequate performance of some political parties on the one hand and relatively good performance on the part of others. A lesson learned is that careful consideration should be given to the way variation in performance is interpreted, how this is institutionalised and what it means for parties that have not managed to remain in the partnership.

16. A more general recommendation, which also applies to the point at which new parties or political groups are invited to participate in the programme, is that IMD should undertake a (standardised) baseline survey or scan of the aspiring partner in order to establish eligibility and the prospects for performance in the programme. Options for future selection of new partners for the programme are discussed in this report, taking the question of manageability of the programme into account. The involvement of sectors of the civil society should be considered in the interaction with the parties. One course of action could be some form of involvement of civic-political groupings that are successful in the forthcoming local elections in the programme.

17. The drawing rights provided by IMD represent in most cases the sum of the budget available to parties to carry out their activities. In the process of partnership with NZA/IMD, the parties have learned to derive maximum benefit from this in terms of obtaining the best results by working together in concerted activities in order to reach a final goal.

Over the past two years, a positive trend has been observed towards concerted activities within the parties' project proposals, which is clearly an outcome of the methodology used by NZA/IMD to be consistent in terms of "intervening" on the positive side, to draw attention to the need to build something of more substance and consistency than simply holding isolated sessions of training and capacity building.

#### **Cross party programme component**

18. The allocation of funds for the cross party projects is decided internally by IMD. In order to maximize the impact of these funds, they are frequently used for co-funding joint activities with other partners. There is an interaction between the bilateral and cross



party activities in the sense that they complement one another, responding to demand in terms of focusing on specific themes that can enhance the quality of the bilateral projects. Cross party projects have the effect of increasing the demand for bilateral activities. A gradual focusing of the cross party funds on activities that would have a follow-on effect in the bilateral programme has been visible. This can be reinforced.

19. In broadening the scope of the cross party activities, it is recommended that questions of utmost interest at national level should also be addressed. A forum for dialogue could be considered, aimed at further enhancing the process of reconciliation still ongoing in the country. Also, questions of regional and continental interest, such as the African Union and NEPAD, should be addressed in the cross party activities, in view of the fact that these are not well discussed in the country with the inputs of the small parties and of the civil society at large. Other additional initiatives relate to the improvement of programme quality by organising a structured follow-up to training courses in project development, administration and financial management.

#### **Utilisation of programme funds**

20. The main causes for under-utilisation of funds, most significant in the bilateral component, have been identified as the optimistic design of the programme budget, inflexible features of the drawing rights system, the slower than expected start of the programme and, importantly, a varied picture of initial capacity and overall performance of parties during the programme period. Adjustments to the annual budgets led to more realistic budgetary planning, particularly in the third year of implementation.

21. Significant improvement is feasible in the longer term as a by-product of enhanced performance by the parties, to which IMD, as noted, can further contribute. In the overall programme, some budgetary flexibility between the two main programme components in the event of unforeseen shortfalls in disbursements on the bilateral side could improve utilisation of the budget in a particular year. More fundamental is the above-mentioned introduction of greater differentiation in the system of drawing rights, based on performance and with clear (additional) performance criteria, but without undermining its foundations of objective allocation criteria, transparency and acceptability for the stakeholders involved. Finally, realism in prognoses and budgeting has already proven to be an effective tool.

22. Though all parties do not value the relative importance of the two components of the programme equally, the benefits are recognized. It is recommended that the bilateral component remains the core of the programme and that present levels should be minimally maintained

and should rise gradually on the basis of improved overall performance. The level of drawing rights should remain within limits which take into consideration the realities of the political parties. The use of cross party funds has been effective and the amount expended in the last period of the programme was sufficient. It is expected that a gradual increase in the cross party fund will be needed. This would, for example, allow for more specialist input, from the region and possibly from political parties in the Netherlands. Moreover, it would allow for more activities at decentralised level.

### **The IMD representation – relations with IMD in the Netherlands**

23. It can be confirmed that the presence of the country representative has been crucial for the good development of the programme so far and for the good name NZA/IMD has earned in the national party political landscape. The representation is considered crucial for the implementation of this programme in most, if not all of its aspects. The office in Maputo has constituted an added value in terms of co-operating and building something together, in fact that the parties feel part of the whole programme. This was not only a question of the methods applied, but above all of attitude. The process used by the IMD representative has been successful, which is a considerable achievement considering the sensitive and difficult process of transition from a single party to pluralistic party involvement in Mozambique politics. This is certainly worthy of praise, as is commented not only by all parties involved, but also by other actors inside and outside the programme. The representation has actively pursued partnerships, leading to new forms of co-operation and initiatives, including joint cross party projects. There is a good level of formal and informal exchanges between the immediate partner organisations and other players in the field of democratisation.

24. With the establishment of IMD and the IMD bureau, and the shift of responsibilities from the IMD Board to the IMD director, new structures were established that had an impact on the field of relations and on overall project management. In terms of relations it meant the broadening of the available expertise through the Mozambique country team and the bureau staff as a whole. It is expected that the ongoing development of structures and working procedures of IMD will give the representation the additional tools needed for programme management.

25. The presence of a permanent representative in Mozambique has had a direct but still modest effect on the contacts between political parties in Mozambique and the Netherlands. In the further development of the programme there is scope for the involvement of representatives from Dutch political parties in providing specific

expertise in capacity building projects. Generally, contacts between the Mozambican and Netherlands political parties within the framework of the IMD programme would further enhance the image and impact of IMD as a unique partner of political parties in Mozambique (and elsewhere in the region), and will reinforce the foundations that have been laid by the first three years of close co-operation.

26. Compliments are due to the permanent representative for all the work he has done to create a base for NZA/IMD in Maputo. The balance in the organisation could be improved by reinforcing the work at local staff level in the field of programme assistance. This should also be seen in the light of the growing demand on the permanent representative for IMD work in the region. In weighing the consequences of future new partners for the programme and the intensifying of the cooperation, with additional requirements for the further improvement of quality, the manageability of the programme has to be of prime concern.

#### **Monitoring and development of programme indicators**

27. Besides the criteria for eligibility and the general pre-conditions for participation, there are as yet no clearly stated indicators for monitoring the programme. In addition to what was formally reported by the parties, the regular presence of the permanent representative in the activities, the dramatic increase in the reporting of activities by the press, and the overall performance of the parties in the political life of the country by the publication of statements on issues of national and international interest, as well as the performance in parliament for those there represented, have allowed for a reasonable level of general monitoring during implementation.

28. The question of the indicators refers the evaluators back to the design of the IMD programme for Mozambique. Indicators cannot or should not be produced in a vacuum or provided on a generalised basis. At present, the indicators used by IMD are those which were available at the time and were useful in the course of the programme. The evaluation has highlighted a number of quantitative, and mostly qualitative developments on the level of projects, of institution building of individual parties and in the political party life in Mozambique in general that could serve as a basis for some indicators in a future monitoring framework. It was noted that IMD had already initiated this discussion and organised a workshop in the Hague in June last on operationalising institutional development criteria for political parties, also attended by stakeholders from Mozambique. The evaluators encourage IMD to further progress on this road and to initiate similar discussions with stakeholders in Mozambique to develop ideas about relevant indicators at country and programme level. The Mozambique programme could be a pilot at country level providing an input to what has recently been initiated by IMD.

## II. Introduction

### Objectives of the programme evaluation

The objectives of the programme evaluation are the following:

Firstly, it should measure the results achieved and, if possible, the impact of the programme in relation to its initial objectives. This may result in recommendations regarding the programme as a whole and regarding its different elements. The conclusions and recommendations of this evaluation will be relevant for the continued development of IMD's Mozambique programme.

Secondly, the programmatic processes will be reviewed in order to have a better understanding of the methodology and the operational modalities applied over the last three years and their impact on the programme. This includes the form of the co-operation, the administrative procedures and the role of the representation, and the partnership with other (national and international) organisations.

Thirdly, the evaluation should indicate any lessons which can be learned.

It is noted in the terms of reference that this programme evaluation is a first evaluation of IMD programmes. In this regard, the evaluation will also be an example for subsequent evaluations and will set certain standards for the future. Furthermore, the programme in Mozambique is -in terms of duration- the most advanced of all IMD country programmes. The methods applied in Mozambique have served as examples for similar programmes in other IMD countries and the evaluation is, therefore, also expected to produce recommendations that may be of relevance to other IMD programmes (annex 1).

The evaluation team consisted of Mr. Jan Peter Dijkstra, mission leader (CATALIC-Netherlands), Dra. Iraê Baptista Lundin and Mr. Gabriel Machado (CBE Consultants-Mozambique). The evaluation programme is detailed in annex 2.

### Methodology

The evaluation was carried out using a methodological approach basically similar to that recommended in the terms of reference, consisting specifically of:

- The study of documents, including programme documents, memoranda, correspondence, contracts, project documents and reports, as well as internal and external audits.
- Interviews with IMD staff both in the Netherlands and in Maputo.
- Interviews with selected party leaders and functionaries, heads of agencies running similar programmes, and other

- stakeholders in the process of democratisation, such as UNDP.
- Local partners such as the Technical Secretariat of the Electoral Administration (STAE) and the Conselho Nacional de Juventude (CNJ).
- Consultants working as resource providers for the NZA/IMD programme and the auditors PWC.
- A workshop involving members of the political parties registered in Mozambique and IMD partners, to discuss common issues.
- A meeting with the Netherlands ambassador.

The parties whose files were reviewed were selected according to the following criteria:

- The two major parties, which were also those benefiting most in terms of drawing rights – FRELIMO and RENAMO.
- The party that was the first to register in 1991 – UNAMO.
- The parties that had benefited from the support to design a strategic plan – RENAMO, PIMO, PRD, PT and PALMO
- Parties that had faced problems in the political process and had split up as a result of irreconcilable differences within the leadership – FAP.
- Parties weak in terms of political performance, also shown to be weak partners of IMD – PPPM.
- A party operating with religious links - PIMO.

Altogether, the project files of 14 parties out of the 25 registered in 2001 were reviewed, not taken at random from among the partners, but selected on the basis of their relevance as described above. The review of the relevant documents took the form of an analytical reading according to a plan previously designed based on the proposed questionnaire; dividing the results into four levels, and then studying the process and the modalities implemented. The methodology used by the programme and by the various parties in designing and implementing the projects was also studied in the documents on file and assessed further during the bilateral interviews. The same methodology was followed for the cross party files, all of which were reviewed. Follow-on assessment took place as part of the above-mentioned interviews with political parties and with co-sponsoring and implementing partners in these activities.

All parties whose files were reviewed, except two (PAMOMO and FAP) which could not be reached by the evaluators during the mission period, were visited for interviews, as well as one (PCN) among the partners that had not become a partner of NZA/IMD in

2001-2003. The interviews were conducted by one or two of the evaluators, in line with the questionnaire which had been divided such that questions would be posed to those players most suitable to provide that specific information, i.e., the political parties, donor partners, implementers (persons/agencies used as resources), the advisory body, the IMD staff, the auditors, key reference players and the Dutch embassy (annex 3).

In the case of the major political parties, FRELIMO and RENAMO, two interviews were held: one at implementational level and another at political level. The small parties were interviewed mostly by approaching the president and/or the general secretary. The team of evaluators decided to conduct the party interviews as much as possible at the party headquarters; making use of the opportunity to gain an appreciation of the real conditions in which they currently operate.

The collective session, in the form of a workshop, took place at the end of the interviews, and all parties were invited, not only those that had been visited bilaterally. The session focused on three basic questions:

- The conditions (i) for becoming and (ii) remaining a partner of IMD.
- Issues of common needs/interests for joint activities, to be supported by the cross party approach, and how they should be organised.
- The connection, if any, between the bilateral support and the cross party activities supported by IMD, and the development of democracy in Mozambique.
- Miscellaneous issues

The workshop lasted for three hours and the questions were discussed in an atmosphere of participation with consensus being reached on some issues and contradictory views being acknowledged on others, all however being presented in a civilised manner of interacting to discuss party political issues. Other questions were also brought up, concerning bilateral issues, methodology of work between IMD and the parties, and questions of national relevance and broad interest in party politics.

The findings collected during far more than the two full weeks of hard work programmed for the evaluation, were collated by the three evaluators into a first draft document for debriefing of the main conclusions at the IMD office in Maputo and for the elaboration of the final report.

The evaluators express their gratitude to the IMD representative and his staff for all the support they received from them. The evaluators



very much appreciated the hospitality extended to them when using the IMD office as a home base for their evaluation work.

### **Structure of the evaluation report**

In chapter I of the report the NZA-IMD programme is summarised on the basis of factual information derived from the programme proposal and financial request 1999-2002, the subsidy contract between SNZA and the Minister for Development Co-operation, the programme's yearly plans and annual reports, NZA and IMD's yearly reports, and various narrative and financial reports and overviews from NZA and IMD, including those from the representation in Maputo. Chapter II provides an overview of political party life in Mozambique and discusses the main developments and trends during the programme period. Chapters I and II are intended to provide a general background to the following core chapter of the report which deals with the evaluation issues.

Chapter III follows as closely as possible the structure of the terms of reference and the order of questions. The 3 sub-chapters deal respectively with programme results, programmatic processes and implementation modalities. They form the basis for the (main) lessons learned that are presented in chapter IV.

## **I. Overview of the NZA/IMD programme in Mozambique 2000 - 2003**

### **Introduction**

The activities in Mozambique of the Foundation for the New South Africa (SNZA) started with the implementation of a pilot programme in 1998/1999. The programme was evaluated by EPDCM and led to the conclusion that this form of support to democratisation processes in the context of Mozambique is a very specific and meaningful complement to other initiatives directed to good governance. NZA started the three-year programme in 2000. The main purpose of the programme was to support the political parties in Mozambique in the field of capacity building and institutional strengthening.

After submitting the proposal in July 1999, a decision was taken on 15 June 2000 whereby SNZA received funding for a period of three years from the Minister for Development Co-operation of the Netherlands. The programme subsidy for these three years, running from 1 May 2000 to 31 August 2003, was Euro 2,846,815.- (NLG 6,300,000.-). The main components of the funding are a bilateral fund for direct projects with political parties and a special fund for cross party activities. Operational costs in Mozambique and management costs are the two other components of the budget.



### **Main programme objective, preferred projects, modalities, criteria and monitoring**

The main objective of the SNZA fund for Mozambique, as formulated in the programme proposal is the promotion of the process of democratisation by supporting political parties in Mozambique in the area of capacity building. The definition of capacity building is described in the programme as the strengthening of political parties at all levels, from the top to the local cadres, and of the party infrastructure, as well as the promotion of a democratic culture and mode of behaviour by the leadership and cadres of the party.

The nine preferred types of projects that would gain in the programme are:

- political training on principles and processes of multiparty democracy;
- leadership training, particularly for cadres at provincial and local level;
- training in management capacities;
- joint projects aimed at promoting mutual trust and collaboration between parties;
- development of better channels of communication between elected representatives and their voters, including the strengthening of political accountability;
- strengthening the capacity of the parties to generate their own funds, especially by charging membership fees;
- strengthening of financial management capabilities;
- improving processes of policy definition;
- strengthening the influence and participation of women in political parties.

The aim is to spend a substantial part of the fund in areas outside the capital. The interpretation given to that principle is that the major part of funding should benefit party activities outside Maputo. If a party activity is organised in the capital with party members from the various provinces, this activity is also considered as one that (partly) benefits party activities outside the capital.

Project proposals would be assessed on their vision and specific measures vis-à-vis the promoting of equality in the participation of women in politics. Priority would be given to initiatives coming from women's groups in political parties.

As the fund is intended for short, concrete contributions to capacity building, some requests for financing would not qualify: normal running costs; propaganda and regular publicity; illegal costs; costs that have already been incurred by a party for the proposed activity.

*The bilateral fund* is based on a system of drawing rights for each party. In accordance with this principle the funding was eventually based on

a basic amount for each of the 25 parties that participated in the 1999 elections, with an extra sum for those parties that gained 2% or more during these elections. The extra sum is based on the percentage of votes. The RENAMO-UE coalition gained 38.8 % of the votes and consists of 11 parties. The division of the extra amount for each of the parties of this coalition has been based on the number of seats gained by each of the coalition members in parliament. The basic amount for the first phase was Euro 5,447.- and for the second phase Euro 9,078.-.

In the original programme document it is stated that new, emerging parties that have not been able to participate in the national elections but which meet the Fund's criteria for a political party, would receive the basic amount of the drawing right (in practice political parties that were officially established after the 1999 elections and, given the above mentioned criteria, were not eligible for bilateral support, were invited by NZA/IMD to participate in cross party activities; this has gradually broadened the group of partners).

This document included the intention to reserve a limited part of the Fund for activities by independent candidates, including those who seceded from existing parties. These persons would minimally need to present a document explaining their aim for a new political movement/party, and offer guarantees for a relevant and justified spending of the financial support from the Fund. In actual practice, this type of bilateral partnership has not occurred in the programme period.

*The special Fund* is open for cross party activities and support to independent groups. The budget, objectives, orientation and operational procedures of the special Fund are described in a separate document of March 2001.

The programme proposal states that the operation of the Fund in Mozambique will entail considerable risks in terms of effectiveness, efficiency and justifiability and that NZA will execute the programme in such a way that the negative consequences of these risks are mitigated as much as possible. In this context, a number of measures were described in the programme and additional procedures were developed and documented, such as the Guidelines for project proposals and reporting, the continued involvement of PriceWaterhouseCoopers as programme auditors and the monitoring of project activities by the permanent representative, as well as the evaluation of project proposals and project reports.

### **Institutional developments**

NZA started practical preparations for the new programme at the end of 1999, with a number of activities including (preparing for) the recruitment of a representative, who arrived in Maputo in early October 2000 following an orientation visit in June. One of the main operational recommendations in the evaluation mission in 1999 had been that a new programme should be implemented with an SNZA representation in Mozambique. Implementation of the programme

could only start after official registration of NZA as an international NGO, which took place on 28<sup>th</sup> December 2000 by formal agreement of the Mozambican Ministry of External Relations and Co-operation.

The establishment of IMD in April 2000 also led to the agreement to transfer, as soon as possible, the Mozambique programme from NZA to IMD. The start of IMD's activities and the creation of IMD structures, particularly the establishment of the IMD bureau in the Hague in 2002, led to operational and formal links between IMD and the permanent representation in Mozambique, also in the context of supporting identification, development and implementation of programmes in other countries in the Southern African region. The NZA board was at that time still legally and financially responsible for the Mozambique programme. The formal integration of the programme within IMD took place on 31<sup>st</sup> December 2002. This has not changed the objective of the Mozambique programme.

The NZA/IMD representative in Maputo started with a small staff working part-time for IMD under a sharing arrangement with SNV. The local staff is presently composed of a programme officer, logistics officer, secretary and driver.

### **Programme developments in 2000**

The main activities in 2000 were the presentation of NZA and initial discussions with the Mozambican political parties, the Netherlands embassy and organisations working in the field of democratisation, the preparations for and the establishment of a permanent representation in Maputo and initial discussions with the parties on project proposals. An NZA delegation visited Mozambique in December. The permanent representative started to build his network and reported regularly on the programme. The year ended with the official registration of the NZA foundation in Mozambique.

### **Programme developments in 2001**

On the basis of the Board's decision on the distribution of drawing rights, letters were sent to all 25 parties in February 2001 to inform them about the amount of the drawing right in the first phase of the programme and to invite them formally to submit proposals. The basic sum was equal for all parties, supplemented with an extra amount for a group of parties based on the criteria mentioned above. Therefore, half of the total budget of NLG 600,000.- (Euro 271,125.-) available for bilateral projects consisted of basic amounts and the other half was divided according to election results. The parties were also informed of the Guidelines for project proposals and reporting.

Political parties were guided by the representative in the fields of preparation and realisation of projects. He also assisted them in generating ideas on training, topics for seminars, suggestions for facilitators and institutional changes. The representative advised the Board on project proposals and reported regularly on political

developments in Mozambique and on progress in the implementation of the programme. He continued expanding his network and the co-operation with other international NGO's.

Bilateral projects were contracted with most of the political parties, and implemented in the field of capacity building, varying from national congresses, regional meetings and training of provincial and district delegates to seminars on the role of opposition parties or the position of women in politics.

The special fund for cross party activities was used to identify the parties' requirements for financial administration and the organisation of cross party seminars on strategic planning, financial administration and project formulation jointly with other international partners, and on the theme of democracy and the development of local implementing partners.

Discussions with advisors to the Mozambique programme in 2001 were related to the participation of political parties and the division of funds, the political situation and possible topics for cross party activities.

### **Programme developments in 2002**

At programme level, the plan was during the first nine months of the year to discuss, advise and recommend on projects for the second phase in the bilateral co-operation with the parties and to finalise these projects during the last quarter. In the same period, preparations and formalisation of third phase projects would start. New cross party activities would be initiated and implemented throughout the year.

In addition to bilateral projects still ongoing from the 1<sup>st</sup> phase and from the start of the 2<sup>nd</sup> phase, new projects were concluded with 16 political parties. These were mainly in the field of national and regional party meetings on themes such as elections, strategy development, internal communication, etc.

Cross party activities, courses or seminars, took place in the field of financial administration, party capacity building at local and regional level, the relationship between political parties and the media and local government and local elections. A project was initiated on strategy development for a selection of political parties, comprising cross party and bilateral elements. Partnerships with other international NGO's continued in 2002 and a number of local partners were involved in implementation.

The IMD subsidy application of July 2002 contains the IMD Programme Framework, in which for Mozambique as well as other IMD programme countries, the phase of programme implementation, programme focus/description, expected results and partners per mid-2002 are summarised. The expected results for the short term are: stronger and better organised party organisations, reinforced financial administration of the parties and improved preparation for elections. For the longer term, the expected results are reinforced dialogue and

reduction of political tension, broader participation of political parties in national decision-making and increasing facilitation of activities at provincial and local levels. This framework is also appended to the IMD year plan 2003.

### **Programme developments first half of 2003**

The annual plan for Mozambique indicated that programme development in 2003 was expected to be strongly related to the run up of political parties to the local elections later in the year and, in the more distant future, the national elections of 2004.

The annual plan proposed that drawing rights would be allocated to a total of 18 parties (in 2 categories, the second category under additional conditions). Seven parties that had not achieved projects within the NZA-IMD framework or who had performed poorly were excluded from continuing bilateral support. These parties would be accepted in a cross party setting if they were to co-operate in a coalition. They would also be invited to cross party activities.

New bilateral activities in the third phase of the bilateral programme have so far been contracted with 11 political parties, centred mainly on preparing for local elections, capacity building of cadres and preparation for a national congress.

Cross party projects in the first half of 2003 focused on the preparation of elections. Another important programme element is the continuation of the strategic planning programme with 5 political parties. One activity with a national partner resulted in a seminar for youth leagues of all political parties. Co-operation and co-ordination with other international NGO's and donors was also a feature of the programme in this period. Representatives of 6 Mozambican political parties participated in the electoral visitors' programme organised by IMD around the general elections in The Netherlands in January.

IMD overviews of the bilateral projects in phases 1, 2 and 3 and an overview of cross party projects can be found in annexes 6, 7, 8 and 9.

### **Budgetary developments 2000 - 2003**

The overall budget in the programme proposal is specified for the three years of implementation, not according to the calendar year but in line with the programme years. In May 2001, a revised programme budget was approved by the Board, changing the structure from programme years to calendar years. In the drawing rights administration, unused rights, once allocated, would accumulate (see annex 4).

The 2002 programme of activities (Dec. 2001) foresaw that the funds available for the second phase would be exhausted in 2002 and that the project expenditures for the 3<sup>rd</sup> phase would be committed in the period after August 2002. At that time, almost 90 % of the 1<sup>st</sup> phase drawing rights had been exhausted.

The formal integration of the Mozambique programme within IMD led to the ending of the subsidy for the original three-year programme as of 31/12/2002. From 2003, the Mozambique programme is therefore budgeted in line with the IMD modalities, including year planning and reporting, calendar year (cash based) budgets as part of the broader programme of that organisation. The 3<sup>rd</sup> phase of drawing rights shifted under these modalities to the calendar year 2003 with a fresh budget for 2003.

The total budget for 2003 is Euro 500,000.- (350,000.- bilateral and 150,000.- cross party).

## **II. Overview of political parties and main developments and trends during the evaluation period<sup>1</sup>**

### **Overview**

Political parties are a relatively new phenomenon in the political landscape of the country after almost three decades of independence. Some appeared in the early 1990's, on the eve of the peace agreement after 16 years of armed conflict, others followed later.

In fact, Mozambique was ruled by a single political party for 15 years, with a centrally planned economy moving towards socialism, until the Constitution of 1990 inaugurated a new era of pluralism and democracy where ideas other than those of the ruling power were accepted as part of the new climate of reconciliation and nation building.

According to article 77 of the Constitution of 1990: (1) "All citizens have the freedom to form and participate in political parties. (2) Party membership shall be voluntary, and shall derive from the freedom to achieve their specific objectives and to own assets in order to carry out their activities".

Consequently, in 1991 a law (7/91) was approved by parliament introducing a legal political framework for the existence and operation of political parties in Mozambique.

The General Peace Accord signed in Rome in October 1992 was the culmination of the efforts to direct the country towards a process of democracy and reconciliation. Not only in terms of embracing former enemies, but also of accepting their ideas and political approaches as part of the democratic game of pluralism, to build together the

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<sup>1</sup> Baptista Lundin, I. (1996) Political Parties: A reading of the ethnic regional factor in the democratisation process. M. Mazula (ed.) *Mozambique – Elections, democracy and development*. Inter-Africa Group: Johannesburg. The Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique-1990 (1991). Published by the African-European Institute: Amsterdam.



envisaged and sorely needed development of the country, in a spirit of respect for the Constitution.

In 1990, the Liberal and Democratic Party of Mozambique (PALMO) was the first party to hold a congress in the democratic Mozambique, and in 1991 UNAMO, the National Union of Mozambique, was the first party to register. Eighteen parties participated in the national elections of 1994 and 25 in 1999, independently or in coalition.

The two major forces in the constellation of political parties in Mozambique are the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) and the Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO). The first liberated the country from colonialism after 10 years of war and has been in government since independence in 1975; the latter has fought a war for 16 years that only ended in 1992 with a general peace accord. The fact that FRELIMO has been in government for such a long period and RENAMO has been involved in a military conflict, makes them well known both at domestic and international level, gaining sympathies from peers and support from the majority of the population who share their ideas of government. According to the results of the national elections held in 1994 and 1999, FRELIMO has its main constituency in the urban areas of the Southern region and RENAMO in the rural areas, particularly in the Central and Northern regions.

These two parties together form the great majority of the electoral preferences, but there is also a group of more than twenty parties in the national political landscape representing people willing to participate in the process of building a better Mozambique along democratic principles.

The first multi-party parliament housed FRELIMO, RENAMO and the Democratic Union (UD), and a coalition of three parties, PALMO, the Mozambique National Party (PANAMO) and the National Democratic Party (PANADE) which exceeded the threshold of 5 percent and won 5 seats in parliament. The extra-parliamentary opposition won 12.74 per cent of the votes, which was more than double what was required for gaining seats in parliament if they had formed a coalition.

In view of the figure of 12.74 per cent, after 1994 questions were posed (Baptista Lundin 1996: 451) to assess their legitimacy, their specific weight in political life, and their importance in the stabilisation (or destabilisation) of the post-election process: who and what did these unarmed political forces represent?

Understanding the phenomenon, or maybe puzzled by these results, the national press and various national and international organisations operating in Mozambique provided the forum and the opportunity for debate and discussion with the participants in these forces, also



bearing in mind that some of them congregated around symbolic figures known in the country as political activists since before independence.

The feeling was that those 12.74 per cent should not be thrown away as they represented the hopes of more than a hundred thousand people. One of the outcomes of that feeling was that the small parties with hindsight realised that, unless they united, they would achieve very little and would not fulfil the confidence the people had placed in their programmes. They decided to get together to agree and establish principles of coalition among themselves and/or with the bigger opposition party, RENAMO. The result was that in 1999 the RENAMO-Electoral Union alliance gave those small constituencies a voice in parliament, outside the polarised reality of the two major parties. This has somehow created a new scenario in terms of parliamentary discussion in Mozambique.

The principle of coalition has thus constituted a new approach on the part of the small parties, even though this has not been without setbacks and problems in terms of reaching agreements on a functional division of responsibilities, rights and duties. The case of the Electoral Union trying to operate on its own merit outside RENAMO's umbrella for the elections of 2003 (local) and 2004 (national), which was not successful, is one example of the dynamics of co-operation: holding conflicting views, discussing these and learning to do better in terms of forming coalitions, but being aware of the reality of who is big and who is small against the background of the 5 per cent threshold needed to get into the national parliament. There is, however, a degree of mobility among the small political parties in terms of forming coalitions in order to find a route to greater participation in the democratic process in Mozambique.

It is noticeable that in the myriad of parties, labels such as liberal are used by some of them, which could imply a pledge to liberal democracy, which they in fact advocate in their programmes. The same is valid for democracy and national unity. However, in terms of ideology, no clear distinction among the parties in Mozambique can be inferred from their position in the national and international landscape, bearing in mind the positions they take on questions of national and international interest, apart from six of the smaller parties (PALMO, PADEMO, PPPM, PRD, UDF and UNAMO) which adopt a federal approach in the programme. FRELIMO is a member of the international socialist and RENAMO of the Christian Conservative International Coalition of parties. In this context, PT has plans, not yet set out in concrete terms, to join the Second International party, and PIMO is on the side of the moralist right in the world order, looking for interactive contacts with that side of party politics.

### **Main political developments and trends during the evaluation period**

What is currently being seen in the political life in Mozambique is the result of the process of gradual stabilisation in the country in a way that exceeds what could reasonably be expected after 16 years of armed conflict, even though conflicts can still be observed, serving as a reminder of the reasons behind the war, some of which have not yet been fully addressed in the political sphere. The feeling of exclusion from political life is still present in many political forces and among groups of citizens, leading at times to setbacks in the process of democratisation. However, in the midst of successes and setbacks it is positive for the process that one sees more of the former situation, political parties trying to find niches in which to operate in the new political climate of democracy and establishing a dialogue both inside and outside parliament. The bigger parties are consolidating their positions and learning how to share the same political space in terms of democracy, disputing vigorously in parliament over political issues that divide them, but interacting and working together in situations where it is important to show cohesiveness to the citizens, such as the celebrations of the 10 years of peace in October 2002. This is a fact of utmost importance for the process of reconciliation.

As for the small parties, they are coping with day-to-day life, some experiencing more difficulties than others, some slowly consolidating their position in society as respected organisations among their peers. Others are gradually disappearing through lack of popular support and lack of commitment and seriousness on the part of the leadership.

To review historical facts relevant to the process, the local elections of 1998, which could have been an opportunity for the small parties to gain local sympathies in terms of offering alternatives to the two major parties, have resulted in a boycott by the opposition in protest against the substance of the electoral law. RENAMO has pulled out, together with the majority of the opposition. However, one small party participated in the elections, together with 10 civic-political movements formed specially for the occasion, some of which will last and others of which will disappear. Four of those civic-political movements had members elected in the cities of Maputo, Beira and Nacala, and in the village of Manhiça. The Labour Party (PT) has gained seats in the municipalities of Xai-xai (3) and Maputo (1), and RUMO in Matola. This opportunity has provided the parties, especially PT, with a platform on which to work at local level, allowing the party to grow in terms of becoming more mature and responsible in the political arena.

As mentioned above, for 1999 the opposition got together with a coalition of RENAMO plus ten small parties, bringing new blood into parliament in terms of ideas and the people defending them. The

presence of 20 personalities outside the benches of the ex-belligerents, two from each party of the coalition, has lent fresh breath in terms of presenting and discussing the difficult issues in the sharply polarised parliament.

For the coming local elections of 2003 there have been substantial amendments to the electoral law and consequently, political life at national and local levels is fully involved in preparing for the event.

Ten small opposition parties tried to build an electoral alliance by themselves, but failed to do so, re-joining RENAMO in the Electoral Union until the end of the mandate 2004-2009.

One can say that after more than a decade since the new constitution inaugurated a new climate in state affairs, the whole political landscape of Mozambique has changed for the better in terms of the development of democracy. Civil society is emerging in the sphere of governance, becoming stronger and participating in public life by demanding the promised changes and calling for more commitment from those elected to power, which is happening alongside a growing and active private sector. In this context, rather than simply representing internal interests, both the big and small parties are also participating actively in public life in terms of forming and expressing opinions, interacting among themselves and with their constituencies - in short, building the framework for democratic participation in a climate of pluralism.

In spite of shortcomings, the political parties are clearly maturing in an environment where time and hard work by internal and external supporters have also contributed to indicating which groups that are more serious than others, in terms of being accountable in words and deeds both to their members and to society at large, regardless of their size and the support they enjoy among the general public. This being so, it is obvious which are the parties that after 10 years have not developed beyond being a group of people gravitating around a symbolic figure and/or around an ethnicity or region of the country, and which are the ones that, in spite of struggling with a lack of funds, are doing a good job in terms of satisfactory representation of their constituencies.

In this process, the two major parties, FRELIMO and RENAMO, have become more responsible in terms of understanding the democratic game and playing a part. There are still disputes and heated arguments in the interactions between the major parties, but these take place for the most part under constitutional principles. Some parties have disappeared, even if they are still formally registered. In fact, some of them never left the suitcase to gain the road and the masses. Other parties have split in two as a result of power struggles and/or personal disagreements among party leaders. Particular personalities have been advised to build a third force

supposedly to counter the power of FRELIMO and RENAMO and to put an end to the current polarization of political life, either by trying to gather support from within the party around itself, as in the case of members of RENAMO, or by building coalitions. This idea is promoted by a number of organizations, institutions and agencies, both inside and outside the country, advocating that it would strengthen the incipient democracy. This has so far not materialized in factual terms.

To summarize, the political process has matured substantially in Mozambique with the greater responsibility shown by party political actions taken and attitudes adopted to guarantee the country's future development. The making of the Agenda 2025, a document produced with the participation of the civil society and along cross party lines to design the development of the country for the next twenty years, is an existing milestone which confirms the statement. Finally, it can be said that the democratic process in Mozambique is there to stay, growing through the process of greater participation and through the exercising of civic liberty provided by the constitution, and that the political parties are an important element in the process in the new climate inaugurated by the Constitution of 1990 and by the General Peace Accord signed in 1992. Annex 5 contains the list of parties registered in Mozambique and some comments on their history.

## III. The evaluation issues

### III.1. Results

#### *Results of individual projects*

#### **Budgetary performance**

Within the scope of this programme (2000 - 2003), 64 bilateral projects were proposed, of which 56 were approved and have been or are being implemented at the time of the present evaluation. The total amount disbursed for the projects contracted is Euro 608,081.- The total of bilateral allocated drawing rights in the 3 programme phases amounted to Euro 1,043,084 (up to 31/12/03), on the basis of adjusted provisions in the annual plans. The total budgeted in the original programme proposal was Euro 1,897,876.- (up to 31/8/03).

Out of 11 cross party projects (some of which have been carried out in phases), 4 have been organised and financed in co-operation with AWEPA and NDI, 1 with AWEPA only and the remaining 6 have been organised and financed individually by IMD. The original budget reserved Euro 149,119.- for cross party activities during the three year period. This amount was adjusted in the yearly planning process to a total of Euro 319,453.- including an upward adjustment in the 2003 (calendar) year plan to Euro 150,000.- which covers a longer period than was anticipated in the original programme. Total disbursements for this programme component have been Euro 186,564.- up to mid-June 2003.

In the period January to July 2003, the bilateral programme absorbed (in actual disbursements) around 60% of the financial resources budgeted for that year. Disbursements as per the end of June 2003 for the cross party component stand at 35% of the annual budget. Budgetary performance in the bilateral programme has, therefore, improved considerably in the first half of 2003. The disbursements in 2003 of the cross party component seem to lag behind but the state of preparation of a number of follow-on activities is such that this could be compensated in the remaining part of the year. Budgetary planning in 2003 has become far more realistic than in previous years (annex 4).

#### **Bilateral projects**

The evaluation of achievements in the bilateral projects has essentially been based on the review of existing documents in the files of each political party at the IMD offices, complemented by interviews with senior staff members of the selected political parties. On the basis of reviews of a total of 35 projects from 12 parties (this is 60% of the total of the bilateral projects contracted, 57% of the parties that received funding and 84% of the total value of bilateral disbursements to date) the following results were found:

- The target groups were in general very well addressed according to the proposed objectives defined in the project proposals (86% of the sample). Only one project was difficult to judge and in four instances no information was found on which to base an assessment.
- In general, the meetings/trainings/seminars have taken place (97%). There was in only one case doubt as to whether the meeting had actually taken place.
- It was difficult to evaluate the methods used for conducting the meetings because of a lack of supporting documentation. Most of the methods used were classical, such as lectures, working groups and plenary discussions. In three projects (8.5%), methods were less conventional. Simulations and other participatory methods have been used.
- For the same reason as above, it was difficult to judge the level of preparation for project implementation. It was possible to infer that the preparation was adequate in 13 projects (37%) and reasonable in 7 projects (20%). The preparation was inadequate in only one project.
- Of the 35 bilateral projects evaluated, 24 (68.5%) were “Political Training regarding principles and process of multiparty democracy”, 1 was “Leadership training, specially for senior staff at provincial and local level”, 1 was “Training in management skills”, 6 (17%) were “Development of better channels of communication between chosen representatives and their voters, including strengthening of political accountability” and 3 (8.5%) were “Strengthening the influence and participation of women in political parties”. This means that in the evaluation sample five out of the nine types of preferred projects were represented.
- The drawing rights were generally used as agreed in the contracts. In only three cases was there an indication that fewer people than those in the proposals have participated in the events. In two cases there was insufficient information for an assessment and in only one case were there doubts about whether the drawing right was used for the agreed purpose.
- The precise quality of bilateral projects has been one of the most difficult issues to judge as none of the narrative reports included the evaluation of individual participants. However, also taking into account the personal reports of the IMD representative and his programme officer based on attendance of the activities, the evaluators conclude that the quality was quite variable, i.e. from very good to fair and sometimes poor. Political parties were without exception positive about the results of the bilateral activities.



### **Cross party projects**

The evaluation of the results of cross party activities followed the same pattern as for the bilateral activities, supplemented with interviews with the main IMD partner organisations and a number of key informants, as well as some project implementers. The following conclusions have been drawn:

- The target groups were in general senior political party members, both at national and provincial level. In general, parties were well represented, but the selection criteria for some activities (e.g. Strategic Planning) were not always transparent.
- In general, meetings/training/seminars took place. The “Youth Parliament” and a research project by IPADE have not yet been implemented.
- In general, the methods used for conducting meetings were good to very good. IMD had an important say in the design of these projects and, for example, in the co-operation with AWEPA and NDI, selected highly experienced trainers/facilitators. The participation of members from different parties has contributed to more dynamic discussions.
- The level of preparation for the projects was generally very good.
- Comparing the cross party projects to the list of preferred projects that has been used for the bilateral co-operation, one can conclude that out of the 11 cross party projects financed, the majority fall into four categories, though some could also be classified under other categories given their mixed character. The research project could not be categorised under the preferred projects. In the light of the general objective of the special Fund, it was found that all the cross party activities remain within the scope envisaged in terms of subject and modalities.
- The quality of the cross party project was generally considered good. The assessment of the participants in the different activities has ranged from average to very good. Most people interviewed made very positive reference to these projects.

*Effects of projects on the institutional capacity of political parties*

### **Bilateral projects**

The evaluation of the effects of bilateral projects on the institutional capacity of each one of the parties was carried out based essentially on interviews with senior members of the selected political parties. The following are the findings:



- IMD is the only NGO to fund political parties directly. Several small parties, in particular those not represented in Parliament, would have had great difficulty in undertaking programme activities without this type of assistance.
- The effects of this type of project on the two largest parties were also significant, but the emphasis on priorities differed. One of them would not have organised its latest congress without the support of IMD. This would have had consequences for its national and international image. The other party would not so easily have been able to resume contacts with its grassroots.
- One important aspect of the bilateral projects in the capacity building of individual parties has been the opportunity offered to learn the basics of “Political Principles and Process of Multiparty Democracy”. Most of them were not aware of the true meaning of multiparty democracy.
- It was found to be of great relevance in the bilateral projects that parties could organise and structure themselves as true organisations with democratically elected bodies, build close links with their members at the grassroots level, and have a large and conscious participation from the members in open, frank and direct discussions about the internal problems of the party and the civil society. Some parties have held national meetings and congresses with representatives from all provinces and some districts, thanks to the financial support provided by the IMD.
- Some parties have improved their capacity to programme and implement tasks that help to build a clear line in terms of institutional capacity building. The funds provided for training give the party the opportunity to programme and carry out actions, giving those in the training departments more room to work. One of the senior party members interviewed commented: “We made the change and organised training courses to improve institutional performance within the party. So, we have now members who have a better idea of what they are supposed to do in terms of carrying out their activities according to their respective responsibilities.”
- Another general result of bilateral activities is that it is developing people’s confidence, both within and outside the party. Comments were made to the effect that they are saying things with more substance and interacting better both with their comrades and with other people, be it members of other parties or the population in general.
- There is an increasing self-awareness from the parties that they are being taken more seriously by the civilian society. This fact can be witnessed by the increased attention being paid by the media to the small parties.
- Major target groups that participated in bilateral projects were members holding leadership positions at central, provincial and district level. Though many projects include participants in parties from women’s or youth leagues, there is as yet no structural

approach to further the inclusion of these target groups in activities. The process of wider participation by women has been initiated and has become reality for some parties.

### **Cross party projects**

Cross party projects have contributed significantly to strengthening the institutional capacity of the political parties individually. The examples below confirm this finding:

- Through seminars on the relationship between the media and political parties, party members at national and provincial level had the opportunity to learn skills and exchange experiences on how the party can “sell” its image to national and international public opinion.
- Through provincial seminars on elections, the political parties have improved their internal organisation significantly in terms of a better organisation of activists for political campaigns and other needs of the party and of the country’s democratic process.
- The strategic planning project, still limited to five parties, assisted these parties’ strategic approach to the development of the party, based on the assessment of their current situation, at the same time improving the basis for future direction, action and support.
- The development of training courses in administration and financial management has allowed party members to enhance their knowledge of the subject. However, one could note that this training had only limited impact on the quality of financial reporting. The main reasons for this were that very often the selection of participants to the course was not optimal, there were frequent changes in the people who were supposed to write the financial reports and the guidelines for the development of financial reports were too general.

With regard to the sustainability of funding for bilateral projects, one of the interviewees made the following comment which summarises the discussion on this subject: “We will not achieve it in 10 to 15 years, but we can use the funds in an effective and efficient manner and in line with the objectives we are trying to meet. What we should probably do for the future, is to programme actions that are better linked to one other and target the same group so we can see a line that indicates the improvement of their performance. This would enable us to see the impacts better and to be self-reliant in that respect in the medium to long term”. The dependence of parties on the bilateral support for programme activities is high but unavoidable in the context of Mozambique’s general level of development. Another interviewee made it very clear that the political parties should not view IMD as the only organisation available for funding their activities directly. Fundraising was an issue here.

## *Effects on democratisation and multiparty democracy*

### **Bilateral projects**

The bilateral projects were appreciated by the parties because they were concerned with the very nature of the party and its principles. It offered them the opportunity to implement their own programme in terms of training and capacity building. There is evidence, though not quantifiable, that the programme made a contribution to the growth of democracy in Mozambique. Political parties are one of the basic pillars, key players and subjects of democracy, alongside the government, trade unions, private sector and civil society. By creating better communication channels with their members and voters and by electing their bodies in an open manner, political parties are implementing internal democracy. Democracy must take place in real environments, and one of those privileged environments is the political party. If there is no internal democracy in the parties, there will be no democracy in the country.

Bilateral projects are the starting point for the parties to establish themselves, i.e. to organise themselves in democratic institutions, and therefore become true examples of a democratic environment. When the parties become more solid in institutional terms and are better organised, they will make a contribution to the development of the democratic process in the country.

### **Cross party projects**

Having supported institutional capacity building of the parties individually, most cross party projects have also contributed, be it in a modest manner, to the process of development of democracy in Mozambique. The following comments made by some senior political party members clearly illustrate this conclusion:

- The added value for the cross party activities is that it approximates the parties.
- There are tensions somehow in terms of interactions. In fact, considering our past, that even after ten years of peace, with the first national elections already nine years back, we still have to use every opportunity to demolish the mistrust existing between the political parties. Those activities bring the parties close together, and the tensions are gradually reduced when one meets around issues of common interest. Then we concentrate not on what divides us, but on what can unite us.
- Cross party meetings are very good. Not only to discuss common issues but also to reduce the mistrust existing among the parties. To manage the post-conflict situation implies that we have to be aware of the even smaller detail that can create and exacerbate hostile thoughts.
- When we do things together, such as the observation of the elections in Holland, it is a good example of where we can all

together see what the others are doing. We felt that, that we should adopt a quasi-collective attitude and, in fact, there was even a joint press interview when we came back, which is quite an achievement in terms of building of trust.

- The participation in workshops is good because we can then work together, and see how a party should function in terms of financial management, for example.
- During the meeting/seminar we attended in Holland, I and a member of other party had to discuss and make a reflection about political parties in the abstract sense. This was a good occasion for both of us to overcome local animosities and behave like fellow Mozambicans with a certain knowledge about the country to share with the other participants. It was not a time for accusations but for interaction.
- The fact that the cross party activities are tackling the legal pillars, in terms of providing a forum to discuss the laws, is a good sign because if one does not respect the laws, democracy cannot grow, since democracy is regulated by laws and we should not take it for granted that the members of the parties know about the laws. The laws on political parties, elections, electoral census, but even other laws that regulate the life of the country in political terms, could be good to know better.

Besides these positive comments, some interviewees made more reserved comments with regard to cross party projects in the process of democracy:

- Those activities are good but, as in his view, the level of the participants should be adjusted, if possible by NZA, in order to increase the added value in view of the costs and benefits. At provincial level, for example, the level of the participants is too low. At times one has the feeling that the parties just send someone to be there, not really the person who is in charge of the activities being discussed.

In the evolution of the programme, the gradually increasing importance of cross party activities has been beneficial for the effectiveness of the programme as a whole. The value of this component on the various levels of results has been detailed above and will be reinforced by the remarks made in the following sections of this report. The bilateral component has undergone a change through the application of a performance-based approach at project level in order to determine which of the parties could reasonably qualify for a drawing right in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> phase of the programme. This is discussed in greater depth in the sections of this report that deal with efficiency and consistency (methodology of implementation), process (the relationship between budget and individual drawing rights) and implementation modalities (under-utilisation of funds).

*Efficiency and consistency of the implementation of the programme objectives*

**Methodology of implementation, allocation and utilization of funds**

The allocation of funds for bilateral projects has followed methodologically the system of drawing rights for each party. The rights were established per phase. In each phase, a party could submit one or more project proposals up to the amount available for each phase. Some parties submitted more than one proposal in each phase, most of them submitted only one and a few did not submit any proposal for reasons that have not yet been completely clarified. The quality of the first proposals was poor and they did not follow the guidelines established for the presentation of project proposals. In order to improve both the content and the structure of the proposals, the IMD representative had to organise several working sessions with each political party. There were situations where parties had to produce two or more versions until an acceptable proposal was presented. Whether or not it could qualify for the following programme phase would depend on the performance in the previous phase. The application of this modality was in conformance with the objectives defined. Performance has put limits on the general applicability of this modality during programme implementation, with consequences for the disbursement levels.

During the first phase, this process sometimes took too long. Coupled with the time needed for final decision-making and the time involved in transferring the project amount from the Netherlands into the bank account of the party, the planned activities were sometimes delayed. In the opinion of some political parties, this created difficulties, forcing them to re-think and re-programme the activity. There were some situations where, after receiving funds, these proved to be insufficient to carry out the activities due to the increase in the price of some project items. During the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> phase of the programme, the quality of the proposals had improved and IMD's internal procedures and its relationship with the headquarters were functioning more smoothly, which meant that a number of these problems were gradually solved.

Due to the poor performance of some parties (because of their failure to submit narrative and financial reports on time, or because of the poor quality of the reports, or because of serious doubts regarding the activities carried out or the authenticity of documents supporting the expenditures), in the 2<sup>nd</sup> phase the number of parties and projects approved reduced in comparison with the first phase. During the 3<sup>rd</sup> phase, 7 parties were excluded from drawing rights. However, these parties have the possibility of participating in cross party projects and eventually presenting project proposals in a coalition of parties. For another "middle" group of 8 parties, the approach for 2003 was more

differentiated. Despite these developments, it can be concluded that drawing rights have generally been used for the purposes for which they were allocated.

The allocation of funds for each of the cross party projects is decided internally by IMD. In order to maximize the impact of these funds, they are frequently used for co-funding joint activities with other partners such as AWEPA and NDI. As part of this evaluation, it has not been possible for us to assess in a systematic way the utilisation of the funds for this type of project. The allocation of these funds is in general found to conform with the objectives of the programme, but there is room to broaden the scope by:

- More profound dialogue on issues of vital importance for national, regional and international (African) development;
- More interaction and exchange with African (especially in countries with IMD projects) and Dutch political parties;
- More consistent management training for political parties, project management, financial management and training of trainers and facilitators;
- More and better intervention in the area of gender and youth;
- More and better strategic intervention for laying a more sustainable basis for fundraising by political parties.

Methodologically, the bilateral as well as the cross party projects follow generally conventional patterns and are consistent with the programme objectives.

Ownership of activities, in relation to the demand driven approach, as well as arrangements to hold beneficiaries accountable for the utilisation of the programme resources, are discussed later in this report under the headings programme processes and programme management respectively.

### **Partnerships with Mozambican and/or international organisations operating in Mozambique**

From the start of the programme in Mozambique, the NZA/IMD permanent representative has initiated contacts with other international NGO's active in the field of support to political parties or in the wider field of democratisation with direct links to capacity building and institutional strengthening of the political system. Initially, organisations such as NDI, AWEPA, FES and UNDP were the main contacts. The circle became wider when KAF established a permanent representation in Mozambique. IMD has promoted a regular exchange of information and experiences and co-ordination with the international NGO's on the ground in Maputo. With NDI and AWEPA, this has led to a number of joint activities at cross party level. There are also amicable contacts with other organisations such as the Westminster Foundation and with governmental donor agencies.



At the level of Mozambican organisations, partnerships have been developed with the AJC and CNJ. With regard to support for implementation of the cross party component of the programme, other local organisations play a role, including STAE, the implementing agency for the local elections, CBE consultants for various types of training and individual local experts who have been facilitating activities.

According to the findings of the evaluators, partnerships have been actively pursued, leading to new forms of co-operation and initiatives. There is a good level of regular formal and informal exchange between the immediate partner organisations and other players in the field of democratisation.

Both the political parties and representatives of organisations active in this field highlighted the main added value of the IMD programme in relation to other international support activities.

In the bilateral programme it is IMD's capability to support the political parties by making funding directly available to the parties. No other donors support political parties in this way and, given the general recognised opinion that political parties have been a neglected area in the international donor support to governance and democratisation, IMD's contribution is very welcome.

At cross party level, the added value was seen in the broader partnership and the greater flexibility it offered (IMD has introduced a co-operation that was even cross-donors in terms of working together to carry out the specific activity, which had not happened before), the enhancement of the credibility of joint actions, the clear effect of the power which can be gained by co-operation, the broadening of the scope of activities and, on a more operational level, greater effectiveness and efficiency through the pooling of resources. A specific advantage of IMD's participation in joint activities is its possibility to carry these forward in the bilateral co-operation with political parties in line with the modality as mentioned above. Generally, the co-operation led to a broadening of the knowledge base about the needs of the parties, the combination of networks, etc. This co-operation was reciprocal.

It is concluded, therefore, that in the co-ordination and co-operation with other partners, IMD plays an important role and is regarded as a respected partner. The scope for broadening co-operation with international partners looks rather limited in the context of Mozambique. One main partner, NDI, will soon close its office in Maputo.

The partnerships with Mozambican (implementing) organisations have gradually been expanded but the evaluators recognise that the relevant capacity available in Mozambique still remains limited.

## III.2. Programme processes

The process of developing the NZA/IMD programme in Mozambique has been successful as it has established contacts with most of the parties, built partnerships, supported bilateral projects that have been designed and implemented by the parties, organised cross party activities and carried out internal evaluations and external audits that have approved the financial statements, albeit sometimes with formal reservations.

The presence of NZA/IMD in Mozambique has also had a positive influence on the cross party activities carried out by other donors by suggesting and implementing joint activities where all parties united to work together for the benefit of all stakeholders on a principle of broader partnership.

The involvement of non-party actors is also part of the process, in view of the cross party activities that have involved the media to discuss the principles of relationship between the politicians and the journalists and the bodies they represent. The involvement of implementers in the role of consultants/experts is also part of the process. The auditors are likewise actors that have been part of the programme in the process of NZA/IMD's implementing its actions in Mozambique.

The evaluators found in the end, an added value in the whole process in so far as NZA/IMD has brought on board a variety of players to be part of its programme, and has not provoked any criticism whatsoever from the local civil society, but has been praised for the attitude taken in establishing relationships, the methodology which has been used and the results achieved so far.

The achievements are part of the process, in the evaluation mostly in terms of immediate results and the effects of the programme: the improvements to the parties' organisational structure, and the internal functioning that are more structured considering the regional meetings they have held, and the organisation of congresses, for example, that have been taken place. Such impacts could so far not be part of the evaluation, as they are difficult to assess, considering that they should be measured only after a certain time has passed, and based on specific programme-related indicators that have not been previously available.

### **Selection of parties**

After considering involving only the parties that had achieved 2 percent or above in the 1999 elections, which would mean working only with FRELIMO, RENAMO, PT and PALMO, NZA/IMD decided to involve all parties registered in the first phase of the programme. The process of selection of parties then started and has

been further developed, involving all parties registered without a priori discrimination or further criteria, in order to see how they perform in the process of partnership and in the political life in the country in general terms. The evaluators consider that the principle adopted here by NZA/IMD is a good one because, in their view, it has contributed to avoiding criticisms in terms of favouritism and creating imbalances in the local political life by, for example, only supporting the stronger and/or best organised parties, with well-delineated programmes, well-known or charismatic leaders, etc. This principle has contributed to building confidence in the programme across the spectrum of all political parties, which is a good principle, not only for NZA/IMD but also for supporting the enhancement of the process of reconciliation and inclusion of a broader range of ideas in the political life in a country still in transition after a decade of formal democracy.

The principle has gradually grown to become more systematic in terms of adopting principles of performance vis-à-vis the rules valid for any type of partnership, which were also adopted by NZA/IMD and made clear in guidelines which were distributed and discussed, such as the presentation of an understandable and acceptable proposal for the project, the carrying out of the event in line with the principles proposed, a narrative report relating to the objectives and results, and a financial report accounting for the funds disbursed. Some parties failed to qualify further in this process and others have improved in quality terms, even if they are not yet up to the standard of the best proposals presented.

An approach for the selection of parties, once having entered the IMD programme, that is shared by the evaluators is that NZA/IMD stands by the principle of expecting a proposal that enhances the party in terms of institutional building, also addressing issues of current interest or important for the process of democratisation, such as training in party political management, elections, campaigns, etc. Thereafter, they require reports that make clear that the events have taken place, have achieved the results envisaged, and that the accountability for the funds meets the standard required by the auditors.

However, the selection of new parties or, for that matter a re-qualification of parties that were not able to sustain the partnership with IMD on the basis of the above-mentioned performance-based approach, requires further consideration. Firstly, IMD may find it opportune to decide on a principle which would trigger a review of the list of eligible parties and how frequently this should occur in order to maintain a balance between the programme objective of supporting new political parties and initiatives on the one hand and the manageability of the programme on the other. Political parties are in consensus about the principle that a political party must have met the requirement for formal registration. Another objective and

defendable criterion could be participation in elections. If this is limited to national elections, the manageability of the programme should not be in jeopardy, as long as the performance-based approach for project implementation is applied consistently.

A further step would be the inclusion of local elections as a benchmark for selection. This has the attraction of including a broader spectrum of actors, including the civic-political groupings that are allowed to participate alongside the political parties in these elections. The complication of this step may lie in the manageability of the programme. Therefore, the evaluators advise IMD to maintain the selection approach applied at the start of the programme and to review the list on the occasion of national elections. They also advise considering opening the cross party component of the programme to the local civic-political groupings which win seats in the local assemblies during the elections of November this year, after having assessed once the results of the election are known what the implications of such a step would be for the management of the programme.

### **Ownership**

The parties have been improving in qualitative terms by carrying out projects of a higher standard and more relevant for the objectives of the NZA/IMD programme. This process has never implied that the sense of ownership was not present from the very beginning. Statements by party leaders illustrate the strong sense of ownership felt throughout the partnership process:

“What is positive about IMD is that it has from the very beginning considered our own needs. It never imposed or created anything that we did not need”.

“We took the change and organised training courses to improve the institutional performance within the party. So we now have cadres which know better what they are supposed to do in terms of fulfilling their activities according to the respective responsibilities.”

“We discuss with IMD in terms of the requirements for presenting a good proposal, but it is our responsibility to design the projects according to the themes we feel important to fulfil the programme [of the party] objectives. Then we have to follow some guidelines such as providing reports, including financial reports. Those are more factual results, but most important is that we design the projects according to our programme and to the decisions taken from the Congress [of the party] and other meetings that guide the working life of our party”.

### **Demand-driven approach vis-à-vis intended results**

It should be noted that the programme has its own objectives which NZA/IMD communicated to the potential partners, emphasizing the

parameters within which they should co-operate. A programme framework exists, even loosely settled and subject to the changes of the process of democratization in Mozambique. Bearing this in mind, results were expected in advance and the parties' demands for funds to carry out the projects were to achieve objectives in line with those designed by NZA/IMD. This has even necessitated the signature of a statement of good party intentions in carrying out the projects for the development of democracy in the country.

Considering this introduction, all intended results were achieved and were in accordance with the needs expressed by the partners to better build a valid institution and to perform within the political process in Mozambique. This demand was satisfied by NZA/IMD's provision of funds and consultancies to support the implementation of the planned activities and on the basis of guidelines on how they should take place and be reported.

#### **Drawing right based budgets and outcome of programme for individual parties**

The overall situation in the country is one of absolute poverty. According to the Ministry of Finance, 70 per cent <sup>2</sup> of the percentage of the population is living in absolute poverty. The national budget depends for about 70 per cent on external aid and loans to fulfil state obligations towards the citizens. The political parties are institutions living within that context, and are therefore short of funds: some of them even face difficulties in collecting the regular fees from their members.

Those in the national parliament and/or in the municipal assemblies, receive a percentage of the OGE according to the level of representation; the others do not. There is also a fund available to the parties for the electoral campaigns, which does not cover the needs of even the smallest parties. This being so, the drawing-rights provided by IMD are mostly the sum of the budget which the parties have available to carry out the planned activities. In the process of partnership with NZA/IMD, the parties have learned to make the most of this in terms of obtaining the best results by working in concerted activities in order to reach a final goal. For example, the regional meetings to prepare a Congress, the regional meetings to prepare the members for elections and campaigns, are some of the outcomes of the grants provided to the parties by IMD.

This being so, a positive trend has been observed in the last two years (2002-2003) of concerted activities within the party proposals for projects, which is clearly an outcome of the methodology used by NZA/IMD to be consistent in terms of "intervening" on the positive side, to draw attention to the need to build something of more

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<sup>2</sup> Ministry of Finance and Planning (1997) Estimativas de Pobreza em Moçambique. (Mimeo) Maputo.

substance and consistency than just holding isolated sessions of training and capacity building.

The drawing rights system as applied over the three programme years has, as discussed earlier, shown differentiation as a result of the consequences attached to inadequate performances by a number of political parties on the one hand and relatively good performance on the part of others. Whilst at the start of the 1<sup>st</sup> phase parties received written information on the amount of the drawing rights, for the next phases communication on this subject has been oral. The principle applied in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> phases of gauging the additional amount that some parties receive on top of the basic amount has been abandoned in the 3<sup>rd</sup> phase. As mentioned, 7 of the 25 parties dropped out altogether from bilateral support. Of the other parties, the 4 smaller ones involved in the strategic planning process have about double the amount of drawing rights compared to the others. The evaluators recommend that IMD gives careful consideration to this further differentiation between parties on the basis of performance and its possible consequence for the level of drawing rights for the individual parties involved and those (still) outside this group (see annex 10). The evaluators' main consideration in this discussion is the need for IMD to remain transparent and credible in the application of performance criteria and the possible changes in the criteria on the basis of new insights during the programme period. It is crucial that all political parties know and understand these criteria and are able to participate once they have met the criteria defined.

#### **Cross party activities vis-à-vis general programme objective**

The cross party activities are part of the programme design, that in terms of methodology of work were started as an input to or which became an outcome of the bilateral co-operation. At present they also enhance the quality aspect and respond to demand on the bilateral projects. There is an interaction between the bilateral and cross party activities in the sense that they complement each other, responding to demand in terms of focusing on specific themes that can enhance the quality of the bilateral projects in terms of increasing the demand for these.

The use of funds has been effective and the amount of the funds during the programme years has been sufficient, bearing in mind that there was no scope to develop many more activities during the initial period. The evaluators find that there has been a gradual focusing of the cross party activities on activities that would have a follow-on effect in the bilateral programme. Best examples are the seminars for preparation of the local elections, firmly driven by that particular agenda, and, on a more innovative basis the assistance to parties in strategic planning that will probably result in these plans being made operational.

The evaluators foresee a need to gradually increase this fund. The main reason is to allow for a wider scope of activities as suggested



above. A second reason is to allow for more activities at decentralised level.

### **Functioning of monitoring mechanisms in programme implementation**

NZA/IMD has developed a set of guidelines to improve monitoring of its work in Mozambique. To highlight this: (i) the statement in terms of democratic principles to be signed by all partners, to emphasise that these planned and executed activities are consistent with such principles; and (ii) the directives on how to write a proposal and to present narrative and financial reports. These documents function instruments for monitoring the development of the partners in programming and implementing the activities; (iii) the validity of the financial statement examined internally and if considered necessary given to an independent auditor, has also been used as an element to monitor partners' performance.

Initial indicators have been adopted since the beginning of NZA/IMD activities in Mozambique in 2001: (i) the registration of the party at the Ministry of Justice, which confirms its legal status, and (ii) the participation in the electoral process, which indicates its support among a given constituency.

The barrier of 5% for the national parliament has left most of the opposition out of that body. NZA/IMD tried to use the selection barrier of 2%, which was contested by the small parties who considered it too high, so this indicator is not applied.

Apart from this and a general indication of expected results at the country level in the IMD subsidy request 2003-2006 (available since July 2002) and in the year plan 2003, there are no clearly stated indicators used by NZA/IMD to monitor the Mozambique programme, apart from attending events, reporting on the activities by the press, which has increased dramatically in recent years, and the overall performance of the party in the political life of the country by issuing statements on topics of national and international interest, and the performance in parliament of the parties represented there<sup>3</sup>.

### **Qualitative development of projects during programme period**

As can be inferred the above, the quality of the projects has improved substantially, even if it is in general still in need of further improvement. It should be borne in mind that most of the parties are new to party politics in the democratic meaning of the term. Even FRELIMO, which has been active for more than 15 years, only in 1990 adopted a new principle of detachment from the state and

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<sup>3</sup> To recall that 10 small parties are members of the RENAMO Electoral Union (RENAMO-UE), with two seats each in the national parliament making 20 deputies, and that PT is a member of the municipal assembly in Xai-xai in the province of Gaza, with 3 seats, and in Maputo with 1 seat.

working independently to participate in the process of building a democratic society.

The question of quality also has to be addressed in view of the poor state of formal education in the country, and the fact that the country has no expertise available to develop projects or to implement and monitor them, let alone to provide the elements for subsequent evaluation.

Parties were formed on the basis of ideas and personalities, but with little or no expertise in terms of internal organisation and no development of programmes to formalise the ideas to be presented to the general public. There was no well thought out strategy by the activists to support a plan of action. The parties are composed of people eager to participate in the new political disposition but with few resources to make that participation systematic in terms of a programme of what it is supposed to achieve other than to gain votes and be represented in the national parliament.

The reality of the results of the elections in 1994 proved that such a task was easier in theory than in practice, but the parties have endured nevertheless in terms of standing firm in the political arena, some of them working hard to become serious players in the democratic game. That is the reality that NZA/IMD encountered in 1999, which has still not changed in 2001, the time the present programme started.

The quality of the projects is thus a reflection of the overall situation in the country. The project start was bleak and it fell short of what was really desired, but the improvements are clearly there, very much as a result of the support from the bilateral and cross party activities given by NZA/IMD. At present, the financial reports are presented in line with the proposed budget, even if they still fall short of the ideal standard. Bearing this in mind, one of the recommendations from the evaluators is that this should be addressed by a better monitoring system and cross party training programme with the participation of the auditors. There should be a clear definition of what is acceptable for the presentation of financial statements for activities that took place in far off places without proper financial receipts, stamps and other documents that are required by an auditor working under international standards. This will also improve the accountability of the beneficiaries.

The narrative reports can still to be improved substantially, in terms of addressing general and specific objectives, the results achieved and the activities planned and carried out in order to achieve them. This is a consequence of poorly designed proposals, which reflects the inadequate development of a strategic plan of what the party wants to achieve, its vision and mission and the welter of problems it aims to transform into objectives for reform and the activities planned to

support them, both in general and in specific terms. The proposals could be enhanced and monitoring supported if methods for measuring and evaluating project results are integrated in the design criteria.

Overall, the quality of the programmes can also be verified in terms of results:

- Five strategic plans have been designed.
- Three congresses have taken place; PT, PALMO and the Fourth Congress of RENAMO held in 2001, the first held after the end of the armed conflict in 1992.
- All parties state clearly that they have better contact with their members and with the provincial and district delegates, including FRELIMO and RENAMO.

### III.3. Implementation modalities

#### Relationship between political parties in Mozambique and the Netherlands

The presence of a permanent representation in Mozambique has had a direct but still limited effect on the contacts between political parties in Mozambique and the Netherlands. Before the start of the 3-year programme, contacts between visiting NZA-delegations and political parties took place as part of the preparations for the pilot programme and the three-year programme. The party considers the presence of a representative of the PvdA in FRELIMO's 8th Congress as a milestone. Few ad hoc visits took place during the implementation period. Direct contacts between the parties were mainly the result of the participation of Mozambican politicians in the IMD electoral visitors' programme around the general elections in the Netherlands in January 2003 and the participation of Mozambican politicians in the IMD workshop in June last. The Mozambican politicians who took part were without exception enthusiastic about party-to-party contacts and are aspiring to continue these, if possible with IMD support.

At the level of the Mozambique programme, there have as yet been no real opportunities to involve Dutch political parties. The main reasons lie in the type of capacity building needed by most of the parties during the first years of the programme. These are mostly concentrated on their immediate needs for party development, and not on possible international contacts or inputs in the programme framework. At cross party level, it was easier to create an opportunity for input by foreign parties, but their needs mostly had a different focus. Only in one activity did foreign politicians give input, when IMD promoted a contribution from the region, South Africa, which was highly appreciated by the Mozambican parties.

In the further development of the programme, the interaction and exchange with Dutch political parties has already been mentioned. The evaluators recommend, therefore, that these contacts between political parties in Mozambique and the Netherlands are gradually (further) developed in the coming period at the level of concrete and expert inputs from the Dutch political parties in cross party, and, where appropriate, bilateral co-operation. In the cross party setting of the Mozambique programme, IMD could also consider bringing together representatives from Dutch political parties and IMD countries in the Southern African region around themes that have a binding element (see page 23). Where political parties expressed interest in this type of support, they referred particularly to the Dutch political parties and parties in African countries where IMD is active. Direct contacts through visits to the Netherlands are beneficial to the Mozambican politicians as this broadens their scope and experience in contacts with other political cultures. It contributes to increasing

self-confidence and creates the feeling of being part of a wider political family, also translated into international liaisons on the basis of a party's (declared) ideological orientation. As this is still one of the manifest weaknesses in most of the Mozambican parties, these contacts might be beneficial to create more awareness in that field. The beneficial aspects of sponsored visits from Mozambican politicians to the Netherlands are there as long as they are part of a broader concrete framework.

Generally, contacts between the Mozambican and Dutch political parties within the framework of the IMD programme would further enhance the credibility and image of IMD as a unique partner of political parties in Mozambique (and elsewhere in the region) and will reinforce the foundations that have been laid by the first 3 years of close co-operation.

### **Organisational set up of the permanent representation - relationship with IMD in the Netherlands**

The permanent representation has started with a small staff consisting of the permanent representative from the Netherlands and initially 4, now 5, local staff members. The staff is shared with SNV. The major part of the local staff's time is allocated to and spent on IMD. In the initial part of the programme, most of the programme development and monitoring tasks had to be carried out by the representative, as the staff did not include a local programme officer from the outset. The logistics officer was gradually engaged into programme work and was coached by the permanent representative to transfer formally to the position of programme officer in the course of 2001.

The need to have a programme officer on the staff is not only apparent from the rapidly expanding tasks in assessing programme proposals and implementation reports and monitoring activities, but also from the fact that the permanent representative has to dedicate an increasing amount of his time to assisting in developing IMD activities in a number of countries in the region. The tasks of the programme officer in the programme cycle are mainly supporting and advising the representative in assessing project proposals and reports, particularly the budgetary aspects, holding relevant meetings with representatives of political parties, visiting project activities, the internal evaluation of these events and reports, and preparing closing files. The programme officer also carries out a number of tasks relating to personnel matters and the financial administration of the representational office.

The logistics officer supports all the logistical aspects of programme activities where the representation has taken on a specific responsibility. As well as carrying out regular secretarial duties, the secretary also keeps track of bilateral programme developments by registering in overviews data related to the main formal steps in

project preparation, contracting and implementation. She also keeps the records of the project files.

The permanent representative deserves praise for all the work he has done in creating a base for NZA-IMD in Maputo. The IMD team in Maputo is a harmoniously working team under the capable and participative leadership of the permanent representative. It is, therefore, acknowledged that there is an imbalance in the organisation within the representative office, as the relative burden of programme implementation tasks is still too great for the shoulders of the permanent representative. The representative's personal exchanges with and support to, for example, the political parties in the formulation of proposals is still very much needed and cannot fully be replaced by a local programme officer.

Notwithstanding this, the role of the programme officer in this phase of project development and in the monitoring of implementation up to the point of evaluating the results of activities and the incoming reports, both narrative and financial, should be reinforced. The evaluators recommend IMD to assess how this upgrading could be effected and whether training of the programme officer in programme management would be feasible in the short term, also in the light of the growing demand on the permanent representative for IMD work in the region. IMD could compare its own experience and requirements in programme assistance to requirements applied by other organisations in this field.

If the programme grows in terms of the number of activities and if the IMD programme in the region is going to require the input of more time input by the representative, this aspect of local staff support to the Mozambique programme warrants review, taking into account the recommended measures related to the overall programme management in the next paragraph. A broader approach to this question would be that the programme support requirements in the region would be part of the recommended assessment.

Regarding the relationship of the representative with the IMD Board and IMD bureau, it is noted that a number of changes have marked the institutional development of NZA and IMD. At the start of the programme, there was a direct relationship between the NZA Board and the permanent representative, with the active assistance and involvement of the Board's secretariat. This related to both the exercise of the direct responsibility by the board for the Mozambique programme, also in crucial elements of the programme management such as the final evaluation of project proposals on the basis of the advice from the representative and the overall monitoring of the programme. This was mainly done on the basis of frequent and regular reporting by the representative and direct contacts between him and (members of) the Board and, much more frequently, the secretariat.



Contacts with the party co-ordinator were and remain a substantial element in the relations between the representative and the home base. With the establishment of IMD, its bureau and the shift of responsibilities from the IMD Board to the IMD director, new structures were established that had an impact on the relationships and on the overall project management. In terms of relationships, it meant the broadening of available expertise through the Mozambique country team and the bureau staff as a whole. Though the team members on the basis of the recently approved internal rules and procedures are now mapping out the specific distribution of tasks and responsibilities, their implementation will no doubt reinforce the programme management as a whole. The structures, working methods and procedures of IMD, particularly the introduction of the Programme Management System (PMS), are expected to be an important supporting tool for more structured and comprehensive programme management.

The establishment of the IMD Bureau has already resulted in greater efficiency for the Mozambique programme, for example in dealing promptly with the evaluation and approval of project proposals. The new IMD structures also ended the relatively solitary position in which the permanent representative started his work. He is and can expect to be more involved in developments or activities of more general interest of the organisation in the field of democratisation, given the objectives and scope of work of the young IMD. The base for the Mozambique programme has been broadened by that development whilst the (former) NZA programmes are part of the learning experience for IMD.

It is worth mentioning here the role of the Mozambique advisory board. So far, the two advisors have played an informal role in advising the representative and exchanging with him views about the programme and related developments in Mozambique. Their advisory role was more relevant at the start of the programme and the initial intention to make this more structural and formal has not materialised. The evaluators consider that there could be an important benefit for the permanent representative and IMD in setting up a broader advisory board with independent and highly respected personalities from various sectors of society outside political parties (academia, press, judiciary, etc), who could advise, give feedback and assist in developing programme parameters etc. The advisory board should have its terms of reference and meet with an appropriate regular frequency. The evaluators see this as a potential asset for IMD, given the context of the sensitive and dynamic environment in which the programme is developing.

#### **Functioning of overall programme management**

Some observations on programme management have already been made in this chapter in as far as they are intrinsically linked to the organisational set up of the permanent representation. In assessing

the results of the programme and the programmatic processes, a number of aspects of programme management were discussed.

Additional observations are as follows:

The representative (and his programme officer) have been and still are dedicating considerable time to discussions with the political parties to stimulate proposals that fall within the scope of the programme, to assist in enhancing the quality of proposals that are often of poor quality, both as regards content and budget. The assistance is not limited to the scrutinising of proposals, but is also directed to enriching the ideas of interlocutors in the type of assistance they could benefit from, given their needs and demands at that particular stage. The evaluators have not seen any incompatibility in the execution by the representative of his advisory role to the political parties and other responsibilities of the representative in the project cycle, particularly his advisory role in decision-making. It is worth reiterating that political parties explicitly stated that the proposals were based on their needs and that the advisory role played by the representative in, for example, adjusting a proposal did not threaten ownership. Questions concerning the compatibility of roles and functions related to the implementation of bilateral activities do not arise as the parties are themselves exercising full responsibility for actual implementation.

At cross party level, the representative plays a different role, as he is generally involved in initiating activities and taking varying degrees of responsibility for the implementation of activities, often jointly with co-sponsoring organisations and/or implementing partners. Political parties saw themselves more as “consumers” of those activities notwithstanding the fact that they were involved in the design of a number of those activities. Seen from that perspective, the compatibility question is not relevant, though it might play a part in the advisory role of the representative to decision-makers in The Hague. However, the evaluators considered that no such incompatibility will appear, given the way the permanent representative handled the preparation and advice on cross party projects.

This being said, it would be recommendable to reinforce checks and balances in the approval process of project proposals. The representative should not only send an advisory memorandum to the decision-makers with just a summary of the descriptive part of the project proposal, but should also submit a copy of the full proposal, to allow for more detailed perusal. Information technology makes this feasible and it would at the same time be a step in the direction of building the digital (PMS) database, accessible to all relevant actors in this process. It was understood that practical considerations led in the past to the practice as commented on and there is no reason to

doubt the due caution that has been exercised by the representative in this process.

As discussed earlier, assessing the results and programmatic processes, the quality and effectiveness of project management could be enhanced if IMD were more specific in its guidelines as to the requirements for proposals, the contents and budget, and similarly for the narrative and financial reports. A number of parties did not find sufficient direction in the guidelines and called for more precise instructions.

There are differing levels of requirements. Firstly, some parties need specific assistance in the process of developing an acceptable proposal. Others need assistance in improving proposals. This could be catered for in cross party and/or individual party training, as a follow-on to earlier activities in this field but geared now to project design and project management in general.

A second level is the development of basic standard models for project and budget proposals and reporting. This will also ease the representative's task in evaluating reports and making comparisons, also between different projects. It would considerably facilitate documentary monitoring of projects.

The third level is some form of external financial and administrative support to political parties whose core operations are so limited that it would at the start of co-operation not be reasonable to demand the level of administration that is needed to account properly for the project.

One note of warning here is that the costs will precede the benefits and that the introduction of the above-mentioned quality-improving measures might initially impact on the speed of disbursements.

It was found that contracts could be improved by including more specific references to the approved proposal and budget, including who is responsible for the financial implementation of the project. It is, furthermore, suggested that in all cases where a project proposal is revised, the party responsible for the contract should produce an revised proposal.

Using standardised procedures should reinforce documentation and registration within the permanent representation. Registration of documents and data in the bureau in The Hague is different from that in the representation. Many files are not complete because information is partly stored elsewhere, mainly digitally in folders or databases in the computers. The existence of all documents should be verified and a note should be made of any document removed from the file, for example for auditing purposes. The files should also be in chronological order. As the introduction of the IMD Programme Management System (PMS) is in an advanced stage of development, it is assumed that these imperfections will disappear in the near future once the bureau and the permanent representation are working with

the system. The evaluators also see the added advantage of the PMS for the budgetary management of the country programme.

### **Under-utilisation of funds and possible improvements**

The budgetary performance of the programme has been described in chapter II.1 under results of individual projects. It was noted that adjustments to the annual budgets gradually brought about greater realism in budgetary planning and that budgetary performance in the bilateral component in 2003 is a case in point. A common cause for under-utilisation of funds in both programme components is, with hindsight, the over-optimistic budgetary design of the Mozambique programme. After the closing evaluation of the pilot project, it was realised that under-utilisation would be a significant risk for the programme for the reasons mentioned in the programme proposal. It stated that utilisation of funds would not only depend on the efforts of NZA, but also on the number, relevance and quality of the proposals presented by the Mozambican political parties and groupings.

In other parts of this report further confirmation can be found of the relevance of this observation made in 1999. One has to be aware that this risk will continue to arise when new parties or groupings enter the programme. This is part and parcel of the nature and dynamism of the programme. Another common cause is the relatively late start of the implementation of the programme. The programme period started 1<sup>st</sup> May 2000; the permanent representative arrived in Mozambique in October of that year and, following discussions and delays, the formal agreement by the Mozambican Ministry of External Relations and Co-operation was only given in late December 2003. Though part of that time was used for preparatory talks with political parties, the first contracts could only be signed in March 2001. This is not regarded as an exceptional situation, given the limited state of preparedness of the political parties at the time for this form of co-operation.

Once a reasonable idea had been developed of the prime requirements, it was possible to initiate cross party projects. This was a sensible approach to that part of the programme. The programme environment would realistically not have allowed a much more rapid start given the sensitivity of the introduction of this type of co-operation with a permanent representation on site that was just starting to build relations and confidence.

For the bilateral component, the expectation that it would be possible to double the drawing rights from one phase to the next is part of the optimistic budgetary programme design

Given the lack of capacity in most of the parties in the early stage of the programme, delays in implementation in the bilateral projects were no exception and the quality of reporting has also hampered the speed with which the following (phase of) contracts could be initiated. This is also related to the modalities of the drawing rights-

based budgets and the degree of inflexibility this system imposes on budget management. This was discussed earlier under programmatic processes (see annex 11). The combination of the budgetary design, inflexibilities [INFLEXIBLE FEATURES] in the drawing rights system, the slower than expected start and a varied picture of initial capacity and overall performance of the parties during the programme period are in sum identified by the mission as the main causes for under- utilisation of funds, mainly in the bilateral field. This finding may not detract from the assessment that, with limited means and considerable constraints, IMD has been able to build with the present programme in a relatively short period the foundation for a promising and continuing co-operation with the political parties

As possible improvements, the mission recommends IMD to:

- Harmonise or standardise project proposals and narrative and financial reports by including more specific requirements in the guidelines.
- Give (additional) training support to political parties in project management, project design, reporting and financial administration in particular (as suggested for cross party activities on page 23); consider administrative support to parties that, given their state of development, whose administrative capacity cannot reasonably be expected to meet IMD's requirements.
- Apply more flexibility in the budget system between the two main programme components, allowing timely reallocation to the cross party fund in the event of unforeseen shortfalls in the utilisation of bilateral funds in a particular year.
- Introduce (as discussed on pages 25, 26 and 27 of this report) greater differentiation in the system of drawing rights without creating imbalances. There is merit in the approach of creating an incentive for parties that perform better than average by giving them an additional amount of drawing right, above that which was originally designed (the basic amount plus an extra maximised amount based on a percentages of the votes). This allocation should also be based on clear, objective and explicit (additional) performance criteria or standards, communicated to and in principle open for all parties.
- Be as realistic as possible in prognoses and (annual) budgeting and make timely adjustments.

#### **Added value of the programme from implementation modality perspective**

The idea of the programme as it has been conceived has been widely praised. It enhances the development of democracy in Mozambique by providing the means (financial means and human expertise) for the parties to become better structured in terms of institutional capacity, and to better interact with their provincial and district

delegates and members. Even the improved contact between the various political parties and between these and other groups such as the media, is an added value of the programme. A central feature of the comments by the parties and other partners was the observation that co-operation in this field would hardly be possible without a permanent representation in Mozambique.

IMD is the only international NGO in Mozambique giving direct financial support to political parties on the basis of their (approved) proposals. The responsibility for implementation is fully exercised by the political party. This was generally regarded as a unique modality, which also allowed the parties to gain experience in exercising this type of responsibility and task, which is a capacity building activity in itself. The evaluators concur with that.

They also find that the representation is crucial for the implementation of this programme in most - if not all - of its aspects. The inception and formulation phase may require a great deal of input, but monitoring by visiting the project activities is regarded by the political parties as essential, not only to monitor progress and to gather information and receive recognition, but also to witness personally that funds are well spent. Political parties highly valued the freedom to come up with their own ideas and proposals, whatever the adjustments which had to be made in the process of advice and consultation, notwithstanding remarks on the clarity of the guidelines.

The availability of bilateral and cross party funds allows for mutually reinforcing activities. Though all parties do not value the relative importance of the two components equally, this benefit is recognised. The mission recommends that the bilateral component remains the core of the programme. Within a given budgetary framework, setting limits to the bilateral drawing rights for the political and practical reasons mentioned above, an unexpected shortfall of disbursements in that programme component could facilitate additional cross party activity in that particular year for the benefit of less active political parties which have not managed to meet the criteria necessary to start a bilateral project. If the requirements were to exceed that level, a shift might be possible within the larger IMD annual budget. Eventually it may be necessary to increase the Mozambique year budget once the cross party programme and bilateral components develop at a structurally higher budget level.



## IV. Lessons Learned

### **Need for continuation and possible future direction**

The need is appealing in terms of the existing and increasing demand. Considering that democracy is not only a matter of fine words and institutional reforms, but also of participation in the process, parties are an important element in modern democracy and their participation in the process is expensive in terms of building structures and carrying out activities. NZA/IMD is the only organisation in Mozambique that supports the process of democratic development by giving the parties directly the necessary tools to make their position within the national setting more solid, putting them more in touch with their own constituency and their provincial and district delegations, and teaching them directly or indirectly how to manage their own affairs in terms of handling the funds, planning activities and carrying them out. This is particularly the case for bilateral projects. There is a need to continue that approach, although this does, however, need to be better designed as outlined above and further below.

### **Programme budget in relation to absorption capacity of political parties; need for additional initiatives**

The absorption is still low considering the shortcomings in terms of preparing good proposals and handling properly disbursed funds. Additional initiatives should be concentrated on cross party activities in terms of providing training and the necessary follow up with precise designs in terms of financial and projects assessments.

Questions of utmost importance in terms of national interests should be addressed in cross party activities. Consideration should also be given to a forum for dialogue, in terms of enhancing the process of reconciliation still ongoing in the country. In addition, questions of regional and continental interest, such as the African Union and NEPAD should be addressed in the cross party activities, since these are not widely discussed within the country taking into account the inputs from the small parties and from civil society as a whole.

Consideration should be given to the involvement of sectors of the civil society in the interaction with the parties. This would contribute to building a degree of trust which is not yet present, the civil society viewing the parties as opportunists who are only concerned with their own interests and who leave the country in a state of abandonment. One course of action would be the involvement in the programme of civic-political groupings that are successful in the forthcoming local elections.

### **The role of the IMD representation and main functions**

The presence of the country representative has been crucial for the good development of the process so far, and for the good name NZA/IMD has earned in the national party political landscape. It is a considerable achievement to be able to say that not a single formal complaint has appeared in the national press, for example, in terms of activities not carried out properly or favouritism or exclusion of one party or another. The only ‘complaints’ have come from some small parties, asking for another opportunity to perform better the next time, which implies their desire to present improved project proposals and better plans for implementation of the activities than the first time. This refers to the working methods to be adopted by IMD for the future.

The office in Maputo has constituted an added value in terms of combining forces to build something together; in fact, the parties feel part of the whole programme. Everything they have done, they have done together. The parties emphasised that it was not only a question of the methods applied, but above all of attitude.

The following functions are considered to be central to the work of the IMD representation:

- Following up the process of democratic development in the country is one of the main tasks for the representative.
- Interaction with all parties on a regular basis, holding meetings and inviting them to introduce the programme guidelines, discussing them and the changes they undergo in the process of partnership, in the interests of transparency. In order to achieve good results, the guidelines for the programme and the process of implementing and monitoring the projects should be better designed and the proposed indicators as an outcome of an exercise of strategic planning within IMD should also be in place.
- The interaction with other players is also of crucial importance. These are mainly the people who implement on the basis of programme directives: trainers, auditors, and the partners in cross party activities. Interaction with the media is also important in terms of raising IMD’s profile, which until now has been low. This was right, but it should now be raised in the interests of transparency to make clear what IMD is all about, its objectives in Mozambique and the region, etc.

### **Improvement of quality of projects while keeping ownership with political parties – the demand-driven approach**

Training should be the main element in improving the quality of the projects while retaining ownership. This was already mentioned in the context of enhancing absorption capacity.

Another element, which is particular to training, is to stimulate in the projects training of the party bureaucracy in terms of the financial

department, for example, to separate this from the ideological executive body of the party; thus contributing to their professionalism in the classic sense. The question of improving the quality of the projects should also be addressed in training exercises, in terms of contributing to separating that responsibility from the executive body of the party.

A further element is the dialogue to which the country representative is contributing. It should be more institutionalised, in terms of linking activities to broader perspectives in terms of party development, campaigns, etc., in order to eventually link activities to the achievement of major goals such as the improvement of party participation in the elections, in the contacts with the civil population, in the internal democracy, etc.

### **Selection of political parties in the future programme**

The process used by the representative has been successful, which is quite an achievement considering the sensitive process of transition from a single party system to pluralistic party involvement in the political landscape of Mozambique. That this is worthy of praise has been said not only by all parties, but also by other players such as journalists, social and political scientists, and the civil bureaucrats in government institutions. The other actors involved in the cross party activities also share that opinion, as do players in the international agencies and members of the international community.

The lesson learned is that the principle of selection, or rather differentiation of the political parties accepted into the programme on the basis of performance should be (more) institutionalised as inferred from the experiences already gained, and made public to the stakeholders for the sake of transparency. Those whose performance fails to meet the required standard should be informed in writing, individually but not for wider publication, about the reasons for exclusion from the partnership.

Options for and timing of the selection of new parties are discussed in this report under II.2. Programme processes pages 25-26, take these experiences and the manageability of the programme into account. As indicated there, modalities and criteria should also be clear and transparent to potential newcomers.

### **Possible indicators to measure impact of programmes, to monitor progress and to compare to other similar programmes**

The question of the indicators causes the evaluators to refer back to the design of the IMD programme for Mozambique. Indicators cannot, or should not, be produced in a vacuum or provided on a generalised basis. They should be the product of an exercise that involves the existence of a strategic vision and mission with an overall development objective or purpose, from which specific objectives can be drawn as the contribution of the programme to achieve the

wider objective. Thereafter, the desired outcomes of the programme should be envisaged, along with the related activities attached to each of them, in order to make them a reality. A general indication of expected results at country level was found in the IMD subsidy request 2003-2006 from July 2002 and the year plan 2003. Indicators of quantity and quality should then be suggested, discussed and agreed upon by the partners. This would better guide the work of the partners, facilitate implementation and make easier the work of evaluation after a new period of work.

At present, the indicators used by the representative are those which are available and which have proved useful in the course of the programme. A further matter is the precise quantity and quality, which should ideally be expressed in terms of what is intended to be achieved with the development of a broad strategic plan. Thereafter, considering the particularities of each country (and region), regional and local indicators should also be delineated under the larger umbrella of the major indicators for the whole IMD programme in the various countries where it is currently operating. It is noted that IMD has initiated this discussion and recently organised a workshop in The Hague on operationalising institutional development criteria for political parties, also attended by stakeholders from Mozambique. The evaluators make this general observation as an encouragement to IMD to further progress along this road and to initiate similar discussions with stakeholders in Mozambique to develop ideas about relevant indicators at country and programme level.

The present evaluation highlights a number of quantitative, and mostly qualitative developments on the level of projects, of institution building of individual parties and the political party life in Mozambique in general that could serve as a basis for some indicators within a future monitoring framework.