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war-torn societies project in

Mozambique

WSP

PSIS

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The WSP Dissemination Phase

This publication is one component of a wider exercise of not only evaluating the first four years of the War-torn Societies Project, but also of sharing this evaluation and the lessons learned during the project with a wide variety of interested audiences The lessons have been compiled into a set of core reports that analyse the WSP experience in the four countries in which it was piloted, document WSP s operational experience at field and headquarters levels, and draw conclusions on the project overall

The War-torn Societies Project the first four years
(an overview of the WSP experience and lessons learned)

WSP in Eritrea (an account of the project in Eritrea)

WSP in Guatemala (an account of the project in Guatemala)

WSP in Mozambique (an account of the project in Mozambique)

WSP in Somalia
(an account of the ongoing project in Northeast Somalia)

WSP in practice (an account of WSP s operational experience)

In addition to the reports, three companion volumes are being published in collaboration with WSP successor bodies and/or regional publishers in the countries in which WSP has completed its pilot work

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From conflict to dialogue the WSP Guatemala way (English) and

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Rebuilding through dialogue the Mozambican way (English) and

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Palais des Nations
1211 Geneva 10
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Or on the WSP web site at http //www unrisd org/wsp/

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Abbreviations

AMODEG	Mozambican Demobilized Soldiers' Association
CCU	Central Coordination Unit of WSP
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FRELIMO	Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
GTZ	German Agency for Technical Cooperation
IGAD	Inter Governmental Authority for Development
IOM	International Organization for Migration
LOMACO	Lonrho Mozambique Agro-industrial Company
NGO	Non governmental organization
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
ONUMOZ	United Nations Operation in Mozambique
PAR	Participatory action research
PRES	Programme of Economic and Social Production
PROAGRI	State Agricultural Programme
PSIS	Programme for Strategic and International Security Studies
RENAMO	Mozambique National Resistance
SAG	Senior Advisory Group to WSP
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WHO	World Health Organization
WSP	War torn Societies Project

The War-torn Societies Project

How WSP began

The War-torn Societies Project (WSP), a collaborative project of the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) and the Programme for Strategic and International Security Studies (PSIS) of the Geneva Graduate Institute of International Studies, was launched in June 1994 Its first aim was to help clarify policy options in societies that are emerging from major social and political conflict

In the aftermath of the Cold War, there had been a dramatic rise in the number of instances of profound internal strife in countries in Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America Invariably these had momentous implications for the structures of societies in these countries and posed major challenges for those providing immediate relief and aiding longer-term rehabilitation, be it social, economic or political UNRISD, the United Nations research institute devoted to social development, saw a responsibility to explore what and how social science could contribute to post-conflict rebuilding In 1993, therefore, UNRISD convened a preliminary workshop devoted to that question

Within UNRISD itself, interest in the issue had grown out of a number of earlier projects on political violence and on ethnic conflict, and more directly from projects on the return of refugees and on Cambodia On the PSIS side, work on these questions had included formulating a new strategy for Swiss humanitarian aid and assessing UNDP work in conflict and disaster situations The experience of these agencies, and of others involved in the delivery of aid, was discussed at a brainstorming seminar held in Cartigny, Switzerland, in 1994 that brought together, for the first time in such a form, representatives from war-torn societies and some of the major actors in international assistance At Cartigny, these shared interests in post-conflict rebuilding laid the foundation for a concrete plan of joint action that would link research and policy The War-torn Societies Project was born

In the aftermath of the Cold War, there had been a dramatic rise in the number of instances of profound internal strife in countries in Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America

The essential premise of WSP was that post-conflict rehabilitation typically involves a whole range of actors – internal and external – but that it is often hampered by these actors lack of understanding of how some of the basic issues and priorities involved in rehabilitation interact This lack of understanding was seen to be compounded by insufficient exchange of information on the various actors policy agendas, and last but not least by the limitations and inflexibility of some of the external actors own terms of reference

With these initial assessments of some of the hurdles in view WSP undertook to initiate, in selected war-torn societies action-research projects that would facilitate jointly sponsored research activities into priority areas for social and economic reconstruction and to promote policy dialogue and synchronisation among the main actors involved Research and policy action were seen as potentially interrelated in several ways research would help identify priorities for policy involvement and adjustment while also mapping out what programmes various actors were already engaged in, actors in turn might not only respond to research findings, but call for new areas of enquiry, collectively steering research into new or more directions In the process, it was expected that there would be value in promoting and facilitating dialogue about research priorities and findings, as well as about their respective policy agendas, among different actors government agencies and other national actors, multilateral and bilateral aid agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs)

The WSP approach was laid down in a Project Document accepted as a basis for action at the 1994 Cartigny seminar The document outlined a number of crucial steps that were to be followed and elements that were to be included in each country project In terms of organizational structure and staffing this involved choosing a national Country Project Coordinator/Director, necessarily a consensus figure, who would have overall responsibility for the project and for liaising with key government and external actors, forming a Project Group comprising representatives of the main internal and external actors involved in post-conflict rebuilding, that would assume collective 'ownership' of the project, recruiting a Research Coordinator and other core researchers, and providing for administrative support staff and logistic support

The first task for the core research team was to prepare a Country Note, a substantive paper discussing the key social, economic and political conditions and requirements of the country in the post-conflict situation

Operationally, the first task for the core research team was to prepare a Country Note, a substantive paper discussing the key social, economic and political conditions and requirements of the country in the post-conflict situation, paying due attention to how various issues were connected The Country Note was to be prepared on the basis of both existing data and research and broad consultation with main internal and external actors It would serve as a basis for discussion in the Project Group and for selecting usually not more than five key themes or Entry Points for research that could highlight policy issues in which different actors would be engaged

For each of these themes a Working Group was then to be constituted made up of representatives of the different actors with a particular interest or involvement in the policy area concerned Members of these Working Groups would interact with the relevant researcher(s), and by implication with each other on the question of

which issues would be given priority and how, and would generally give direction to the research and feedback on the basis of its preliminary findings In the conduct of the research activities and in Working Group deliberations, a special effort was to be made to ensure a meaningful 'policy mix' as well as 'actor mix' WSP projects were expected to last approximately eighteen months, a period considered both necessary and sufficient to initiate a process that might eventually become self-sustaining Throughout the life of the projects, a Central Coordination Unit (CCU) in Geneva would closely monitor the research activities, provide backstopping where necessary and arrange for logistical support

Based on this general framework WSP was launched in Eritrea in June 1995, in Mozambique in July 1995, in Guatemala in August 1996, and in Somalia – after a prolonged preparatory period – in January 1997 The Eritrean project ended with a final workshop in December 1996 Its life was officially extended until May 1997 to allow for the preparation of a successor arrangement, and then again to the end of October that year when WSP Eritrea was officially closed In June 1997 it was decided to extend the project in Mozambique to the end of that year to allow for more effective dissemination of the research findings and further consideration of possible successor arrangements Subsequently the transition phase was extended to the end of April 1998, at which time WSP Mozambique was closed The Guatemala project had its final workshop in March 1998 and was formally brought to a close the following month As WSP itself approached its intended closing phase in December 1998 plans were in place to extend the Somali project to additional locations, including Somaliland, and thus to extend its life beyond the close of the wider pilot project

What's new in the WSP approach

There are various possible ways of looking at the WSP experience and judging where it fits into the research/policy nexus It can be considered according to its potential as a venue for policy dialogue It can be defined by its capacity to generate policy-relevant research data, or can be judged by its comparative advantages as a tool for identifying and solving problems Each of these approaches will highlight a particular aspect of what in most WSP countries was a complex set of processes and interactions, involving researchers, policy-makers and other interested parties

Each of these approaches, by implication, also adds to our general thinking on the possible links between research and policy Such links occur in many forms in different contexts though quite often they have been obscured by a lack of adequate feedback mechanisms It is common for example to say that sound policy preparation requires reliable research back-up (and feedback) although the understanding of what the exact connection is and how it can be assured is constantly being redefined WSP has come to represent one significant effort towards understanding the research/policy connection, specifically in contexts where post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation are on the agenda

One interesting way of looking at the WSP experience – at least in part – and of understanding its rationale and objectives is to consider it in the context of the development of participatory approaches towards problem-oriented and problem-solving social research Some of WSP s roots in fact can be traced back to innovative forms of participatory action-research (PAR) that became quite prominent in the late 1960s and 1970s At that time they were developed particularly for application in micro-contexts such as small rural communities (Stiefel/Wolfe, 1994) Anthropologists and other researchers would associate themselves with, say, small groups of peasant farmers and, in extensive discussion and dialogue with them, would try to identify the needs and aspirations of local communities and help them think through how members of the community could themselves contribute to achieving these Understanding and raising awareness of the key problems social groups were facing, including alternative ways of overcoming them, were key concepts guiding this new approach

On the research side, the problem-orientation and participatory dimensions of this new approach stood in stark contrast to 'classical' anthropological research, in which researchers would make painstaking efforts to observe and accurately record social interactions within the community they studied, while basically trying to stay outside those processes themselves On the policy side, the basic assumption of this new participatory approach was that it might allow for sounder ways of identifying needs and problem-solving options than would be provided by solutions and programmes devised elsewhere and simply handed down to passive recipients

Both the problem-orientation and the participatory dimensions demanded entirely new and different roles and skills on the part of the researcher Observation and analysis were by no means to be superseded but would have a more preparatory and supportive role, and beyond that the researcher would also act as a facilitator, providing a venue (at least symbolically) and guiding the interaction and collective thinking among participants in the project

Instead of striving for scientific objectivity (which at roughly the same time came under heavy fire as ultimately unattainable anyway), researchers were expected to be able to develop a basic sense of empathy and identification with the local community s self-examination and search for ways of improving their condition This new role posed its own professional requirements and codes of conduct, which in due course would become the subject of a good deal of discussion and elaboration

PAR was first developed in the 1960s and 1970s in Latin America and other so-called Third World regions, in the wake of liberation theology and as a supplement to conventional research methods It soon gained a place in the repertoire of social science research strategies and methodologies, although the somewhat exaggerated expectations that initially accompanied it were in due course moderated to more realistic proportions Elements of PAR can since then be recognised in various kinds of problem-solving strategies

WSP methodology was directly derived from some of the basic ideas and experiences of PAR, largely through the initiative of the WSP Director, who had been a prime mover in the use of PAR in UNRISD, in particular as Director of UNRISD s Popular Participation Programme From these early experiences in particular the stress on the common recognition of issues and policy priorities, on dialogue to better appreciate different actors' perspectives and on the empowerment of local actors to participate in decisions affecting their future, came the general direction of the methodology to be used in the project

What makes WSP methodology different and unique, however, is that it represents a quantum leap from a research methodology designed to be implemented at the micro level to implementation at the macro level, addressing broad national issues and involving a variety of actors, internal and external, who play key roles at the macro level

In WSP, the participants are representatives of major agencies rather than a community of peasant farmers The facilitators are a WSP Country Project Coordinator/Director with a research team rather than an individual researcher and, while PAR researchers were generally (though not necessarily) outsiders, WSP researchers are invariably insiders widely recognized as interested parties in the process

There is a further difference Micro-level PAR not only addressed itself to the local level, but also sought to empower local participants like small farmers in their dealings with powerful agents such as landlords or the state In confrontational situations, its own role was thus essentially conflictual In contrast, WSP methodology, in its efforts to create bridges for dialogue and communication, is basically consensual

What makes WSP methodology different and unique is that it represents a quantum leap from a research methodology designed to be implemented at the micro level to implementation at the macro level

The underlying assumptions of WSP methodology are that, particularly in post-conflict situations, there is an acute need for broad-based dialogue and communication, for sound information and the sharing of it on the requirements and priorities for reconstruction

Post-conflict situations are potentially characterized by a lack of clarity, confusion and/or overlap as to which actors – government branches, private organizations, international agencies – are doing what, and what policy responses they are developing to immediate and long-term needs Also there is usually little open space if any for regular communication among key actors in the field WSP s premise therefore is that mapping key issues and key policy initiatives through jointly initiated research, and using the results as a basis for dialogue towards an improved understanding of different policy approaches and possible coordination, may help fill important gaps

Does it? The answers to that can only be given with confidence when the various WSP pilot projects have all been completed and more fully analysed Nonetheless, a few striking experiences already stand out

In the first two countries where WSP projects were launched – Eritrea and Mozambique – the dynamics of the projects worked out quite differently, as might have been expected in different contexts In both countries however participants reflecting on their involvement in WSP Working Groups singled out the element of dialogue as having been of most significance in helping them better understand different actors positions and policies Representatives of NGOs or multilateral agencies, for example, reported that it was through WSP that they had come to better appreciate the rationale of government policies, while participants from government or political organizations observed that WSP had provided a much needed venue for sharing some of their policv thinking with other actors engaged in reconstruction efforts Beyond this almost all quarters said that involvement in WSP had been a shared learning experience and in a number of instances had helped to indicate attainable solutions to common issues

A similar appreciation emerges from the WSP experience in Guatemala and Somalia, where the project created a much needed democratic forum for all actors – particularly local and national actors – to meet and search together for a better understanding of common challenges of post-war rebuilding, and to search for new solutions

The particular context in which WSP-type action-research is undertaken is of crucial importance in determining both the needs and the possible scope for its engagement

In terms of providing a venue for creative dialogue and generating a sense ofcommon orientation, from the initial country experiences it appears that WSP may indeed have succeeded in transposing some basic elements of PAR from the micro to the macro context

But if this seems to hold significant promise for national and international engagement in reconstruction efforts, there are limits to the WSP model of participatory problem-oriented research Again, the particular context in which WSP-type action-research is undertaken is of crucial importance in determining both the needs and the possible scope for its engagement

In this connection it will be useful to recall one basic assumption underlying the WSP concept that PAR at the macro level will be especially relevant in those post-conflict situations where it is unclear which actors are pursuing what policy objectives, and where there is a clear need to arrive at broader consensus In many post-conflict situations, the government wants to retain overall command of the policy process and is determined to keep the initiative in setting out strategies for national reconstruction In such situations, it is likely that participatory policy research that seems to go beyond dialogue would be seen to infringe on this Dialogue as such may still be seen as useful and even of potential service to the

government in office, but the government will be more likely to ensure that policy dialogue it did not initiate itself does not encroach on the (re-)setting of national policy priorities

In fact, there is potential ambivalence in government responses to the WSP approach WSP s role in facilitating dialogue between different actors (among whom there are possibly some former rivals) is likely to be seen as valuable, and it is not unlikely that governments might seek to make use of the venue WSP offers as an additional forum to get their messages across At the same time, though there is likely to be concern that the policy dialogue that ensues might follow an entirely autonomous course and engender new policy Though the concerns are delicate and may not always be explicit, they are genuine and need to be recognised by all parties In principle, though, WSP's particular approach to action-research can potentially make a strategic contribution to rethinking key issues in post-conflict reconstruction, in tandem with and in support of government efforts in parallel directions

Assessing the WSP experience

From its inception, WSP attracted wide international interest Donor agencies in particular showed a keen interest in its potential, and gave it their initial support Many different actors asked what lessons WSP might produce, and speculated on what difference it might make in a number of contexts There were at times high expectations of WSP's possible role Donor representatives and other observers, for example, were from the outset interested to learn whether the project has 'impact , though without specifying what this might mean If a true assessment of the role, potential and impact' of the WSP is to be made, it is important first to ask what expectations are reasonable

The aims of WSP itself bear repeating

> *WSP is a pilot project that aims to make a contribution towards post-conflict reconstruction and peace-building through an innovative approach and methodology that brings relevant internal and external actors together around a number of key policy themes of common interest*

WSP thus aims to achieve better insights into basic problem areas, to promote improved coordination of rehabilitation and development efforts, and to de-politicize divisive issues, thus indirectly contributing to reconciliation

These objectives evolved in the course of the project, with key focuses changing subtly from one phase to the next From the beginning WSP pursued multiple objectives that were not always clearly defined priorities changed or progressed as the project moved through different stages Thus, at the 1994 Cartigny seminar WSP was conceived essentially as a response to the frustration of the international community over its all too apparent failures, and the ultimate objective was to assist the international community to perform better Initially, WSP projects in the pilot countries were seen primarily as a tool to reach that objective

Once WSP country projects had been initiated in the selected countries, however, assistance to rebuilding processes in these countries naturally enough became an overriding objective The change in orientation this signified was profound but perhaps not immediately visible, as external actors kept an active interest in WSP, though now to better understand how their own programmes would relate to national policies

As stock is taken of WSP s efforts to improve insights into basic problem areas and promote relevant dialogue among a larger field of actors, there is also an enhanced interest in trying to ascertain to what extent some of the lessons learned may be generalized to other post-conflict situations, and possibly to international development assistance more broadly

At the point at which WSP's 'impact' is assessed, a number of other factors need to be taken into consideration for example, WSP s contributions to post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation are more likely to be indirect than direct in nature Accordingly, the 'impact of WSP is more likely to refer to how well it succeeded in creating a means of facilitation, in contributing to improved communication and understanding, possibly in helping create a new view of or changed climate for policy dialogue (likely to need longer to assess), and not necessarily to any concrete shifts in policy Again, actors might well adjust their policy agendas in the light of deliberations in a WSP context, but it has not been an objective of WSP as such to steer or influence policy in any particular direction In principle the impact' of WSP should thus not be judged by whether or not it has done this

It is also important to remember that WSP is essentially a pilot project, experimenting with a previously untried approach to policy-oriented PAR This has two important implications the first is that the first phase of WSP is in many ways a means of testing the WSP package', the instrument or methodology itself, the second is that WSP 1994-1998 is a first try-out in a variety of different post-conflict situations

Questions may still be unanswered, therefore, on how 'ready' the methodology is for application elsewhere, or whether it should first be further adjusted By implication, any assessment should also take into account whether what is being measured is the potential of a project approach that is to be further developed, or a methodology that can now be fully assessed in terms of its performance

It is perhaps even more important to remember that, during the pilot phase, WSP projects have been operating under conditions that may not necessarily be present in the future In particular, the close monitoring and logistic support from the CCU in Geneva, and the high level of support from donors, may not be available beyond the pilot phase

When drawing lessons from the experience so far and assessing its relevance and validity for application elsewhere, therefore, we also have to consider how the

blueprint for WSP projects is likely to fare without these forms of support Is it conceivable that a WSP 'package' could be composed in a form that could be employed relatively easily without much external assistance?

The first stage in the assessment of all four WSP country projects was to develop a set of tentative guidelines and questions This was used not as an exhaustive check-list but as an indicative framework in which the assessment might be used to draw lessons particularly since, from the beginning, WSP had been seen not as a static product but as an interaction between research and policy deliberation, and between different sets of actors

As the 'lessons learned' focus is central to the whole exercise, it is useful to spell out more explicitly what is meant by lessons , and to ask lessons for whom and from what?"

Clearly, in the case of a project like WSP, which operates at different levels, insights and lessons drawn from the activities differ from one actor to another Lessons are likely to be relevant to different bodies at different times and for different reasons At least three different levels can be distinguished in the context of WSP, all with their own distinctive value but also significantly related

Firstly lessons learned in the context of the empirical research conducted in one of the WSP country projects, or through the confrontation of policy assumptions with substantive research results from the field, lie at the core of what WSP is about In other words, fresh research evidence may prove to be relevant to key policy actors The lessons concerned do not necessarily represent scientific discoveries or breakthroughs (that was not why the research was undertaken to begin with), but interesting findings of wider relevance should not be *a priori* excluded

The key point is that research evidence about actual conditions may represent an important additional resource for policy actors (whether or not this was strictly called for by the actors concerned), and therefore can represent relevant lessons learned' at that particular level But to offer the same lessons' at other, for example international levels and thus presume their wider validity might not serve much purpose, and could even be counter-productive if these lessons had been long recognised in other contexts or were to be found in more general theoretical literature It is obviously important, therefore, to keep in mind the likely relevance of lessons to particular levels of actors

Secondly, lessons learned in the conduct of organizing and monitoring WSP projects – largely relating to methodological matters rather than to substantive findings – concern a different but equally crucial resource to operational actors This is particularly true of the experience and insights gained in the process of setting up successive WSP projects in different country contexts, and from keeping track of subsequent actions and initiatives Lessons learned here might include those arising from both successes and failures, and might arise in response to unanticipated turns in the course of WSP projects In either case the lessons learned are largely a function of learning by doing' or self-teaching

Lessons of this kind thus concern the adequacy of WSP as an instrument' that is being tested and possibly improved during its pilot phase Naturally, the dimensions that might come up for attention and scrutiny in this connection are as varied as the WSP enterprise as a whole logistics, project preparation, training, action-research interconnections, and not least the question of the desirable extent of local' autonomy vis-a-vis CCU guidance

Thirdly lessons learned from the introduction of WSP in different contexts relate to the processes of interaction between various categories of actors involved in WSP in different country situations They refer particularly to the kind of processes and relationships that emerge at the macro level in different situations, between government and external actors for example, and provide answers to the question of how and why WSP prompted such different response patterns By implication, the lessons learned here might advance our understanding of the kind of social and political contexts in which WSP has a greater chance of making a useful contribution and might give some insight into the extent to which WSP might be replicated in different contexts

It will be clear that there are likely to be important links among these three categories of potential lessons, and the actions and interactions underlying them We might expect, for example, that actions determining lessons learned within the second category (interventions at the level of the WSP 'package' introduced) would indirectly have an impact on the kind of lessons forthcoming in the first category the more substantive and communicative dimensions of WSP These in turn are likely to have an important bearing on the way WSP is perceived and positioned within the wider macro-political context, thus contributing to lessons in the third category While *a priori* these various links might seem obvious, by their very nature they are not easy to identify and analyse

Lessons of wider relevance can also be drawn for example, although WSP-based lessons are derived from, and in turn initially applicable to international assistance in post-conflict situations, some of them may have relevance to development assistance more generally This is because the performance of international assistance actors in rebuilding war-torn societies often reveals problems and patterns that are of a general nature but that become more visible in the extreme conditions pertaining in a post-conflict situation

In each of the country reports produced as the first four years (1994-1998) of WSP come to a close, these questions and interactions are considered

Mozambique

Launching WSP Mozambique

Mozambique had experienced conflict, more or less consistently, for almost two decades since its struggle for independence from Portugal but, when WSP first visited in April 1995, the country had embarked on a transition from war to peace which, to all appearances, contained the elements necessary for success

FRELIMO had led the country to independence but now, in government, faced a new challenge from the national resistance party, RENAMO, which profited from widespread discontent with government policies of socialization and the centralization of power

Financial support for RENAMO, however, came from right-wing governments and groups outside Mozambique, particularly in South Africa With the political transformation of South Africa and FRELIMO's embrace of market-oriented economic measures favoured by the West, most of this financial support ended International efforts to bring about a negotiated peace were intensified The major factor in achieving peace in Mozambique, however, was undoubtedly the strong determination of the Mozambican people for whom war had brought tragedy, destruction and exhaustion A peace agreement was signed in October 1992

The international community tended to work at cross-purposes, failing to establish the desired levels of confidence in their relations with national and local officials

By the time WSP was introduced in April 1995, Mozambique had legitimized its government through internationally monitored elections, and more than a million Mozambicans who had been uprooted by war had returned from various places of refuge to contribute to reviving the productive capacity of the country Post-conflict Mozambique had seen the arrival and departure of a significant United Nations peacekeeping force (ONUMOZ) with an important humanitarian component It was still host to a large number of relief agencies, including more than a hundred international NGOs As in most countries in the first years following protracted war, Mozambique's political institutions were still weak especially outside the capital Maputo The abiding hostility between the former conflicting groups periodically threatened to ignite The country remained economically devastated and society fragmented Only with the continuing and significant cooperation of external actors did the prospects for consolidating peace seem genuinely promising

But, as is also too frequently the case in the first years after conflict, the international community tended to work at cross-purposes, investing in many

projects that proved to be not viable or sustainable and failing to establish the desired levels of confidence in their relations with national and local officials The presence of so many institutions and diverse interests was proving in many ways to be as much a burden as a help Nearly all the actors concerned recognized the importance of better coordination and had already taken steps to improve the situation In this context, WSP s proposal to pilot an innovative approach that could positively contribute to national and international coordination efforts was welcomed

During the more than two years (1995-1997) that WSP operated in Mozambique, the country consolidated the peace process under way since late 1992 Successful multi-party elections in 1994 had reinforced national and international confidence, and the apparent stability attracted significant investment

Economically, Mozambique successfully lowered inflation and increased trade Agricultural production moved close to meeting national food needs, although it remained below its potential Manufactured consumer goods continued to be imported in the face of low domestic industrial production The health and education sectors remained underdeveloped in most of the country Importantly, Mozambique's continued dependence on foreign assistance resulted in a debt so large as to be nearly universally judged unpayable Meanwhile, servicing the debt absorbed a growing portion of national revenue

The presence of so many institutions and diverse interests was proving in many ways to be as much a burden as a help

Poverty in Mozambique remained prevalent Unemployment was widespread, with 80 per cent of the population working in subsistence agriculture Much agricultural land remained uncultivated because of restrictions caused by land mines Per capita income was less than US$100 a year Infrastructure destroyed during the war was still in disrepair and new infrastructure desperately needed

It was to this post-conflict situation of desperate needs and the seeds of rebuilding that, in April 1995, WSP Director Matthias Stiefel, Senior Advisory Group (SAG) member Jonathan Moore and Head of Operations Oto Denes visited Mozambique to bring the WSP concept to the widest possible range of political actors The parties consulted agreed on the relevance of a participatory action-research (PAR) project that would embrace both national and international actors in a shared effort to improve the process of post-conflict rebuilding and reconciliation WSP sought not only the approval but also the active involvement of participants These were to include international and national actors – including the Government of Mozambique and the two main political forces, RENAMO and FRELIMO – who would combine their political influence, technical and implementation capacities and analytical abilities in promoting recovery and reconciliation The individuals consulted tentatively agreed to participate in WSP activities

Staffing and preparations for research

In the course of this first visit, the WSP delegation identified a Project Director, Dr Brazão Mazula, a prominent and respected Mozambican who had been responsible for the conduct of the first post-conflict national elections Dr Mazula combined academic credentials with political and managerial experience and was regarded as politically independent [1] He chose a potential research team of two people (Miguel de Brito and Elisa dos Santos) who had both worked with an internationally funded research project on the challenges of post-conflict reconstruction in Mozambique

Over the course of the first few months, the leadership of Dr Mazula was a key factor in the successful setting-up of the project in Mozambique He was well-known and respected and his involvement in the project thus assured that WSP would be taken seriously in political circles and among international agencies The team – talented but with limited experience – needed his substantive and methodological guidance And the impact of his guidance was enhanced by the fact that he enjoyed the full confidence of the CCU in Geneva

The first few months were largely taken up by administrative and logistical questions The CCU and the project team in Mozambique worked together to staff and equip an office, and to arrange appropriate financial management The choice of office space proved to be a delicate question if WSP was to successfully fulfil its role as an impartial facilitator of research and consultation among main actors, this neutrality had also to be reflected in the physical location of the office Housing the project, for example, in United Nations facilities, or on university grounds or at one of the existing research institutions, was not advisable since none of these would be considered 'neutral ground by all the actors that were to participate in the WSP process UNDP greatly assisted in settling multiple administrative and logistical questions and continued to provide institutional support for WSP Mozambique throughout its operation By July 1995 the project team was fully functional

In the first project phase, the Mozambican team had two important tasks The first was to meet and either confirm or enlist the participation of the full range of relevant Mozambican and international actors engaged in peace consolidation, humanitarian assistance, development activities and local initiatives

From the outset, the CCU had taken the general affirmation of WSP objectives and methodology to imply a common understanding of how the project should be implemented As a result, Geneva sent minimal instructions to the project team on how to conduct their work

In fact adoption of the theory did not necessarily mean overall consensus on the methodology, particularly since putting a PAR project into practice among individuals with different institutional loyalties and interests turned out to be complex Moreover, while the Mozambican actors understood the overall objectives and approach of the project there were at the outset substantial

differences within the team – as well as among the other nationally based project participants – as to how the methodology should be implemented

In time, the WSP Mozambique and WSP Geneva staff agreed that the project should have allowed more preparation time both to form the team and to reach common understandings on how the methodology might best be applied in the particular national situation

Preparation of the Country Note was the second major task This involved not only a review of available literature documenting the legacies of war and the post-conflict rebuilding challenges facing Mozambique but also a stock-taking of available knowledge of the issues involved This latter was to be carried out through interviews with a wide range of actors, and it is at this stage that lessons began already to be learned about differences in approach, interpretation and direction One important lesson of WSP took root that there is no such thing as an objective review of the state of a country emerging from conflict, someone will always see such a review as partisan The starting point must therefore itself be negotiated through a consensus-building exercise As interviews progressed, the research team enlisted participation in the projected future activities of WSP and prepared the ground for the choices to be made during the action-research phase of the project

Implementation: the Project Group, Working Groups and Entry Points

When the Country Note was finished, the first meeting of a national Project Group was convened on 21 February 1996 Attendance at the meeting was wide-ranging, diverse and high-level The government sent four high-ranking officials There were representatives of both major political parties, a number of ambassadors, United Nations and bilateral agency representatives, NGO representatives and researchers

The meeting had four main aims firstly to formally constitute the WSP Mozambique Project Group – effectively an assembly of national and international participants in the project, secondly, to discuss the Country Note as a point of departure for the common analysis, thirdly, to review WSP methodology and explore how it was going to work, and finally to agree on key problem areas for research known as Entry Points These were particular problem areas selected for action-research and discussion on the basis of their relevance and strategic importance to post-conflict national rebuilding, and their susceptibility to research and policy response

In the conclusion to the Country Note the researchers had identified six suggested Entry Points which they presented to the Project Group for final selection regional disequilibria, stratification and access to wealth poverty, public sector reform, administrative decentralization and municipal elections, and the role of the media in the reconciliation process The final choice was extremely important, as the

second project phase would be devoted to research and interactive dialogue on these points in the Project Group and in topical Working Groups formed around each Entry Point

Both the WSP Project Group and Working Groups were made up of the international community of diplomats, donors, international agencies, NGOs and academics, along with national figures in government, from existing and emerging political parties, local NGOs and media, academia and the private sector They were supposed to be, at one and the same time, objects of the study, sources of information, and full participants in research design implementation and evaluation To some extent the project would succeed to the extent that participants learned from each other and reached agreements that would bring their interests and policies into a more complementary relationship

The Project Group neither accepted the Country Note in its existing form nor agreed on how it was to be revised, although most of the Project Group members assessed it positively, with some suggestions for improvement Among the criticisms made were that it was too narrow in scope, insufficiently inclusive of various social sectors, and lacking sufficient regional focus The exchanges of opinion were more open and substantive than most such discussions in Mozambique The major debate over accepting the document was driven by political considerations government representatives protested that the document criticized their performance too strongly and, by implication, was favourable to the opposition, the opposition RENAMO representative expressed the contrary view, others maintained that the Country Note gave inadequate attention to other political entities

Participants inevitably saw the Country Note as a political statement and wanted their own points of view to be formally noted and taken on board

The WSP model anticipated that the Project Group would discuss and accept the Country Note as a starting point for a discussion that would identify and endorse the thematic Entry Points What the debate showed, however, was that participants inevitably saw the Country Note as a political statement and wanted their own points of view to be formally noted and taken on board Consequently, the Country Note was never effectively "adopted", rather it was agreed that the various points of view expressed in the Project Group meeting would be added in annexe and the document as such would be filed What would move forward was the dynamics of dialogue that the Country Note had engendered

The Project Group also sought to reach a consensus on the choice of Entry Points This discussion, centred around the six Entry Points submitted by the research team, was rich in exchange of ideas but equally inconclusive, not least because it soon became obvious that it is extremely difficult to set priorities when so many issues are urgent The assembled participants, representing very diverse interests

and perspectives, gave many suggestions and added many new topics that they variously believed to be priority issues By the end of the Project Group meeting, 24 Entry Points had been put forward and none removed Not surprisingly the meeting concluded by sending the selection process back to the WSP team, asking the project staff to make another selection and then to call a new meeting

Without any doubt, the weight given to the deliberations of the Project Group gave its members a keen sense of ownership, practically unique in research projects Nevertheless, the lesson was well learned that the value of this first meeting lay in its contribution to consensus-building and the process of dialogue rather than in the concrete decisions it produced Now, to advance on the more tangible research agenda, there was no choice but to replace the decision-by-forum mechanism with a more manageable alternative The Mozambican project team took the initiative

The project team created an Advisory Committee of six respected Mozambicans This committee which began meeting in mid-March, was charged to select and justify a short-list of Entry Points The committee made selections according to a number of criteria the short-list should comprise issues for which research could indicate policy options to national and international actors, issues on which there were conflicting views, and issues that, if not addressed, might generate local conflict or create general tensions When the process was completed in June 1996, the second Project Group meeting was called to validate the selection Ultimately, the issues chosen were accepted, respected, and apparently maintained the interest of the participants Four Entry Points were finally validated the reintegration of demobilized soldiers, the role of mass media in democracy and development, the impact of structural adjustment on agriculture, and decentralization and participation in local self-government A Working Group was created for each of the themes and those attending the second Project Group meeting were invited to sign up for one or more of the groups

The weight given to the deliberations of the Project Group gave its members a keen sense of ownership, practically unique in research projects

The choice also offered lessons that were to prove valuable to WSP in later projects to a large extent, the national actors supported the choice of issues relating to longer-term development problems, issues that could become sources of future conflicts The external actors, in contrast, tended to be preoccupied with the direct legacy of the conflict and shorter-term rehabilitation issues

The ten months devoted to establishing the project had provided some very important and useful lessons Although it had ended with a Country Note document that was filed away and a drawn-out process to define the focus of WSP's action-research phase, and although, in the interests of collective decision-making, some efficiency had been sacrificed and deadlines overstepped,

the processes of dialogue, information-sharing and consensus-building that had resulted formed a solid platform for the next stages of the project, during which the Working Groups were to play the main role

The Working Groups operated autonomously They met at different intervals depending largely on the research activities that determined their agenda, to exchange ideas and debate the chosen Entry Points, decide on questions for research and necessary field investigations, and both respond to and strengthen the research findings Dialogue in the Working Groups was brisk and substantive and the presentation of diverse perspectives, opinions and interests proved useful and often enlightening After the fact, participants and project staff alike regretted that there had not been more exchanges among the four thematic groups to further this exchange of views The Working Groups nevertheless came together in the context of Project Group meetings and, during the last months of WSP in Mozambique, the research team produced a newsletter that summarized WSP activities and the findings of the different Working Groups This, though, appeared quite late in the process and was discontinued after the last meeting of the Project Group

Research findings

Both the Mozambican and non-Mozambican participants in WSP rated highly the seriousness of the researchers and the relevance of the research questions addressed There was nevertheless regret that the research period was too short to allow wider coverage and more thorough verification of the results

Reintegration of demobilized soldiers

The Working Group on the reintegration of demobilized soldiers included policy makers, Mozambican and external project personnel and demobilized combatants themselves – the target group of the policies and programmes They were represented by the leaders of the veterans' organization, AMODEG

The approximately 95,000 combatants demobilized in Mozambique were mostly men with few marketable skills and little experience in the civil economy In a shattered post-war economy, with more than 2 million returning refugees and displaced persons to be settled, and given pervasive poverty in both urban and rural areas, their integration posed major problems A large number of projects had been initiated by the international community between 1992 and 1995, and one of the aims of the research undertaken was to assess how much had actually been accomplished where there were gaps and the extent to which remaining problems could be solved in order to deter possible conflict

AMODEG argued forcefully that the accumulated efforts to reintegrate demobilized soldiers had accomplished little At the other extreme, the government representative from the Ministry of Labour considered that the integration phase had been satisfactorily completed Participants from NGOs and

others who had worked in reintegration programmes questioned the extent to which AMODEG's strong positions accurately reflected the situation and priorities of former combatants, but acknowledged that major problems did still persist in the reintegration process The wide gaps in opinions among Working Group participants made consensus on research priorities difficult and the researchers themselves were largely left to decide the direction the research would take on the basis of what they saw as the major questions being debated

Contrary to widespread expectations, especially among external actors, the research indicated that the majority of demobilized combatants had been able to return to their home communities and re-enter family and community circles This was particularly true in rural areas, in urban communities, particularly in Maputo and Beira, unemployment, lack of marketable skills and of social support for those settling in new areas rather than returning home, continued to raise concerns

Reconciliation mechanisms were especially effective in rural areas, where former combatants frequently underwent painful public rituals intended to purge them of guilt for the violent acts they had committed and the suffering they had caused Once purged, they were accepted into their former communities Nevertheless, the fact that demobilized combatants had access to resources that other community members did not have, and that some sought to relocate to new areas, created tension Moreover, the civilian population in general distrusted the former combatants whom they accused of any crime committed in the area and whom they refused to hire on the grounds that they lacked work discipline In one community, the researcher discovered that the former combatants had formed vigilante committees to apprehend law-breakers so that the community would no longer assume that it was the demobilized soldiers who were guilty

Both AMODEG and the Ministry of Labour representative softened their positions, found common ground for their efforts and acknowledged that dialogue should be maintained

The research found that social integration had been more successful than economic integration benefits and credits were short-term and did not compensate for lack of land employment opportunities and skills Training programmes initiated by international agencies did not necessarily match market opportunities for skills, and were often uncoordinated and unrelated to project needs

In short, the results vindicated neither the claims of AMODEG nor the view of the government, but did establish the outstanding problems – economic, moral and ethical – yet to be resolved The dialogue that ensued improved and became more dynamic once the results were presented In particular, both AMODEG and the Ministry of Labour representative softened their positions, found common ground for their efforts and acknowledged that dialogue should be maintained

The role of mass media in democracy and development

The Constitution and press laws in Mozambique guarantee the editorial independence of the mass media The largest circulation newspapers, and major radio and television stations, are in the public sector, but private sector media also operate All the mass media, however, are widely criticized as irresponsible, unreliable, not very informative and often provocative and politically biased Often these criticisms are voiced by one organ of mass media against another Since the national media in one form or another (and principally radio) operate in all regions and there are few other sources of information on national and regional realities, there is reason for concern about their role in the democratic process It was in this context and in order to establish the veracity of the charges against the media that research was undertaken

In addition to the Working Group in Maputo, there were group discussions around the research on the role of the media in the capital cities of five provinces These groups included journalists, politicians, academics, private sector managers, NGOs, members of religious groups and general media consumers The meetings were intended to elicit from the participants how they thought the media should be performing as a socially responsible institution how they perceived actual performance and what needed to be done for the media to play a more positive role The researchers were particularly interested in differences in perceptions among groups from the more developed and less developed parts of the country

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Initial observations from field studies in Tete, Manica and Sofala provinces indicated a significant degree of dissatisfaction with social communication in these areas, partially because of the domination of the media by urban culture in this country where 87 per cent of the population is rural Researchers also found that the media are seen as a partisan tool in many instances covering national political disputes rather than important social issues Provincial governors were seen as appropriating the media for their own purposes, although many journalists were also seen as presenting a pro-RENAMO bias in these provinces, working against the national government Because the majority of FRELIMO's elected representatives live in Maputo and the majority of RENAMO s live in the provinces the regional news favoured the latter This raised interesting questions concerning the links between a province s national identity and vision reconciliation political representation commitment to regional constituencies and social communication

In response, journalists cited financial limitations as major obstacles to responsible comprehensive and independent coverage Their salaries have remained low and they are not reimbursed for expenses related to their

professional work Since they must pay the high costs of internal transport themselves few venture beyond their places of residence and this limits coverage Coverage is also constrained by the lack of official press releases or statements that are a resource to journalists elsewhere The journalists also confirmed that they are subject to political pressure from parties and economic interest groups

Journalists and non-journalists alike regretted that the media did not report seriously on the political problems that everyone knew about corruption, political manipulation and economic policies widely believed to benefit the wealthy and foreigners

The research findings sustained the charge that the media are not necessarily relevant to concerns of information consumers outside the capital Political coverage as well as the general direction of local media coverage tend to be determined in Maputo, where all media are required by law to have their headquarters Many contributors urged the media to take a more active role in educating people with respect to health, environment, civic responsibility and other social issues, ideally with a local perspective

The impact of structural adjustment on agriculture

Structural adjustment policies were adopted in Mozambique to stabilize the economy and create conditions in which markets would operate more efficiently The Mozambican economy is based on agricultural production, and a healthy rural economy is essential to national economic recovery The post-war agricultural sector, however, had not attained its full potential and, although Mozambique could readily feed its population, food was still being imported Debate about shortcomings in the agricultural sector, the question of poverty and regional inequalities, and land legislation, was common, and a large number of people were critical of the government s adoption of structural adjustment policies

The government's Programme of Economic and Social Production (PRES) encouraged privatization and sought to introduce more rational price structures The PRES also promised credits for agricultural production and marketing Looking at this programme, it was felt, would be more objective and provide the opportunity to explore linkages with national and international economic policies The researchers therefore set out to investigate how the measures taken as part of structural adjustment affected the commercial agricultural sector, how these measures were perceived by the various sectors affected, and what modifications might be made in the existing programme

The Working Group brought together participants from the Ministry of Agriculture, the private sector, two embassies, the World Bank and NGOs The group dynamics were especially positive because the people involved shared common interests from different perspectives, and considered dialogue important to their interests The head of one of the largest cotton producing enterprises

reported that he attended Working Group meetings because they provided the first opportunity to engage substantively with government policy makers In visits to the provinces, the researchers brought together groups that represented small-holders, peasants, large-holders and marketing enterprises Not only were these sectors generally unaware of each other's perspectives, they were not organized within sectors either In the course of the project, the cotton producers did form such an umbrella organization

The research findings suggested that the structural adjustment policies in Mozambique did accomplish positive economic changes However, the impact on commercial agriculture was not as positive as had been hoped because fundamental economic constraints in market structures, in the government's financial and credit limitations, and in pricing policies were not addressed Market conditions remained unstable and peasants did not think it worthwhile to produce for sale because they could not count on a market Merchants similarly, would not increase their purchasing levels unless they had assured sales on the other end Neither group diversified from traditional crops nor sought new markets

The tight credit policies that accompanied structural adjustment prevented some essential reconstruction projects from taking place and infrastructure and services remained in disrepair Credit programmes intended to revitalize agricultural production could not be adequately capitalized and, on balance, were counter-productive Farmers were unable to take advantage of the credits that were offered Finally, while the government had proposed to establish minimum prices for commercial agricultural products, this proved extremely difficult in the absence of a public sector clearing house that would assure the purchase of excess production

The group dynamics were especially positive because the people involved shared common interests from different perspectives, and considered dialogue important to their interests

All these constraints were seen to be related to structural adjustment and the latter was regularly blamed for a wide range of social problems The researchers concluded that it was the implementation of the policy that was flawed too much weight had been given to macro-economic stability and not enough to sectoral requirements, thereby increasing the difficulties of recovery The researchers cited a wide range of economic factors related to the conflict that continued to impede agriculture land mine prevalence, war-related destruction of commercial and productive facilities, the slow recovery of health sanitation and educational facilities compounded by dismal salaries in these sectors weak social networks and not least inadequate data on current agricultural production and marketing conditions The researchers and Working Group agreed on a number of studies that would review policies and explore modifications

Decentralization and participation in local self-government

Nation building and consolidating peace in Mozambique depend on overcoming the perception and reality that the country is controlled from the southern capital city of Maputo Elections in 1998 were intended specifically to correct the imbalance to some degree by giving more strength to local governments in the major municipalities and increasing their resource base, although only the larger municipalities were included Considerable scepticism remained that Maputo-based power structures would not permit a genuine political decentralization Such decentralization and the need for substantial expansion of services in the provinces remain among the major priorities of international assistance

The Working Group on decentralization attempted to be a bridge between WSP Mozambique in Maputo and three provinces Zambezia, Tete and Nampula A relatively small Working Group in Maputo consisted largely of people originally from the provinces or who had been working there There were a few international participants and many Mozambican students and academics The international participants were interested in the potential impact of decentralization activities on the democratic process and on legal and structural changes in progress This group met more often than other groups and its discussions were reported to be more conceptual than policy-related In contrast in the field the researchers were action-oriented and, rather than gather information from the provinces, they set out to form a quasi-Working Group in the field A local teacher brought together a mix of political, religious, commercial, intellectual and other important figures including representatives of the media and AMODEG These gatherings discussed local problems and, with the WSP research team, sought concrete solutions to them

The provincial informants were clear in their disapproval of Maputo s dominance and were outspoken about their unmet needs They were also unaware that the government was in the process of implementing a decentralization policy and that relevant legislation and regulations governing the elections were in place This ignorance was itself seen as a sign of the need to decentralize, neither the press nor local politicians had spread the message to the people targeted in the new policies The research confirmed regional loyalties, along with both linguistic and cultural differences, but the researchers did not encounter strong ethnic militancy among the various provincial sectors

Not only was Maputo (the south) seen to dominate the north, there were also complaints about the near absence of professional sectors in the provinces The pervasive marginality of provincial residents, the researchers suggested, produced a passive citizenry Instead of organizing themselves to deal with problems that arose, they waited for word from Maputo At one point, the WSP team itself brought people together to prove to them that they could solve local problems without assistance

Evaluation

At the close of what was determined to be the project cycle, the research team sent out evaluation forms to the participants The questionnaire was quite comprehensive, with five pages of questions, most of which required some reflection on the part of the participant Perhaps for this reason, only nine out of 57 questionnaires sent elicited responses Despite the small number of returns, the results probably reflect more widely held views

The WSP Working Group meetings received high marks, a number of respondents expressed regret that they were unable to attend all the meetings and some thought the meetings should have been held more frequently In the early phases, WSP had been perceived as a project aimed particularly at understanding and affecting the actions of international actors In fact, the experience of WSP in Mozambique became much more relevant to the local actors than had been envisaged The national participants vigorously debated positions, and reported having changed their thinking on some issues as a result of ongoing debates On the other hand, none of the Working Groups reported serious debate related to the viewpoints of the international participants, much less on the specific projects the international actors were involved in How the international agencies (including both United Nations and bilateral cooperation agencies) handled their relationships and conducted their programmes remained essentially outside the venue of WSP for a number of reasons

The national participants vigorously debated positions, and reported having changed their thinking on some issues as a result of ongoing debates

First, at the time WSP was conceptualized, the international community was already beginning to appreciate the importance of adequate consultation and coordination As the project was being put in place, donors in Mozambique were taking steps to improve coordination and, by the time the project was actually established in Mozambique, the international actors had already created coordination working groups of their own

Second, while the international agencies had played a highly visible oversight role in the early years of the Mozambican transition from war to peace, this was far less true by the time WSP became established in the country By the time WSP arrived in Mozambique at the end of 1995, the international community was consciously seeking a lower profile many agencies were either phasing out projects and reducing their staff or withdrawing altogether ONUMOZ had left the emergency phase was over and local actors were taking the driver s seat

Third, international officials supported the WSP initiative because it brought together different sectors of society, providing an independent forum where Mozambicans could engage in dialogue They said they wanted it to assist the Mozambican authorities to step into their rightful roles of leadership, 'displacing' the international leadership that had been so visible (and somewhat resented)

The international participants, as well as the national officials, absorbed information through WSP that undoubtedly affected their decisions on priorities and programmes The international actors acknowledged having gained important advantages from the project, both in terms of access to reliable information and expanded access to sectors of Mozambican society not usually open to them But while the international participants found WSP to be of value, they did not consider themselves to be the major players In sum, by mutual agreement, WSP served primarily as a forum for discussion of Mozambican issues

Dialogue among people in different regions and with different affiliations was enlightening because it was largely uncommon before WSP, except in intellectual circles As one participant put it, "we may have talked in each other's presence, but we did not really listen to what the other was saying" Another commented that people had lived so long with stereotypes that they had not been motivated to learn about their adversaries' problems, viewpoints and priorities An external embassy actor noted that people from different groups and representing different perspectives tended to come individually to the embassy to express their points of view and the problems they were having with other sectors Despite urging from the embassy, they resisted talking to each other directly Thus, the forum created by WSP filled a real need The project entered at a point when Mozambican policy makers professionals and intellectuals were ready to move toward greater national conciliation and understanding, and it helped to contribute to these ends

The project entered at a point when Mozambican policy makers, professionals, and intellectuals were ready to move toward greater national conciliation and understanding, and it helped to contribute to these ends

In the political and policy-making spheres, WSP did not set out to have a direct impact, rather it was intended to engage policy makers and thus contribute indirectly to the policy-making process WSP called itself a research project and employed research as a vehicle for bringing important national and international actors together and providing them with a substantive basis for their discussions about policies WSP's success in this undertaking must therefore be evaluated according to several different criteria

Firstly, WSP did succeed in gaining the attention of, and access to major political and policy-making actors Its ability to affect policy directly was limited but its indirect contribution to the policy-making process was clear, albeit impossible to measure Secondly, the Project Group and Working Groups provided neutral and independent venues where politically sensitive issues could be discussed, moreover these discussions were facilitated precisely because WSP did not set out to intervene directly in the political or policy processes Thirdly, the government was the single actor in the WSP experience with which all other participants had to deal to achieve their objectives To the extent that there was high-level

government attendance in early Project Group and Working Group meetings, WSP succeeded in facilitating this Nevertheless, government participation was not sustained throughout the meetings, and government representatives listened and spoke while, understandably, not making commitments Similarly, the participation of high-level international actors was largely passive, with participants championing dialogue among actors but not using WSP as a forum for serious discussion of their own programmes or policies In any case, however, WSP was not designed to judge government or international agency performance or practice, or to change policy, but rather to examine policy interactions in specific areas and explore their impact

Government interlocutors gave positive evaluations of the project, affirming that WSP had been an important "listening post , and maintaining that WSP had provided useful information for them Overall, the consensus view of participants appears to be that WSP's policy impact consisted essentially of the combined effect on project participants of meeting people previously believed to be adversaries, achieving greater understanding of diverse points of view on shared concerns, learning more about national experiences, and engaging in discussions in which their views were taken seriously by others Undoubtedly they did influence how participants thought about policies, and the same participants surely presented newly formulated points of view to colleagues WSP participants uniformly applauded these aspects of the project and acknowledged that, if WSP had taken a more direct, aggressive approach to pushing for policy changes, the primary target would necessarily have been the government and there would undoubtedly have been a negative reaction to continuing the project There was also a consensus view that, if the kind of dialogue that took place were extended on a national scale, it could more directly affect the way policies are formulated

What comes next?

In June 1997, WSP called a fourth Project Group meeting to discuss the draft final report and evaluation report, and to discuss more generally the future of WSP in Mozambique Many individuals spoke in favour of continuing the project in some form It was widely felt that WSP had created a whole new relationship between research and policy-formulation, proving that they are inter-dependent and that collaboration is consequently vital between academic research and policy-making The WSP process had also highlighted the need for improved information-sharing and access to information and had demonstrated that it was possible to bring local realities closer to decision-making centres Moreover it was felt to have provided a unique neutral space in which all the actors could discuss issues of rebuilding This was seen as particularly important in the light of forthcoming national elections scheduled for December 1997

For all these reasons Project Group members felt that the WSP experience had made a positive contribution to rebuilding efforts in Mozambique and that ways and means should be sought to continue it on a self-sustaining basis

The representative of UNDP offered to provide six months of financing for a reduced project team In this transition phase, a successor body to WSP could be explored, a final report could be finalized published in Mozambique and widely disseminated inside and outside the country In due course, a Mozambican Centre for the Study of Democracy and Development was established, to continue and build on the work begun by WSP Mozambique

Final thoughts from the Project Director of WSP Mozambique[2]

At the end of March 1995, when I was told about WSP, the first general multi-party elections had taken place and the President of the Republic and the multi-party Parliament, democratically elected, had taken power

There was not enormous enthusiasm at the electoral result in itself, rather people's faces showed their satisfaction with a process that ensured peace, while the international community admired the orderly way in which the elections had taken place Satisfaction with the immediate success of the elections then gave rise to expectations of something that would confirm a real and lasting peace Then, as now, there was increasing awareness that it is not enough to achieve a negative peace – the end of armed conflict – but it is necessary to move towards a positive peace, of social, political, economic and military stability, to make provisions against anything that could cause new conflict, by involving all the internal and external actors in the reconstruction of countries that have been destroyed by war and to relaunch its development process These are the conditions upon which the future maintenance and consolidation of peace in Mozambique will depend

It is not enough to achieve a negative peace – the end of armed conflict – but it is necessary to move towards a positive peace, of social, political, economic and military stability

I learned in preliminary discussions that WSP was concerned with support to the process of maintenance and consolidation of peace-making in post-conflict societies, through the interaction of policies, strategy and methodology The project had specific objectives, methodology and strategy and a definite field of action

It was emphasized that the project did not involve material assistance, direct financial aid or goods It was to be a project that worked with and acted upon people who were to be both the subject and object of the project It was to have a direct impact on society, working as an activating force in the process towards peace and development

Moreover it was to involve external actors, who are also responsible for the maintenance of peace and an authentic development process for post-conflict societies It was to be, from the outset, a participatory project It was not to be a

substitute for anyone, nor to circumvent the activities and initiatives of internal actors, be they politicians, government officials, civilians or economic agents

The project was to provide a forum in which all social actors could take part an informal, non-institutional place where they could get together in a climate of open dialogue and grow closer to each other, getting to know each another as human beings and discussing social problems, elaborating strategies and producing recommendations at the various levels of decision-making It was felt that there would be a greater convergence of people s visions and of their perceptions of social reality, as well as of the differences and similarities of policies and strategies The aim was to create synergies and understanding

To ensure a soundly-based objectivity, the project was also to have an academic dimension, using participatory or interactive research It was to be developed by a team of impartial researchers – a condition for its credibility and the project's activities with the different actors in society

Was the project worthwhile? Did it come up to the expectations of the actors? What was its role in the process of national reconciliation and reconstruction? What lessons may we draw from it? And what is the future of the project?

I base my answers to these questions on three theoretical concepts *communicative action, innovation* and *circular, cumulative causation,* which are taken respectively from the work of three great contemporary thinkers Jurgen Habermas, Joseph Schumpeter and Gunnar Myrdal I shall also be using the concept of *culture*

In his theory of *communicative action,* Habermas distinguishes between *strategic action* and *communicative action* In *strategic action* one of the actors restricts dialogue with the other – and therefore conducts the dialogue – in search of operational strategies for arriving at decisions that have in fact already been taken, whether valid or not This is also called strategic dialogue In *communicative action* actors communicate through language, are concerned to produce a consensus that has been argued through and together make decisions that have been validated by this kind of communication The result gives a motivation for action, through what I usually call *communicative dialogue* Strategic action can be important, but the corresponding dialogue reduces the Other to an object Rather than being a subject, the Other is just one who undertakes action and assists in decision-making In communicative action the dialogue is more participatory, communicative dialogue itself becomes a mediator While strategic action has greater impact on the way that action is carried out, communicative action is more oriented towards understanding between or among actors and towards building consensus

The strength of WSP lies in its capacity and demand for the mediation of conflict During the research in the provinces, we tried to bring together actors from political parties, religious figures of various persuasions, economic agents and representatives of government authorities, national and foreign actors, members of the Working Groups and the researchers working on the respective Entry Points

We were trying to create a space for mutual understanding, to put people into active communication with one another, allowing each of them to present their views so that they all could see the similarities and differences of policies and strategies on the same problems and based on this, build agreement in the form of a general or specific recommendation for the next phase of the research

The research confirmed that the process of understanding and reconciliation was achieved more rapidly and completely in the rural population than in the urban population It was also quicker and easier to get people to participate and approach each other in civil society than in political society It was in this spirit of understanding and to achieve even greater participatory involvement among the actors that it was suggested we should organize a seminar on the PROAGRI programme for the actors who were directly involved, together with the government It would also seem that the subjective conditions (human, mental and inner state of mind) for democracy are more easily created in civil than in political society The economic and business sector demanded – and continues to demand – peace for its investments

While the communication and mediation dimension gave more political significance to the project, it has also to be admitted that it was not easy to implement To the best of my knowledge, the difficulties that arose in the process were largely due to the innovatory character of the project, both for our colleagues in Geneva and for ourselves They were also, and especially, due to the nature of Mozambique's own historical process

It was an apprenticeship, a constant effort to conform to its spirit and methodology, different from classic and commercial research and methodology

There were moments of relative tension between our research team and our colleagues in Geneva The project required all of us to adapt It was an apprenticeship a constant effort to conform to its spirit and methodology different from classic and commercial research and methodology It was by dialoguing about what was happening, our mutual preoccupations, that practice enabled us to achieve the project's objectives, making better use of our time and being flexible in a responsible way There were times when the WSP Director contacted me and we spoke on the phone for hours on end, each of us with different points of view about the process But we always arrived at a consensus

We saw that the Geneva team was under certain pressures – of time or from the donors We ourselves, in the field, knew that such pressures were inevitable but we also felt that we could not race ahead as the project was working directly with people as its subject, and it is difficult when one is mainly dealing with man as a political animal Our Geneva colleagues realized later that, when the project was elaborated, the sheer size of the country and its cultural complexity had not been taken sufficiently into account

As for the complexity and the innovative character of the Mozambican process, I return to the works of Schumpeter In these, he suggested that i) development always presupposes a capacity to innovate, ii) innovation is closely linked to the spirit of entrepreneurship, iii) the capacity to innovate is not the monopoly of the state and is more dynamically achieved by the private entrepreneur, iv) innovations cause ruptures in situations that were in 'previously existing equilibrium', v) "innovations generate non-adaptive reactions the more they introduce discontinuous changes ', vi) while innovations are always of 'endogenous origin', inventions are not always so Politically and economically, "innovation is a question of 'the social phenomenon of leadership', together with the decision to do 'what has never been done before'"

Several observations follow from this While wars are usually the invention of politicians and economic groups, peace is always an initiative of the people, either through their own direct pressure, or through their leaders WSP has always worked as if the Mozambican peace process were – and still is – a process belonging to the Mozambican people, even if it is supported by the international community The innovative character of this peace process is to be found in the way it has succeeded in bringing about communicative dialogue between the two ex-belligerent forces, who had established a General Peace Agreement in 1992, defining the bases and strategies for consolidating it and adopting dialogue as the only method for resolving any kind of conflict At the same time they opted for a multi-party democracy as well as the democratic institutions which according to international models, are a condition for social stability The agreement was to be reflected in the organizing of society, in the conducting of the economy and in the building up of the rule of law The tensions that sometimes arose between the politicians, particularly between FRELIMO and RENAMO, should be understood as part of the apprenticeship in social co-existence, among a diversity of ideologies and political strategies The Parliament is one of the efforts being made during this apprenticeship

While wars are usually the invention of politicians and economic groups, peace is always an initiative of the people

On the other hand, an innovative process almost always generates non-adaptive reactions on the part of some actors, social sectors or interest groups Thus it could be seen in the context of the decentralization theme that discussions on the municipal elections especially their technical and financial aspects took up a lot of time – they were initially expected to take place in 1996 – as they required what Schumpeter called an adaptation of people s minds in the first place, and then the organization of a functional system The prolonged discussions meant that there were more 'non-adaptive reactions' to the new socio-political reality of a decentralized government

A second observation that follows from the innovation concept taken from Schumpeter is that those condemned to under-development – and here, for a moment, I shall return to Myrdal – are the societies in which the state tries to monopolize the capacity for innovation and in which entrepreneurs do not innovate It is also the case that as Schumpeter says, structural change does not necessarily mean innovation, even though it is a necessary step This means that there can be changes in the structures of the state apparatus such as those relating to municipal elections, but these do not necessarily bring about innovation in the relationships between state, society and the economy, it does not necessarily mean decentralization

WSP succeeded in involving political, governmental and economic actors It carefully followed the discussions in Parliament on the package of draft legislation concerning municipal elections It also dialogued with parliamentarians from the three benches An awareness of the need for dialogue in resolving conflicts began to develop in its forum even when a majority vote was imposed

The project also made a considerable effort to approach various representatives of the private sector (not necessarily entrepreneurs in the sense of being innovators), to bring them together to discuss the economic situation It is true that these discussions focused more on regulations than on innovations Perhaps, however, that is a necessary step, since a new kind of relationship was being built up between the state, the private sector and government institutions Thus, as a consequence of WSP, there was an initiative on the part of the private sector to organize a meeting with the government for a joint discussion on economic problems An example was the initiative of LOMACO and the João Ferreira dos Santos Company, who organized a seminar on the problem of cotton, as a result of which an Association of Cotton Producers was created

To continue with this reflection and evaluation, and because I am getting more into the Entry Point concerning the impact of the PRES on agriculture, I shall move on to Myrdal's concept of *circular cumulative causation*

I should first explain that it is not by chance that I chose Myrdal and opted for his theoretical framework, even if I cannot agree with some of his conclusions Myrdal was always, as Paulo Sandroni has pointed out, an economist concerned with social questions' and thus he overcame the economist s view of development so often to be found in development policies

It was for this quality that Myrdal, in mid-1937 was asked by the Carnegie Foundation to carry out a study that would be 'comprehensive, clear and objective' on the Negro problem in the United States" He became a profound and practical theoretician on the economic problems of underdeveloped countries and on the 'problems of backwardness and poverty existing within developed societies' I would say that, in the same way that Smith dealt with the wealth of nations', Myrdal dealt with the poverty of nations'

Myrdal knew how to apply the concept of *circular cumulative causation*, which in fact had already been used before him by his professor Knut Wicksell (1851-1926) In his two books, *Monetary Equilibrium* (1935) and *Economic theory of Underdeveloped Countries* (1957), Myrdal demonstrated two things, as a result of his research firstly, that an economic development pole of attraction can expand cumulatively to the detriment of other poles which for that reason, become poorer" Are we not encountering that problem with our cotton in Nampula? Myrdal then observed that the accumulation of wealth for some sectors, social strata and individuals does not necessarily involve the social well-being of the society as a whole Because of a vicious circle, "the economic development of one region could have adverse effects on the development of others" as it acts against them, or to their disadvantage It was what Myrdal called the 'backwash effect' The biggest effect is the widening of the gap between rich and poor and ' the widening of the gap in regional inequalities"

Secondly, the same concept enabled Myrdal to identify the economic problems of underdeveloped countries From this point of departure, Myrdal prepared "the terrain for corrective governmental intervention" so that governments could promote "faster development on a broader scale rather than just economic development, *stricto sensu*

I would say that WSP basically aims at facilitating the preparation of a favourable ground for implementing jointly validated governmental programmes This would be the 'spread effects' of *circular cumulative causation* It was the analysis of the development process of the Asian countries in Myrdal's book *Asian Drama* that alerted the governments of those different countries (at the time Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, India, Bangladesh and Burma) to the danger of becoming 'soft states', which were "little inclined to use their power against the powerful", or not able to ' subjugate the interests of the rich and powerful" to the more general social well-being

When we had to identify the Entry Points, it was not easy to reach an agreement on the theme of the impact of the PRES on agriculture At the time, everyone was concerned with the question of poverty, regional inequalities and land legislation It was felt that research on the impact of the agricultural component of PRES was more objective, enabling us to relate it to these other aspects as well as to the linkages with national and international economic policies This was one of the Entry Points that created most interest among the members of the national Project Group and was most discussed by the members of the respective Working Group

Often the discussions returned to the question of regional disparities It was not only Maputo and the south which were accused of concentrating accumulation and the possibilities of wealth-creation the districts also accused the provincial capitals of monopolizing the potential for wealth If some of the development projects announced, like the Maputo corridor, the exploration of gas at Pande, or of aluminium, could seem to be beneficial for the country as a whole, they were not always seen as benefiting all the citizens or all the regions

The population welcomes the announcement of the projects but at the same time they have reservations as to whether they will really benefit the country as a whole and all citizens, or just one region and a minority It is thus clear that, apart from the external causes of underdevelopment, it is necessary to be more careful and concerned with the internal factors that promote the gap between rich and poor and that what is required of a development plan is that it is more regionally balanced Clearly, too, there was little information available about the possible efforts being made by the government in this direction

By getting involved in such details, the project was simply aiming, through the interaction of the actors, at raising awareness in the different parts of the country and bringing the results to the attention of policy makers to enable them to take more balanced decisions

I also said that I would have recourse to the concept of *culture* in evaluating WSP I use the simplest possible definition a process of building up a people's history and knowledge Culture is understood as being the way in which a people or a society constructs its history and cultural identity To do this means understanding the perceptions a society has of its own knowledge and the mechanisms and strategies of its production According to this concept, there are two theses first that culture is linked to history and knowledge, second that all peoples or the whole society have their own mechanisms for constructing historical truth and knowledge The speed at which this happens can be different from one population to another, or within the same population at different stages of its history

Accepting WSP meant knowing how to obtain, in chronological time, results from work carried out with people who function more according to anthropological time

The most outstanding novelty of WSP, it seemed to me in our first contacts, was its cultural dimension Accepting WSP meant, right from the beginning knowing how to obtain, in chronological time, results from work carried out with people, with a society – in this case the Mozambican people, its raw material – who function more according to anthropological time Chronological time is more mathematical and can be measured statistically Anthropological time is existential and, in African culture, takes place against a background of credulity and suspicion' I would say that this, for me, was the major challenge of the project

When we began to distribute the description of the project to national actors, there were mixed reactions particularly among the politicians, towards the general objectives of the project There was also a certain reserve and distrust about its underlying political intentions This mixture between expectations and distrust was more evident at certain times than at others, in certain actors more than others, among central actors more than those at provincial and district level

Often I felt embarrassed when I was asked for palpable, material results that matched the time and financial resources spent by the project It was in fact difficult for us to quantify the results I knew that I could not force our human resources, as our people-orientation required an atmosphere of trust When we succeeded in creating this trust, through dialogue, getting actors with different views and strategies to sit down together in the same room, I felt the objectives of WSP were being achieved We also found that the provincial and district actors opened up to us more in anthropological time than when we were tending to make chronological interventions

We were also aware that we could have made still more rational use of the time we had at our disposal Nor did we succeed in investigating more the cultural dimensions of social communication, the better to identify and improve the communication mechanisms that are commonly used in a society like ours, which is predominantly rural

I would say that the great challenge of the project consisted in having to develop a capacity for communicative dialogue, with a cultural dimension, in the reconciliation and reconstruction process of Mozambican society, in having to try to understand the reality in all its social and cultural complexity The result is expressed in various ways in the responses given to the evaluation questionnaire distributed to the different actors

It was to bring these thoughts together that the country team prepared a book whose purpose is to disseminate the results of WSP in Mozambique I would like to highlight some of the results, also mentioning what we did not succeed in doing

In light of the four key concepts of *communicative action, innovation, circular cumulative causation* and *culture* that underlie this very personal evaluation of the project, I consider the most relevant results to be the following

The project was introduced and subsequently tried to function as an open and impartial forum, a meeting place for the different social, political and economic actors, both internal and external, who are directly involved in taking important decisions and defining development policies and strategies in the country Here I would like to underline its capacity for sounding out, the 'knowing how to listen that we developed as a basic condition to be able to approach the Other, with whom, through dialogue, we have been able to work different as the ideologies and convictions may have been In other words, the project succeeded in not excluding anyone For example I am quite sure that certain preconceived ideas were dissolved particularly between political and governmental actors I would also add that the same thing happened with our researchers preconceptions they had been harbouring about each other were broken down

The four Entry Points that were selected did in fact turn out to be central in understanding the process of reconciliation and reconstruction of democracy in our country I still remember the intervention of someone who told us that for him

the most important aspect of decentralization and municipal elections was not to start out by being rich' with secretaries, computers, vehicles and the like but to know and see every day that we chose the local leaders with whom we were going to work to develop our community our district I also recall the critical remarks made by other citizens who accused the media of being more concerned with publicizing frictions between FRELIMO and RENAMO and not giving information about the efforts being made to consolidate peace and the development of the country, and, even when they did make reports, of covering always life in Maputo, with less about the other towns and provinces and still less about the rural areas There was also an interesting suggestion, at a meeting in Nampula, that since the problem of demobilized combatants was a delicate and serious subject, the best strategy would be to find out how to integrate them into the local communities

I consider very relevant to this review of results that different proposals were made concerning the need for and importance of the project to undertake research into the judicial system stimulate joint reflection among the various actors about the PROAGRI project, and give greater attention to the municipal elections All this showed the awareness the actors had developed of the role of the project in the socio-political and economic situation of the country

There were some things that we did not succeeding in achieving although they had been written into WSP, such as reflection about the local communities and a greater integration of regional and international researchers

In this rather long dissertation, I have in no way tried to make a synthesis of the project or its results, but rather convey my reflections and evaluation of what I have gained and learnt from WSP, as a citizen of a post-conflict society[3]

Notes

1 The fact that the Project Director accepted a position as the Rector of the Eduardo Mondlane University in the middle of the first phase of the project reduced the time he had available to provide the dynamic leadership WSP needed, particularly in the second phase For a few months he attempted to fulfil the responsibilities of both positions, but important decisions often had to be postponed The evident difficulties finally led to the decision to identify someone to manage the project on a daily basis and, just before the second Project Group meeting, a Research Coordinator for WSP Mozambique was appointed

2 This section is an abridged version of the speech made by Dr Brazão Mazula to the Project Group meeting in June 1997

3 Dr Mazula provided the following references to accompany this comment

Habermas, J *Pensamento Pos-Metafisico* Estudos Filosoficos, trad Flavio Beno Siebeneichler Tempo Brasileiro, Rio de Janeiro 1990

Laplane, M , Schumpeter, J A Inovações e dinamica capitalista , in Carneiro, R *Os classicos da Economia* Atica, São Paulo 1997, Vol 2

Myrdal, G *Aspectos Politicos da Teoria Economica*, Os Economistas, trad Jose Auto Nova Cultural, São Paulo 1997

Schumpeter, J A *Teoria do Desenvolvimento Economico Uma Investigaçao Sobre Lucros Capital Credito, Juro e o Ciclo Economico*, trad Maria Silvia Possas 2 Ed Nova Cultural, São Paulo 1985

Annex I: Chronology of events

Preparation Phase
April 1995 - June 1995 (3 months)

Mid-April 1995

The CCU, represented by the Director, a member of the Senior Advisory Group, and the Head of Operations, completes its preparatory mission to Mozambique, during which it is able to

- evaluate the country's suitability as a case study
- identify a Project Director and research team
- consult national authorities, internal and external actors about the project and gain their support
- determine an appropriate institutional base for the project

June 1995

The Head of Operations and Senior Researcher undertake a mission to Mozambique for preliminary substantive discussions with the research team, and to finalize contracts and other administrative issues

July 1995

The Project Director, two principal researchers and support staff are recruited The project is launched and is temporarily housed in the local UNDP office

August 1995

The field office moves to its own premises in Maputo

First Research Phase
October 1995 - June 1996 (9 months)

October 1995

Research guidelines for the Working Groups that will be created are drafted with the help of the CCU Research Associate

Preparation of the Country Note begins, involving the collation and review of data on Mozambican rebuilding issues, interviews with local national and international actors engaged in these efforts and participation in relevant seminars Contacts made during preparation of the Country Note also contribute to creating the country Project Group

January 1996

The Country Note is completed

February 1996

The first Project Group meeting is held, bringing together major internal and external actors involved in Mozambican post-conflict rebuilding The WSP Director and Head of Operations also attend, and there is discussion on the Country Note, the scope of the project, methodology, the concept of Entry Points and the role of the Project Group An Advisory Committee of six Project Group members is created to guide and strengthen the research team

June 1996

Following five months of preparation for interactive research, the second Project Group meeting is convened, with the participation of the Head of Operations He is also able to help restructure the research team, examine possible Entry Points and address operational and administrative issues

The Advisory Committee and research team propose four Entry Points which are formally approved Working Groups are constituted around the four issues from among the 48 participants at the workshop

A workplan and individual research agendas are prepared for each Working Group During this period, research continues Three Working Groups meet between four and five times and the fourth Working Group meets nine times The groups give direction and support to the field research

Second Research Phase
July 1996 - March 1997 (9 months)

July 1996

A full-time Research Coordinator is appointed to undertake daily management of the project in the light of the increasing external obligations of the WSP Mozambique Project Director The decision is taken to invite a number of experts on the identified themes to work with the researchers, rather than assign an international or regional researcher

August 1996

Field research begins The researchers visit several different locations and contact local actors

September 1996

The WSP Director visits to meet donors and to address the Working Groups on various issues surrounding implementation of the WSP methodology

October 1996

The action-research phase is extended to allow for more meetings between researchers and actors at national and provincial levels

November 1996

A weekly newsletter is launched but is discontinued in April after five issues Between November 1996 and March 1997 a number of field visits take place

March 1997

The third Project Group meeting discusses the draft reports on the Entry Points and some initial proposals for the continuation of WSP research after the end of the project

Reporting and Evaluation Phase
April 1997 - June 1997 (3 months)

April 1997

Efforts concentrate on finalizing the Entry Point reports An evaluation exercise begins as a collective effort by all the participants in WSP Mozambique, and the CCU Project Officer visits to discuss the state of the work plan, analysis papers, evaluation exercises and possible successor body

June 1997

At the fourth Project Group meeting, attended by the WSP Director and other staff, a final report analysing the planning and implementation of the project and documenting the results of the evaluation exercise is submitted and discussed

There is also discussion of the future of the WSP process in Mozambique and a decision is taken to extend the project with a view to widely disseminating the research results, possibly continuing with limited research on decentralization in order to accompany the delicate process leading up to general elections, and exploring the options for creating a separate successor body to WSP

The Transition Period
July 1997 - April 1998 (10 months)

November 1997

A draft proposal for a centre for policy dialogue is discussed among internal and external actors A streamlined WSP team finalizes action-research reports for dissemination, participates in and organises seminars, and makes plans for establishing the goals, structure and functions of the successor body

April 1998

The final Project Group meeting takes place It formally approves the creation of a new Centre for the Study of Democracy and Development and closes WSP Mozambique Memoranda of understanding with WSP are drawn up, as well as statutes establishing the nature of the new centre

Annex II: WSP Mozambique project staff and Working Group members

Project Staff

Project Director	Brazão Mazula
Research Coordinator	Carlos Serra
Researchers	Maria Nita Dengo Chonguiça
	Miguel de Brito
	Leite de Vasconcelos
	Elisa dos Santos
	Jose Manuel Guamba
	Salomão Moyana
Assistant Researchers	Guilherme Mbilana
	Eduardo Mussanhane
Advisory Committee	Jose Luis Cabaço
	Jose Manual Gambo
	Iraê Lundin
	Salamão Moyana
	Abdul Magid Osman
	Anselmo Victor
Office Staff	Leopoldina Maria Mendez (Aug 96 - June 97)
	Angelina Maria dos Santos (Jul 1997 - Apr 98)

WSP Mozambique Working Group members

The impact of structural adjustment on agriculture

Paulo Negrão, economist
Eduardo Mondlane University
General Union of Cooperatives
João Ferreira dos Santos (private agricultural company)
LINK (NGO coalition)
LOMACO (private agricultural company)
Ministry of Agriculture
Mozambique Cereals Institute
Mozambique Cotton Institute
Mozambique Industrial Association
Mozambique Rural Development Association
National Committee of Social Reintegration
PROGRESSO (NGO)
Swedish Embassy
UNDP
University of Michigan
USAID

US Embassy
World Bank
WSP Researchers Elias dos Santos and Maria Nita Dengo Chonguiça

Decentralization and participation in local government
Dutch Embassy
Friedrich Ebert Foundation
German Embassy
Media Watchdog Body
MONAMO (Opposition Party)
PCN (Opposition Party)
Portuguese Embassy
RENAMO
Swiss Development Corporation
UNDP
USAID
WSP Researchers Carlos Serra and Jose Manuel Guamba

Reintegration of demobilized soldiers
AMODEG
S Barnes, independent researcher
João Paulo Borges Coelho, researcher
Eduardo Mondlane University
GTZ
IOM
Ministry of Labour
National Commission for Social Reintegration
RENAMO
UNDP
UNESCO
UNHCR
USAID
WSP Researchers Miguel de Brito and Eduardo Mussanhane

The role of mass media in democracy and development
Demos newspaper
Domingo newspaper
INDE (National Institute for Educational Development)
Italian Embassy
NORAD
RENAMO
United States Information Service
WSP Researchers Leite de Vasconcelos and Salamão Moyana