

The APRM Process in Mozambique

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Summary

Mozambique's implementation of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) process shared many of the strengths experienced by other countries that have undertaken this process of governance assessment. The country self-assessment report was carried out under the oversight of a National Forum independent of government, and involved a wide range of civil society organisations, while the final draft of the report discussed important issues and did not avoid politically sensitive topics. The independent country review report prepared by the APRM Panel of Eminent Persons provides a comprehensive and useful synthesis of the main challenges to Mozambique's democratic development. The national programme of action agreed with the government to address these challenges is a consistent document, with a clear matrix of actions, activities and indicators to be followed.

However, Mozambique's APRM experience also shared many of the weaknesses seen elsewhere. Civil society engagement often seemed *pro forma*, without enough space and time given for critical voices to be heard, especially during the validation of the self-assessment report. General awareness of the process was very limited. Although the overall time taken for the process was long, the periods of activity were short, and the self-assessment research in particular was rushed. Perhaps most important of all, it is very unclear how the findings of the country review report and the commitment of the programme of action will actually be translated into concrete actions and how these will affect the actions of Mozambique's government in practice.

Mozambique was amongst the first countries to join the APRM in March 2003. Effectively, though, the process did not start until two years later when the National APRM Focal Point, the Minister of Planning and Development (*Ministro da Planificação e Desenvolvimento*), was nominated. In

2005, Mozambique's leadership changed, but the incoming president, Armando Guebuza, kept the commitment to the APRM made by his predecessor, Joaquim Chissano.¹

At the outset of the implementation of the APRM in Mozambique, few people knew much about the initiative, and those who were aware of it had mixed expectations. There were reasons for hope and optimism, but also for scepticism.

Mozambique is not new to participatory approaches to governance assessment and planning. In the year the country acceded to the APRM, it was finishing Agenda 2025, its long-term development vision,² a document that was drafted through a broad and inclusive consultative process that had started in 2001. Additionally, the country has other participatory initiatives for policy discussion, including the Development Observatories, fora that bring together the government, donor partners and civil society groups to discuss development issues. In addition to its experience in participatory processes, the country has been largely regarded by the international community as a 'success story', having managed to recover from a highly destructive and divisive internal conflict and maintain a fairly stable polity.

However, there is a flip side to Mozambique's achievements in governance issues. Agenda 2025, like other government policies and strategies developed through participatory arrangements, has had very little impact in terms of government activities. Additionally, fora such as the Development Observatories have been criticised by civil society organisations for the lack of impact their conclusions

1 Both leaders belong to FRELIMO, the party that has governed the country since its independence from Portugal in 1975.

2 Agenda 2025 was designed according to the 'African Futures' project of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), a project that was implemented in 25 other African countries.

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and recommendations have in government decision making. Finally, Mozambique's relative success in comparison to other countries on the continent has been used to trump criticisms to ever growing national problems, such as the close relationship between the ruling party and the state, the lack of commitment to pro-poor economic policies and human rights violations. Besides, the government often joins in international and regional agreements and assessments to strengthen its successful image abroad even if it is not really interested in implementing their recommendations and rules at home.

The slow start of the implementation of the APRM in the country was not promising. It is true that not much could be done in 2004, since general elections were being organised in the country. Nevertheless, even if one discounts this fact, the beginning of the APRM was reticent. It took, on average, a year for each of the main structures to be set in place: the National APRM Focal Point in 2005, the National APR Forum (Mozambique's National Governing Structure) in 2006 and finally the National APRM Technical Unit in 2007. In the meantime, there was little being said publicly about the process, be it by the press or by the government, and there was no official effort at civil society mobilisation.

The APRM only began showing its face to the public by mid-2006, and that was not through the official structures, but through a civil society organisation (*Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Comunidade* - Community Development Foundation, FDC) that started mobilising and raising awareness among civil society organisations.³ The official structures took off only as of mid-2007 and about eight months later (March 2008) the country self-assessment report (CSAR) was finished. In comparison to the previous stages of the process, the CSAR was completed very quickly.

After the completion of the self-assessment, the country organised the visit of the country review mission (CRM). Initially, the Mission was planned to arrive in Mozambique in 2008, but there were changes in the continental structures of the APRM and the visit was re-scheduled to February 2009. The Mission travelled the country and talked to authorities and civil society representatives, leaving Mozambique to prepare its report in March 2009. The country review report (CRR) prepared by the Mission was finalised and handed in to the Mozambican government for comments within months. Finally, revised versions of the CRR and the national programme of action (NPoA) were presented by Ambassador Bethuel Kiplagat (then Mozambique's assigned member at the APR Panel of Eminent Persons) to the country's peers at the XI Forum of the APRM held in Sirte, Libya in June 2009. The report and programme of action were discussed and approved in the peer-review process.

3 Interview with Albino Francisco, FDC's APRM Unit researcher, 5 December 2008.

After the approval of Mozambique's CRR and NPoA, the process should have moved towards the dissemination of the CRR and the implementation of the NPoA. In fact, in September 2009, an executive summary of the CRR was published in several newspapers, and at the beginning of 2010, a new national institutional setup for the APRM was established. However, since that point there have been very few activities related to the process in Mozambique, and it is again progressing rather slowly. It took two years from the peer review of Mozambique (June 2009) to the launch of the CRR and NPoA (May 2011), and, up to the launch of the CRR, the full document had not been distributed.

As for the implementation of the NPoA, the initial concerns expressed by some people and organisations about the usefulness of the APRM are unfortunately turning out to be right. It is still unclear whether and how the government will integrate the NPoA into planning processes. It is telling, for example, that the government finished the drafting of its third Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (the PARP, *Plano de Acção para a Redução da Pobreza*) some weeks before the launch of the NPoA, and that a cursory look at both documents shows more gaps than overlapping objectives and actions.

This report aims to shed some light on the strengths and weaknesses of the implementation of the APRM in Mozambique, especially issues related to the process, its actors and structures. It does not provide an in-depth assessment of the content of the CSAR, CRR and NPoA.

One of the strengths of the APRM in Mozambique was that the government was open to the assessment. On the whole, the structures put in place throughout the process formed, at the end, a rather sophisticated system of participation, which, if managed and funded properly, and backed by government political commitment, could have fulfilled the APRM principles of inclusion, participation and open debate.

However, there were many weaknesses in the process, some of which were structural and others that were related to the implementation and use of the existing structures. The implementation of the APRM suffered from a lack of understanding of its purpose and functioning from the main national actors. Even the leadership seemed to lack the clarity needed to guide a demanding and complex process like the APRM. In the end, the previous participatory experiences of Mozambique were less useful than one would expect. Finally, as the process moves towards the implementation of the NPoA, the slowness that plagued the early stages has set in again, and there are doubts about the political support of the country's leadership to the implementation of the document.

This report first describes the main structures and processes of the implementation of the APRM in Mozambique. It

begins with the accession and self-assessment and moves to the presentation of the CRR at the APR Forum and the launch of the NPoA. Secondly, it critically discusses how the APRM was managed and implemented, the strengths and weaknesses of the national structures and of the process itself. Finally, the paper concludes with recommendations for the next stages of the APRM in Mozambique and for other countries engaging in the process.

Methodologically, the paper was written based on a) first-hand experience of the researchers; b) literature review of documents related to the APRM in Mozambique and the region and c) interviews with various participants of the process. The national APRM Technical Unit (and, afterwards, the national APRM Secretariat) facilitated the access of the researchers to key documents, though some of the documents could not be consulted. The authors interviewed government representatives, civil society activists, academic researchers and donor representatives that have been involved in the initiative in Mozambique. With regards to the interviews, there is an important methodological caveat. Most of the interviews were carried out in the period between April 2008 and February 2009. A draft version of the report was ready by February 2009, soon before the country review mission arrived in Mozambique and submitted it to the members of the CRM to inform their research. Then, it was decided that the report should only be published after Mozambique was peer reviewed at the APR Forum and the final CRR and NPoA launched. For several reasons, the CRR and the NPoA were only launched in May 2011. No more interviews have been undertaken after February 2009, but the report was updated based on further desk research.

The New Partnership For Africa's Development and the APRM

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) is a strategic framework setting out a 'vision for Africa's renewal'. Five heads of state initiated NEPAD – Algeria, Egypt, Nigeria, Senegal and South Africa – and its founding document was formally adopted by the 37th summit of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in Lusaka, Zambia, July 2001. NEPAD is now a programme of the African Union (AU), successor to the OAU, though it has its own secretariat based in South Africa to coordinate and implement its programmes. Following many years of discussion on the need for greater integration of the secretariat and NEPAD programming in general into the AU processes and structures, the AU Assembly of Heads of State and Government decided, in February 2010, to rename the NEPAD Secretariat the NEPAD Planning and Coordinating Agency and provided for some other changes in its governance structures.

NEPAD's four 'primary objectives' are to eradicate poverty, promote sustainable growth and development, integrate Africa in the world economy and accelerate the empowerment of women. It is based on underlying principles of a commitment to good governance, democracy, human rights and conflict resolution; and the recognition that maintenance of these standards is fundamental to the creation of an environment conducive to investment and long-term economic growth. NEPAD seeks to attract increased investment, capital flows and funding, providing an African-owned framework for development as the foundation for partnership at regional and international levels.

NEPAD is governed by a Heads of State and Government Orientation Committee (HSGOC – renamed from an 'implementation committee', HSGIC, in February 2010). The HSGOC is a sub-committee of the AU Assembly that provides political leadership and strategic guidance for

NEPAD programming. It comprises three states for each region of the African Union. The first chair was President Obasanjo of Nigeria and from 2007 Prime Minister Meles Zenawi of Ethiopia held the role. The HSGOC reports to the AU Assembly of Heads of State and Government. There is also a steering committee, comprising 20 AU member states, to oversee projects and programme development. The Chairperson of the African Union Commission exercises supervisory authority over the NEPAD Planning and Coordinating Agency.

In July 2002, the Durban AU summit supplemented NEPAD with a Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance. According to the Declaration, states participating in NEPAD 'believe in just, honest, transparent, accountable and participatory government and probity in public life'. Accordingly, they 'undertake to work with renewed determination to enforce', among other things, the rule of law; the equality of all citizens before the law; individual and collective freedoms; the right to participate in free, credible and democratic political processes; and adherence to the separation of powers, including protection for the independence of the judiciary and the effectiveness of parliaments.

The Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance also committed participating states to establish an African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) to promote adherence to and fulfilment of its commitments. The Durban summit also adopted a document setting out the stages of peer review and the principles by which the APRM should operate.

In March 2003, the NEPAD HSGIC meeting in Abuja, Nigeria, adopted a memorandum of understanding (MoU) on the

APRM. This MoU effectively operates as a treaty: countries that do not sign are not subject to review. The MoU entered into effect immediately in Abuja, when six states agreed to be subject to its terms: by mid-2011 31 countries had signed.⁴ The March 2003 meeting also adopted a set of 'objectives, standards, criteria and indicators' for the APRM. The meeting agreed to the establishment of a secretariat for the APRM, also based in South Africa, and the appointment of a seven-person 'Panel of Eminent Persons' to oversee the conduct of the APRM process and ensure its integrity.

The APRM Secretariat, functioning by late 2003, developed a questionnaire based on a wide range of African and international human rights treaties and standards to guide participating states' self-assessments of their compliance with the principles of NEPAD. Its questions are grouped under four broad thematic headings: democracy and political governance, economic governance and management, corporate governance and socio-economic development. The questionnaire was formally adopted in February 2004, in Kigali, Rwanda, by the first meeting of the APR Forum (APRF), made up of representatives of the heads of state or government of all states participating in the APRM. At this point, the formal process of peer review was ready to start: the meeting identified the first four countries to undergo review as Ghana, Kenya, Mauritius and Rwanda. Since then, 14 APRM-acceding countries have completed their first reviews (in chronological order): Ghana (review carried out by the APRF in January 2006); Rwanda, Kenya (July 2006); South Africa, Algeria, Benin (January 2008); Uganda (June 2008); Nigeria, Burkina Faso (October 2008); Lesotho, Mali, and Mozambique (June 2009); Mauritius (July 2010); and Ethiopia (January 2011).

Each country to be reviewed is assigned to one of the seven eminent persons who consider and review reports and make recommendations to the APR Forum. The first set of seven 'eminent persons', with the position of chairperson rotating among them, was made up of the following: Marie Angelique Savané (Senegal), Adebayo Adedeji (Nigeria); Bethuel Kiplagat (Kenya); Graça Machel (Mozambique); Mourad Medelci (Algeria, later replaced by Mohammed Babes); Dorothy Njeuma (Cameroon) and Chris Stals (South Africa). Some members of the panel stepped down during 2008 and 2009. At the meeting of the APR Forum in Addis

4 Algeria, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rwanda, South Africa and Uganda signed the MoU in March 2003; Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Gabon, Mali and Senegal in April and May 2003; Mauritius in July 2003; Benin and Egypt in March 2004; Angola, Lesotho, Malawi, Sierra Leone and Tanzania in July 2004; Sudan and Zambia in January 2006; São Tomé and Príncipe in January 2007; Djibouti in July 2007; Mauritania in January 2008 (suspended from the APRM from August 2008 to January 2011, although its suspension from the AU following the 2008 coup was lifted in July 2009); Togo in July 2008; Cape Verde in July 2009; Liberia in January 2011 and Equatorial Guinea in July 2011.

Ababa in January 2010, four new members were appointed and the new panel consisted of: Adebayo Adedeji (Nigeria, chair since 2007), Mohamed Babes (Algeria), Amos Sawyer (Liberia), Julienne Ondziel-Gnelenga (Democratic Republic of Congo), Siteke Mwale (Zambia), Akere Muna (Cameroon) and Domitilia Mukantangazwa (Rwanda, appointed in 2009). Siteke Mwale passed on in September 2010 but had yet to be replaced as of July 2011.

In order to implement the APRM's objectives and ensure that the self-assessment process is satisfactorily completed, the 'country guidelines' issued by the APRM Secretariat lay down that several institutions should be established at national level. Although these have varied somewhat in form, they have generally included:

- a **national APRM focal point**, ideally a person at ministerial level or in the office of the presidency, and reporting directly to the head of state;
- a **national commission or governing council**, the members of which should be diverse and representative of a wide range of interest groups, and which should be autonomous (though not all countries have fully respected this rule), responsible for overseeing the national self-assessment process and signing off on the documents produced;
- a **national APRM Secretariat**, to provide administrative and technical support to the national commission or governing council, ideally functioning independent of government and with control of its own budget;
- a number of **technical research institutions** which are given the responsibility to administer the APRM questionnaire and carry out background research.

The APRM documents identify five stages in the review process.

- **Stage One: Self-assessment**

A Country Support Mission from the APRM Secretariat led by the assigned eminent person visits the participating country to ensure a common understanding of the rules, processes and principles of the APRM. The team liaises with the country focal point and organises working sessions and technical workshops with stakeholders. The eminent person signs a memorandum of understanding with the government on modalities for the country review mission. The country then begins its self-assessment report, based on the APRM questionnaire. The country is also expected to formulate a preliminary plan of action based on existing policies, programmes and projects. The self-assessment is supposed to involve the broad participation of all relevant stakeholders, including civil society organisations as well as government ministries and departments.

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- **Stage Two: Country review mission**

A Country Review Team – also led by the eminent person and made up of representatives of the APRM Secretariat and of the APRM partner institutions, which include the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), the African Development Bank and other institutions – visits the country to carry out broad consultations, clarify any issues that may require discussion and help to build national consensus on a way forward.

- **Stage Three: Country review report and modification of plan of action**

The country review team drafts a report on the country based on the information it has gathered during its review mission and on independent issues papers developed by the continental APRM Secretariat and shares its findings with the government. Based on the self-assessment report and the country review team's report, the country finalises its plan of action outlining policies and practices for implementation.

- **Stage Four: Conduct of peer review**

In the fourth stage, the country review team's report and the plan of action are presented at the APR Forum by the eminent person and the country's head of state or government for consideration by the other participating heads of state and government.

- **Stage Five: Publication of the report and programme of action**

In the final stage, after the report has been considered by the APR Forum, it is tabled at the AU Summit before being made public.

In addition, countries that have completed their reviews are then required to submit to the APRF annual **progress reports** on the implementation of their programmes of action.

The time taken in completing all these steps has varied greatly: the shortest period was for South Africa which took less than two years from national launch to final review. By contrast, Mauritius began its national self-assessment in 2004 and had yet to complete the process by mid-2010. If completed, the process leads to the production of three important documents:

- The **'country self-assessment report'** (CSAR) prepared by the country concerned on the basis of the APRM questionnaire. The final CSAR is only published at the discretion of the state concerned.
- The independent **'country review report'** (CRR), prepared by the APRM Secretariat and its technical partners, under the supervision of the APRM Panel, finalised following comments from the government and presented to the APR Forum by the eminent person assigned responsibility for the country review.
- The **national programme of action** (NPoA) to address the problems identified, initially prepared at country level based on the self-assessment report and finalised on the basis of agreement between the APRM Panel and the government, and also presented to the APR Forum.

The implementation of the APRM process in Mozambique

Accession, early stages and the establishment of national structures and procedures

Mozambique acceded to the APRM in March 2003 at the 7th Summit of the Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee of NEPAD, held in Abuja, Nigeria. The country signed the memorandum of understanding (MoU) adopted by the heads of state, by which the guidelines of the process are established, and it should have been amongst the first countries to start its assessment in 2004. However, members of the APRM Secretariat, when visiting Mozambique prior to the arrival of the Country Advance Support Mission, recommended the postponement of the process given the fact that general elections were scheduled for 2004 in Mozambique.

National focal point

After the elections in August 2005, the process resumed and the Council of Ministers⁵ (*Conselho de Ministros*) appointed Aiuba Cuereneia, the Minister of Planning and Development (MPD), as the National APRM Focal Point, with the responsibility of coordinating the process. The choice of Minister Cuereneia was predictable: the MPD had been involved in the process from its outset. Internal debates were already taking place within its departments with regards to the operationalisation of the APRM in Mozambique, most of them relating to the composition of the National Governing Structure and the budget for the first stage of the APRM.⁶

5 Mozambique's political system is presidentialist. The executive branch operates through the Council of Ministers (the Cabinet), which is headed, *ex officio*, by the President of the Republic.

6 Interview with Lourenço Sambo, then representative of the MPD, 16 December 2008.

National APR Forum

Following the recommendations from the MPD, the Council of Ministers established the country's national governing structure, the National APR Forum (*Fórum Nacional do MARP*), in 2006. The Forum would be responsible for leading the process and creating the structures for its implementation in the country.

The National APR Forum was thought of as both a technical and representative institution: its members were drawn from groups that represented the different social and political groups, and they should be able to discuss technical matters in some depth. For that to be achieved, the MPD recommended that the Forum's participants should be selected as follows:

- a) 14 authorities who had a leading role in drawing Mozambique's long-term development vision (Agenda 2025);⁷
- b) 22 representatives from civil society who should be drawn from organisations grouped in a platform of civil society organisations, the G-20, other organisations, as well as the private sector;
- c) 1 representative of the National Youth Council;
- d) 2 members of the Higher Council of Media (*Conselho Superior de Comunicação Social*);
- e) 8 chairpersons of the Parliament's working committees;
- f) 5 deans of private and public universities;
- g) 3 provincial governors, one representing each of the country's three regions (south, centre and north);

7 For details see Committee of Counsellors, *Agenda 2025, The Nation's vision and strategies*, 2003, available at http://www.portaldogoverno.gov.mz/docs_gov/documento/Agenda2025.ptg.pdf, accessed June 2011.

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- h) The governor of the Bank of Mozambique; and
- i) The president of the National Institute of Statistics.

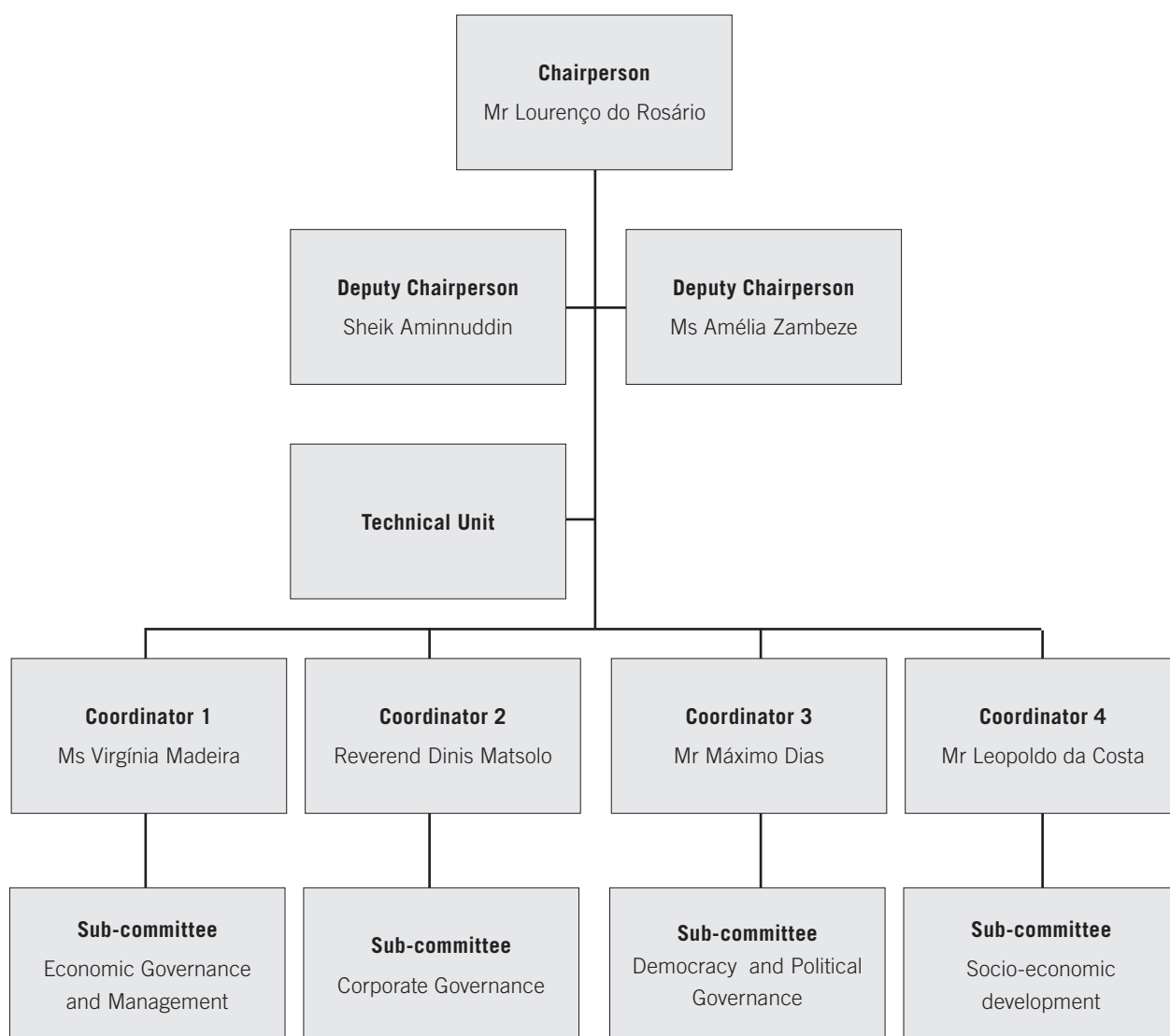
The core principles and guidelines underpinning the selection of the members of the Forum were ready in 2005. Officially, though, the individuals who would be part of the Forum were known only in April 2006, and the Forum was publicly launched by Mozambique's President, Armando Guebuza in July 2006. As finally constituted, the National Forum had 58 members and followed the structure and composition that had been suggested by the MPD.⁸

In August 2006, the National Focal Point, Aiuba Cuereneia, led the first ordinary meeting of the National Forum at the

Joaquim Chissano Conference Centre, in which the Forum's main structures were established. The Forum would be headed by a chairperson and two deputy chairpersons, and there would be four thematic groups, one for each of the APRM thematic areas, which would be led by a coordinator and assisted by a rapporteur. The chairperson and the two deputies were chosen by their peers through an election process, whereas the coordinator and rapporteur of each group were chosen by the members of the groups.

As chairperson, the National Forum elected Lourenço do Rosário, who is a university lecturer and the dean of the Polytechnic University (*Universidade Politécnica*). He was also a member of the Scientific Committee of Agenda 2025.

Structure of the National Forum



⁸ See list of members in Annex 1.

The APRM Advance Support Mission

After the main structures were in place, it did not take long for the APRM Advance Support Mission to arrive in the country. In a 10-day visit, which started on 16 August 2006, the Mission verified whether the country was ready to conduct its self-assessment process. The Mission was headed by Kenyan Ambassador, Bethuel Kiplagat, the APRM Eminent Person assigned to Mozambique, who was supported by technical staff from the APRM Continental Secretariat and technical partners.⁹ During its visit, the Mission had a full schedule of meetings and seminars. Mostly, they took place in Mozambique's capital Maputo, though the Mission also paid a short visit to Beira (central Mozambique).

The Mission held meetings with a) the prime minister,¹⁰ b) the national focal point and principal members of National Forum, c) representatives of the press, d) the deputy minister of foreign affairs and cooperation, e) the first deputy president of Parliament, f) the president of the Supreme Court, g) members of the Constitutional Court, h) the president of the Administrative Court, i) the Prosecutor General, j) Mozambique's development partners, k) diplomats from African countries and l) the president of the main opposition party (RENAMO), Afonso Dhlakama. In addition, the Mission attended seminars with members of the National Forum and potential research institutes, as well as with civil society organisations.

By the end of the Advance Support Mission visit to the country, a MoU on the Technical Assessment and Country Review was signed between the Government of Mozambique and the APRM. The MoU established rules of procedure for the process, as well as detailed how the technical and review missions would proceed in later stages of the process.

The APRM Technical Unit

In order to coordinate and manage the daily activities related to the implementation of the APRM in Mozambique, a National Secretariat was established, the so-called 'APRM Technical Unit' (*Unidade técnica do MARP*). The Technical Unit was accountable to the National Forum, and provided support to its members. In addition to its director, the Unit

consisted of seven members: two assistant coordinators (each responsible for supporting the work of two of the National Forum's sub-committee coordinators), an officer for civil society mobilisation, an officer for communication and an administrative assistant, as well as a driver.

The director of the Technical Unit was nominated in mid-2006 by the National Forum chairperson. There was no public tender for the position. All remaining positions were chosen by a selection committee in an open tender process. The selection committee comprised the chairperson of the National Forum, two representatives appointed by the MPD and two representatives appointed by the UNDP resident representative. For the selection of the civil society officer, the committee had an additional member, who was chosen amongst the civil society representatives of the National Forum. The selection committee, however, was not in charge of issuing the final decision. Its members only submitted their evaluation of the applicants to the Forum and UNDP (which was responsible for managing a basket fund that was established to finance the process),¹¹ whose representatives took the final decision.¹²

The selection process should have finished by the end of 2006 in order to allow the Technical Unit to start its work according to schedule by the beginning of 2007. However, the Unit's Director only signed her contract and began her activities in February 2007, while the tender for the remaining positions was only launched in February 2007. It was not until May or June 2007 that all the staff had been selected and effective work could start.¹³

The project panel

A tripartite 'project panel' was established, consisting of a member of the National Forum, a member of the UNDP¹⁴ and a member of the Focal Point. The panel should be responsible for monitoring and evaluating the progress of the process, and it held regular meetings to discuss the project.

9 Including Gaston Bushayija, APRM Secretariat Coordinator for the Socio-Economic Development thematic area; Katendeko Ferdinand, APRM Secretariat researcher for the Democracy and Political Governance area; Zemenay Lawey, UNDP's Programme Senior Officer; Jeremiah Mutonga, Financial Management chief expert at the African Development Bank; Leone Ndikumana, Senior Officer for Economic Issues at the Economic Commission for Africa at the United Nations.

10 The figure of the prime-minister plays a rather peculiar role in Mozambique's presidential system. The prime-minister is chosen, and can be dismissed, by the country's president, and is accountable to him. It is, in practice, an operative branch of the presidency.

11 For more on the agreement that was signed between the UNDP and the government concerning the funding of the implementation of the APRM in Mozambique, see page 10 on *The funding of the APRM in Mozambique*.

12 Interview with Lourenço Sambo, representative of the MPD, 16 December 2008.

13 Minutes of the National Forum Second Ordinary Meeting, 10 April 2007, Joaquim Chissano Conference Centre, Maputo.

14 For more on the agreement that was signed between the UNDP and the government concerning the funding of the implementation of the APRM in Mozambique, see page 10, on *The funding of the APRM in Mozambique*.

The technical research institutes

Following the early example set by Ghana, most countries decided to outsource the task of producing the four thematic reports of the CSAR to specialised technical research institutes, thus guaranteeing an independent and scientifically-sound self-assessment. Mozambique was not different. The country, however, has few organisations, be they private or public, with the in-house capacity to undertake such an ambitious research programme. Hence, potential candidates were contacted and involved in the process even before a public tender was launched. Officially, the tender was published in Mozambique's daily *Notícias* on 4 April 2007, with a deadline of 13 April to submit proposals. Few proposals were presented and the institutes chosen were notified in September 2007.¹⁵ The candidates had to present a technical proposal for a detailed research project feasible at a maximum of US\$ 150,000.

The terms of reference for the research institutes were part of the funding agreement between the government and UNDP (see next section on *The funding of the APRM in Mozambique*). The agreement established general guidelines for their work: they should a) domesticate the questionnaire, b) use scientific and objective research methods, c) use valid quantitative and qualitative data and d) take into account issues of gender and HIV/Aids. There were, however, no detailed guidelines as to how, through which methods, the research teams should gather information and analyse it.

The research institutes chosen were:

- For democracy and political governance, the Centre for International and Strategic Studies (CEEI). CEEI is a research body based within the Higher Institute of International Relations (ISRI), which is a public institution. Overall, it is regarded as a competent and trustworthy institute in its area of expertise, despite concerns of some civil society organisations as regards its ability to take a more critical stance with regards to government-related issues.
- For socio-economic development, *Cruzeiro do Sul - Instituto de Investigação para o Desenvolvimento José Negrão*. *Cruzeiro do Sul* is a not-for-profit research institution established in 1997 under the leadership of economist and social activist José Negrão. It has a good track record of publications on economic development issues and is seen as independent and competent.
- For both economic governance and management and corporate governance, Austral-COWI. Austral-COWI is one of best-known private consultancy companies in

the country, with a long list of services provided in the areas of HIV/Aids, environment, economic management and civil society.¹⁶ Its work on the area of corporate governance was recent, but the company was able to hire Mozambican consultants to undertake the assignment.

The funding of the APRM in Mozambique

Proper funding of the implementation of the APRM is crucial to its success: without enough resources, little can be expected in terms of mobilisation, participation, coverage, inclusion and the application of scientifically-sound methods, all of which are at the heart of the APRM. For the APRM's objectives to be achieved, each country has to propose a budget that approaches realistically the country's characteristics and the challenges these pose to the national structures.

According to Lourenço Sambo from the National Focal Point (MPD), the budget for the first stage of Mozambique's APRM was based on an estimate that took into account the country's characteristics, as well as the costs incurred by pioneer countries (for example, Kenya - US\$ 1 million; South Africa - US\$ 3 million; Ghana - US\$ 1.5 million).¹⁷ The MPD, which was responsible for drawing up the budget, analysed the costs of the process in all previous countries and negotiated with the government's potential financial partners the amount that would be needed and that could be made available to fund the first phase of the APRM.

After discussions, the budget for the operationalisation of the APRM in Mozambique was estimated at almost US\$ 2 million (US\$ 1 765 500.00), which would be financed by the government, bilateral and multilateral donors. In November 2006, the government signed an agreement with the UNDP on *Support to the Operationalisation of the African Review Mechanism (APRM) in Mozambique*.¹⁸ The agreement provided for the UNDP to manage a basket fund with resources provided by various donors (DFID, GTZ, Government of Norway, France and UNDP), and was intended to cover costs incurred between November 2006 and December 2008, that is, from the self-assessment to the expected submission of the CRR to the African Union. Given the delays in the process, the total costs of the project

15 Interview, Members of the Technical Unit, December 2008, Maputo; Mozambique APRM Self-Assessment Report, Maputo, July 2008, p. 61.

16 Austral-COWI offers multidisciplinary consultancy in complex and diversified projects. The new Austral-COWI was launched in July 2007, emerging from two of the most recognised development consultancies in Mozambique, Austral Consultoria e Projectos Lda. and COWI Mozambique Lda. For details, see http://www.australcowi.co.mz/eng/sobre_nos, accessed 4 September 2008.

17 Ross Herbert and Steven Gruz, *The African Peer Review Mechanism, Lessons from the Pioneers*, SAIIA, Johannesburg, 2007.

18 For more details, see the website of ODAMoz, www.odamoz.org.mz/reports/rpt_desc.asp, updated 3 November 2008, accessed 31 December 2008.

were revised up to around US\$ 3 million (US\$ 2 819 537) in 2009, to cater for the extension of the project into 2009 and the costs of the country review mission. Up to the end of 2009, the total costs of the project in the period 2006 to 2009 were estimated at around US\$ 2 461 138.00.¹⁹

The country self-assessment process

Civil society leads the way

From Mozambique's accession to the APRM (March 2003) until the launch of National Forum (July 2006), more than three years went by with no civil society engagement in the process. Whereas most stakeholders were indifferent to this fact (after all, little information had circulated about the APRM), some civil society organisations knew about the APRM and were impatient to participate in the process. Amongst them, the Foundation for Community Development, FDC (*Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Comunidade*) took the lead in civil society mobilisation. Behind this decision was the figure of Graça Machel, FDC's Board President and a member of the APRM Panel of Eminent Persons. Besides her long-standing relationship with civil society issues, Graça Machel had experienced the APRM first hand in other countries (she was the head of the APRM missions to Kenya), and was aware of the difficulties of getting civil society mobilised to participate in the process, as well as of the importance of such participation for the quality of the process. FDC has a long history of engagement with civil society, and Graça Machel and her colleagues felt the Foundation could play a useful role even before the official structures began working.²⁰

As of June 2006, FDC established an internal unit, the *Civil Society APRM Unit* (hereafter FDC Unit), which would be responsible for coordinating the FDC's actions concerning the APRM, as well as capacitating civil society organisations to participate in the process. This decision was taken independently from the official APRM structures, but was not taken without the knowledge of the APRM National Focal Point. As of 22 June 2006, the FDC organised the first civil society meeting in relation to civil society participation in the APRM, and the deputy minister of Planning and Development was invited to and attended the event.²¹

Initially, the FDC planned to organise a platform for civil society engagement in the APRM that should work autonomously from the official structures. Through this platform, civil society would prepare an independent 'civil society report' to be handed in to the official structures, which would consist of civil society's contribution to the self-assessment. In August 2006, the FDC started its APRM mobilisation activities. It organised a national seminar that was attended by civil society organisations from all provinces, in which the structures it had designed for its APRM initiative were presented, discussed and accepted by the participants. In the meeting, it was agreed that the platform would have a National Forum and Provincial fora, as well as national, provincial and district focal points.²² In reality, though, the national and provincial fora consisted of awareness-raising seminars, which were held once nationally and once in every province. In the national meeting, the FDC was nominated as the national civil society focal point and it would be responsible for aggregating and compiling all information generated from the lower-level focal points. At provincial and district levels, the FDC would work in partnership with focal points chosen from a national platform of civil society organisations, the G-20.²³ Within the context of the FDC's APRM initiative, therefore, G-20 representatives were the 'APRM provincial/district focal points'.²⁴

Thus, in the months that followed the establishment of the National Forum (2006), the mobilisation process was led and carried out at the civil society level by civil society organisations that worked independently of (even if they were in contact with) the national APRM formal structures, which were still not fully operative in the country.

FDC/G-20's work was wide-ranging and fast. From June 2006 to January 2007, all provinces had already held a provincial seminar (the Provincial Forum), in which district focal points were informed about the APRM, its principles, structures and objectives, and about the state of the process in Mozambique. Nonetheless, not all went as planned by the FDC's Unit. To begin with, the FDC was counting on funds

19 Fórum Nacional do Mecanismo Africano de Revisão de Pares (MARP), *Relatório de Balanço, 2006–2009*, 2010, pp. 6/7.

20 Interview with Marta Cumbi, FDC's executive director, 10 December 2008.

21 Interview with Albino Francisco, FDC's APRM Unit researcher, 5 December 2008.

22 Mozambique is a unitary state and has the following basic administrative structure: provinces (11), districts (128), administrative posts, locality and villages. In addition to these, there is a still incipient, mostly urban, process of political devolution (decentralisation), in the form of elected local authorities (*autarquias*).

23 The G-20 was established in 2003 as part of a government initiative, the 'Poverty Observatories' (today's 'Development Observatories') which should allow development issues to be debated between 1) government officials, 2) civil society organisations and 3) international development partners. The Observatory was initially composed of 60 members, 20 of each group above mentioned. At first, the Observatory had only national meetings; later, it extended its activities to the provinces ('provincial development observatories'). Following the expansion in activities of the Observatories, the G-20 expanded its actions and number of affiliated organisations beyond the initial 20. Nowadays, the G-20 is found in all provinces, and also has representatives at the district level.

24 Interview with Paulo Cuinica, G-20 executive secretary, 15 December 2008.

from the UNDP to finance its initiative. As of June 2006, it had submitted a project proposal to the agency. The UNDP, however, said it could not finance the project as it would fund the official, government-led APRM project, and could not give funds to a parallel effort.²⁵ Despite this refusal, the FDC was promised a place (and funds) in the government project, as it should be the 'leading civil society organisation'. Until the funds arrived, though, the FDC would have to work with its own resources.²⁶

The FDC's scarcity of resources meant that it had to stop the initiative short of its initial goals: by February 2007 its internal unit had run out of money and the mobilisation process came to a halt. What was supposed to be a full-blown platform of civil society engagement in the APRM turned out to be not much more than a wake-up call which prepared the ground for a more informed participation of civil society groups in the self-assessment process. In total, the FDC held 19 seminars (11 at the provincial level, 7 at the district level and 1 at the administrative post level), work that was intensified by the activities of the provincial and district focal points.

Work stops while the official structures are established

By the time the FDC's Unit stopped operating, the official APRM Technical Unit was supposed to be operational, which could mean that there would be no interruption in mobilisation activities. However, that was not to be the case, as the APRM Technical Unit did not become fully operational until July 2007. For about five months, no public outreach was undertaken with regards to the APRM as the structures put in place by the FDC did not carry out any APRM-related business and the Technical Unit was not ready to start working. In fact, for some people involved in the process it felt as if they had been demobilised and that Mozambique's APRM was doomed to failure.²⁷

The mobilisation process re-starts

In July 2007, when the APRM Technical Unit finally began its activities, its leadership was aware of the FDC's previous activities. There was also awareness that the FDC had developed tools, methodologies and procedures for dealing

with civil society within the context of the APRM. In this scenario, both the FDC and the APRM Technical Unit were not interested in wasting any previous work; besides, both agreed on the importance of guaranteeing some degree of continuity between the FDC's work and the Technical Unit's work. After some meetings with the FDC's representatives, it was agreed that the FDC's approach to sensitisation and mobilisation should, by and large, be kept. Wherever it was possible the focal points (which were renamed 'antennae') would continue to be G-20 representatives. There were occasional changes in some provinces where other organisations took the lead. As regards the role of the FDC, a MoU was signed between the Unit and the Foundation, in which the latter agreed on continuing with its participation in the process through capacity-building seminars, as well as providing expertise to provincial and districts antennae, until July 2008. The FDC's role was now to assist the official structures in their undertakings, and not to work independently from them. For its role, the FDC would be given about US\$ 40 000, which was not meant to compensate for its previous activities. Those would remain largely unfunded.²⁸

It seems that it was clear to all parties involved that, despite everyone's recognition of the importance of the FDC's previous initiative, it had been short-lived and partial, and that there was a need for a more thorough and extensive process of mobilisation before the research institutes should start their work.²⁹ Furthermore, the FDC's mobilisation was restricted to civil society and it left out government representatives, political parties, the private sector and other stakeholders. In addition, specific social groups (for example, women, the youth and journalists) had not been targeted.

Inevitably, some of the mobilisation work ended up being repeated by the APRM Unit since it felt the need to inform everyone that the self-assessment had started officially, and that civil society participation would no longer be mediated by the FDC's mechanism, but would be done directly through the official structures. In this vein, there was another national meeting in Maputo in 2007 (21–22 August), which was organised in partnership with the Electoral Institute for Southern Africa (EISA) and attended by the Minister of Planning and Development, Aiuba Cuereneia, the Minister of Justice, Benvinda Levi, Graça Machel, and by more than 100 organisations.

25 Interview with Sergio Muchanga, formerly executive director of the now extinct FDC's APRM Unit, 3 December 2008.

26 In the funding agreement between the government and the UNDP, a 'leading civil society organisation' is, in fact, mentioned among the responsible parties for the implementation of the APRM in the country. However, apart from this reference, the agreement is silent as to how this organisation would be integrated in the official structures and how its activities would be funded. As of November 2006, when the agreement was signed between the UNDP and the government, the FDC was still working without proper external funding.

27 Interview with Mohamad Yassine, provincial antenna, Maputo, 9 December 2008.

28 The project proposal submitted by the FDC to the UNDP in June 2006 had an estimated budget of US\$ 454 820 which should cover 11 months of work.

29 Samito Nuvunga, 'Quatro questões para a nossa sociedade civil', *Notícias*, 22 de Março de 2007, available at <http://www.jornalnoticias.co.mz/pls/notimz2/getxml/pt/contentx/31531>, accessed 7 January 2009.

After the national meeting, the mobilisation spread downwards to the provinces and districts (from September to October 2007). The provincial seminars were organised by the antennae (G-20 representatives or otherwise), which were in charge of the logistical work and of mobilising local organisations. Once everything was in place for the provincial seminar, a representative from the Technical Unit (usually the civil society officer or someone from the FDC's team) and a member or two from the National Forum would join the district and provincial antennae. At the district level³⁰ (the mobilisation covered, on average, three to four districts per province), the seminars were organised by the district antennae but attended by the provincial antenna and, occasionally, by the civil society officer; in general, no member of the National Forum would attend those meetings.³¹ Language-wise, the provincial seminars were all held in Portuguese which often suited their audience. At the district level, the district antennae were responsible for translating the APRM structures and guidelines into local languages. All APRM documents were provided only in Portuguese, mostly due to financial constraints.

The Technical Unit also organised meetings with specific social groups in many provinces. More than 250 journalists were briefed on the mechanism and could voice their concerns in Nampula, Cabo Delgado, Niassa (northern Mozambique), Sofala, Zambezia and Tete (central Mozambique) from December 2007 to January 2008. In all meetings, a member of the National Forum and a member from the Technical Unit joined the provincial secretary of the National Union of Journalists (*Sindicato Nacional dos Jornalistas*). Also in December 2007, women groups had a meeting in Maputo (with more than 100 participants) as did the members of the Municipal Council of Maputo (whose President, Eneas Comiche, was a member of the National Forum). Meetings in universities were also organised, all with good attendance.

Research activities

Prior to the launch of the mobilisation activities (April 2007), the Technical Unit and the National Forum were already involved in selecting technical institutes to undertake the research, collect information and write the self-assessment reports for the four thematic areas, as well as the NPoA. However, after the institutes had been chosen, research activities could not begin immediately since a shared methodological approach had to be agreed on which was a lengthy process. The terms of reference for the research institutes were rather vague, and there was no agreement

on the methodological approach that should be taken. According to the agreement with the UNDP, the research should take no longer than four months and cost no more than US\$ 150 000. All candidates had to plan their proposals according to this timeframe and budget.

Of the technical proposals presented by the institutes, none mentioned the need for a national household survey. All took a methodologically less ambitious road, which combined comprehensive secondary research (desk review of existing literature and topic-related documents), interviews with key stakeholders and focus group discussions.³² According to the interviewees, the reason for a simpler methodological approach was clear: there was neither time nor resources to undertake any kind of national survey. Many a meeting was needed to solve the methodological stalemate (at one point, one of the institutes, Austral-COWI, even left the process on the grounds of methodological disagreements, returning later).

The National Forum, though, was adamant on the importance of the household survey on the grounds of inclusiveness and participation.³³ Its chairperson, Lourenço do Rosário, argued that: '(...) the household survey is fundamental for only it can guarantee quantitative information that would allow us to compare this data with the qualitative information that would be generated by other methods'.³⁴ After some months, there was finally agreement that a household survey would be undertaken.³⁵ Yet, not all institutes would carry out their own survey: it was decided that one of them, CEEI-ISRI, would be responsible for a single survey of all thematic issues, and that all three institutes would contribute with specific questions. For the survey to happen, CEEI-ISRI would be entitled to a larger share of the total amount of resources, and the other two institutes would have to give a fifth of their budget away to CEEI-ISRI (US\$ 30 000 each). The survey was carried out with the help of the National Institute of Statistics (*Instituto Nacional de Estatística*, INE). INE designed the survey sample to which the questionnaire would be administered, and its technicians were also involved in administering the questionnaire in partnership with CEEI-ISRI members.

30 Mozambique has 128 districts.

31 Interview with Adelaide Liquidão, formerly civil society officer, APRM Technical Unit, 17 November 2008.

32 Minutes of the National Forum Third Ordinary Meeting, 17 August 2007, Joaquim Chissano Conference Centre, Maputo.

33 For the record, it is worth noting that the methodology adopted for drafting Agenda 2025 involved only bibliographical research and consultation seminars. See Committee of Counsellors, *Agenda 2025, The Nation's vision and strategies*, 2003, available at http://www.portaldogoverno.gov.mz/docs_documento/Agenda2025.ptg.pdf, accessed 5 January 2008.

34 Minutes of the National Forum Third Ordinary Meeting, 17 August 2007, Joaquim Chissano Conference Centre, Maputo.

35 Minutes of the National Forum Third Ordinary Meeting, 17 August 2007, Joaquim Chissano Conference Centre, Maputo.

THE APRM PROCESS IN MOZAMBIQUE

Perhaps inevitably there was a degree of overlapping in time between the mobilisation and the research process. By the time the research activities began in September 2007, the process was already delayed, at least if one takes as a benchmark the timeframe set in the UNDP agreement. According to the agreement, civil society should have been mobilised in the first six months of 2007, and the mobilisation should have been finished before the research institutes began preparing the reports. The research institutes should then have followed in the footsteps left by the Technical Unit in the provinces and districts to gather data and perceptions. Notwithstanding this timeframe, the mobilisation lasted until January 2008 when the research institutes had already started (September to October 2007) and finalised their core research activities (first drafts were handed in to the National Forum for comments in January 2008).

Hence, research teams went to the field in October 2007, only three months prior to the deadline established in the UNDP agreement, according to which the first drafts of the self-assessment reports were due in January 2008. The institutes had to rush to the provinces and districts to begin collecting primary data. This research was supposed to build on the mobilisation process that the FDC had started more than a year before; however, it is clear that there was little continuity. Even if the provincial and district focal points/ antennae were still mobilised (and in some instances eager to contribute), very few of them were contacted by the research teams. Time-constraints and coordination problems meant that each research institute worked to their own schedule and organisation with little information about the work of their partners and the institutional memory of the process. In Maputo, the provincial antenna stressed that neither he nor his appointees at the district level were contacted by the research teams.³⁶ Occasionally, research teams from different institutes would meet at a province or district, but that was by chance.

Some of the mobilisation process was therefore badly used. Since many stakeholders and organisations did not feel comfortable or were not able to present written submissions, they could only contribute in focus group discussions, seminars and interviews. Therefore, several people who had been mobilised and were waiting to collaborate were not contacted again, especially at the district level.

Drafting the country self-assessment report

In January 2008, the first drafts of the reports were handed in to the Technical Unit and the National Forum. Despite all of the delays in the process and the ambitious research project,

the technical institutes managed to finish their first drafts in four months (September 2007 to January 2008). The drafts were then commented on, essentially by the members of the four sub-committees of the National Forum. According to interviewees, neither the Technical Unit nor most of the remaining members of the Forum made substantial contributions to the drafts. The reports were then sent back to the research institutions for their final analysis. They had to be ready by mid-February 2008 when the validation process was due to start.

The validation seminars were an essential part of the process. They were the opportunity for those who had participated in the APRM to see whether the final report had done justice to their contributions. From 11 to 22 February 2008, the reports were taken back to the provinces for this presentation. A team composed of a member of the National Forum, a member of the Technical Unit and a member of each of the three research institutions was sent to every provincial capital in order to discuss and validate the self-assessment preliminary results.

However, one could not say that the validation seminars lived up to the reasonable inclusiveness of the process that far, much less that they validated the reports' results. First, for the seminars to discuss and validate the results properly, the process should have reached the districts, or at least should have included several representatives from the districts. But those people living in the districts were excluded from this stage of the process, and they did feel excluded.³⁷ From the hundreds of people who had been involved in the APRM early stages (first, with the FDC's 'wake-up' call and raising-awareness process, then, the Technical Unit's mobilisation seminars, and, finally the research institutes' data gathering), no more than 150 people per province discussed the final results of what was meant to be a truly 'broad, inclusive and participatory self-assessment'. Also, and more importantly, the findings and recommendations that were presented and discussed were a very simplified version of the report. In practice, the participants were shown a short powerpoint presentation whose slides were distributed in advance to the antennae rather than the full self-assessment report. The bulk of the self-assessment was not discussed, and a full version of the reports was made available to very few people just days before the seminars (most antennae did not receive a copy of the self-assessment reports). Those few who received the reports then had the mammoth task of reading and criticising nearly a thousand pages in less than a week.

It was at this critical point of the APRM that some civil society organisations despaired at the pace, and shortcomings, of the process. They felt that the final version of the self-

36 Interview with Mohamad Yassine, provincial antenna, Maputo, 9 December 2008.

37 This opinion is shared by all provincial and district antennae to which we talked about the issue.

assessment report was being approved hurriedly without due attention being given to critical voices.³⁸ If the research institutes had already complained that they had not had enough time to work on the self-assessment reports, civil society organisations were also not being given enough time to voice their criticisms, even if they had rushed to read the reports and had noticed that they were clearly incomplete in many areas. In a process marked by delays, the National Forum decided to rush it exactly at one of the most critical points. As Sergio Muchanga, then leader of the FDC's APRM Unit, puts it: 'it seemed as if a higher priority was being given to the timeframe than to civil society participation and the quality of the self-assessment (...) the process was not being tuned according to the reality on the ground, but in accordance to previous commitments to an abstract timeline'.³⁹

Finalisation of the report and submission to APRM Secretariat

The draft self-assessment report that was discussed in the validation seminars was a rather poor document. There were inconsistencies in some arguments and several issues had not been discussed properly. The Institute for Economic and Social Studies (*Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Económicos – IESE*) published a paper criticising the chapter on democracy and political governance, stressing that it was not properly written, contained confusing statements and that there were several issues that deserved more attention.⁴⁰

IESE's statement was published in June 2008 and was based on the draft of February 2008. In the meantime (March 2008), the research institutes worked on the document on the basis of the discussions held at the provincial level. When the National Forum met to discuss the draft in March 2008, it considered that the document still needed to be improved. Thus, a review team (*Grupo de Revisão e Redacção*), which

consisted of members of the National Forum, was organised to analyse and improve the draft version in all thematic areas. The review team also worked on the Programme of Action.⁴¹

Prior to the finalisation of the work from the review team though, the self-assessment had to be sent to the Continental APRM Secretariat in Midrand, since the country review mission was due in Mozambique shortly (May 2008). However, given the delays in the visit of the country review mission, an edited version of the self-assessment, ameliorated by the review team, was sent to the Continental APRM Secretariat in April 2008. The national programme of action was handed in later on in August 2008.

The final version of the self-assessment report was made available to the wider public only after the country review mission had arrived in the country in February 2009. The decision to disseminate the self-assessment was taken because of the pressure from the Mission, since the National Focal Point thought such publicity was not necessary.⁴² The final version of the report was a better-written, more consistent and coherent document than the first draft. It does stress and discuss important issues and does not shy away from politically sensitive topics. It is also clearer on concepts. Nonetheless, it still has important gaps and several contradictions, mostly on governance issues which were later addressed by the country review report.

The draft APRM national programme of action

The draft national programme of action, which was part of the self-assessment report, should seek to operationalise the recommendations advanced in the four pillars of the self-assessment. A feasible and well-thought-out programme of action was requested from the research institutes. According to our interviewees at the Technical Unit, it was made clear to all that it was an important part of the self-assessment, and that the drafting of the programme should be integrated into the research activities. Yet, given the hurried manner in which the research was carried out, the programme of action presented in February 2008 was no more than a very rough appendix to the different parts of the self-assessment report. Later on, in the version sent in August 2008, the document was improved, but several gaps still remained.

38 At EISA's 3rd annual Symposium, which was held in Maputo between 21–22 October 2008 and discussed the APRM, the president of Mozambique's National Forum, Lourenço do Rosário, was asked about this point, to which he replied that some of the late critical voices (most notably the *Centre for Public Integrity*) had been invited to participate in the earlier stages of the process and did not show any commitment to it. To sum up his point, he argued that the critics had missed the deadline to participate. This reply does not answer the criticism which was related to substantive issues and, as a matter of method, if the Technical Unit and the National Forum knew that key stakeholders were not participating in the debates, it was their responsibility to insist on their participation in all stages of the process, rather than simply thinking that an invitation was already sent to them.

39 Interview with Mr Sergio Muchanga, formerly Executive Director of the now extinct FDC's APRM Unit, 3 December 2008.

40 Brito, Luís de, Sérgio Chichava and Jonas Pohmann, 'Algumas considerações críticas sobre o relatório de auto-avaliação de Moçambique na área de "Democracia e Governação Política"', *Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Económicos (IESE)*, available at http://www.iese.ac.mz/lib/publication/outras/MARP_rev_3.pdf, accessed January 2009.

41 Fórum Nacional do Mecanismo Africano de Revisão de Pares (MARF), *Relatório de Balanço, 2006–2009*, 2010, p. 20.

42 Fórum Nacional do Mecanismo Africano de Revisão de Pares (MARF), *Relatório de Balanço, 2006–2009*, 2010, p. 21.

The APRM country review mission and its report

Country review mission

Mozambique finalised the first draft of its self-assessment prior to the validation seminars in February 2008. Even though the self-assessment was still being improved, the country was ready to receive the country review mission (CRM), which first scheduled its visit for May 2008. The visit was later rescheduled to July-August 2008, and, given changes in the Panel of Eminent Persons at the continental level, it was further delayed to 2009. The delays were harshly criticised by the National Forum and civil society representatives, which wanted to move on with the process.⁴³

The Mission finally arrived in February 2009. The official ceremony to launch the country review mission was opened by President of the Republic Armando Guebuza, who praised the process and its importance to Mozambique. Guebuza stressed that the APRM process was in line with the ideals of Eduardo Mondlane, the first president of FRELIMO, the ruling party since independence from Portugal. According to Guebuza, the APRM, as well as Mondlane's ideals, stress the importance of accepting criticism and nurturing a culture of self-criticism.

The CRM was led by Ambassador Bethuel Kiplagat and it stayed in the country between 6 February and 3 March 2009. The mission consisted of 18 African experts on the various issues that are assessed by the APRM.

The CRM held meetings with government representatives, politicians, members of Parliament, civil society organisations, international development partners and other stakeholders. According to the National Forum, the CRM visited five provinces in the three main regions of Mozambique (South, Central and North), and held seminars that were attended by around 1 000 people. The CRM was followed by representatives of the National Forum, provincial antennae (who opened the seminars) and a representative of the Focal Point (MPD). Apart from the seminars, the CRM had the opportunity to see *in loco* the different realities of Mozambique.⁴⁴

Civil society organisations met with the CRM on different occasions and had the opportunity to present additional information to its members as well as voice their criticisms. In parallel to the CRM activities, civil society organised a seminar to discuss and evaluate the process, as well as to consolidate civil society's position with regards to the APRM

in Mozambique. After the seminar, eight organisations published a press release highlighting their participation in the process as well as their concerns.⁴⁵ The press release was later presented to the CRM and published in several newspapers.

Amongst the concerns mentioned in the press release, there were: a) the stop-and-go nature of the process, which made it difficult to sustain the mobilisation of civil society and the momentum of the process; b) the lack of knowledge of the APRM by members of the National Forum; c) the limited interaction of the members of the technical unit with civil society; d) the limited coverage of the sensitisation activities; e) the difficulties to have access to information concerning the APRM and f) doubts about the quality of the research process. The press release asked for the final version of the self-assessment report to be made public, as well as the organisation of more debates about the national programme of action which was considered vague. Additionally, the press release stated that civil society wanted a more institutionalised role in the APRM at the Technical Unit level.

The National Forum was quick to respond to the criticisms raised by civil society. In an article published in the quasi-governmental newspaper *Notícias*, the Forum remarked that the Centre for Public Integrity (CIP) and FDC, which were amongst the organisations signing the press release, had no legitimacy to criticise the process as they had been part of it. Besides, the article denies the charge of secrecy since the process involved several sensitisation activities. The National Forum accepted that the process was marked by a stop-and-go nature, but blamed it on the electoral process that took place in-between (municipal elections, 2008). It also accepted the lack of knowledge of some members of the Forum, but stressed their commitment to the APRM. Finally, the Forum underlined that the problems identified were the responsibility of every actor in the process, including civil society, and that lack of information should be interpreted as self-exclusion.⁴⁶

The CRM left the country in March to prepare the country review report (CRR) and provide inputs to the national programme of action (NPoA). The CRR was finalised and sent to the government for comments in mid-2009. Finally, the CRR and NPoA were presented by Ambassador Kiplagat to the members of the APR Forum in Sirte, Lybia, on 30 June 2009.⁴⁷

43 Lourenço do Rosário, *Opening Speech*, Launch Ceremony of the Country Review Mission to Mozambique, 9 February 2009.

44 Fórum Nacional do Mecanismo Africano de Revisão de Pares (MARP), *Relatório de Balanço, 2006–2009*, 2010.

45 Associação Moçambicana para o Desenvolvimento da Democracia (AMODE); Centro de Integridade Pública (CIP); Coligação para a Justiça Económica (CJE); Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Comunidade (FDC); Fórum Mulher; G-20; MISA-Moçambique and MS Moçambicana.

46 'ESCLARECIMENTO – Posição da Sociedade Civil sobre o MARP em Moçambique', *Notícias*, 26 de Fevereiro de 2009.

47 Fórum Nacional do Mecanismo Africano de Revisão de Pares (MARP), *Relatório de Balanço, 2006–2009*, 2010, p. 24.

Overview of the country review report and the national programme of action

In comparison to Mozambique's self-assessment report, which was around 700 pages long, the CRR is a more concise document, half the self-assessment's length, at around 350 pages. It provides a much more coherent, consistent and sound analysis of Mozambique's achievements and predicaments than the CSAR. Issues that were mentioned but discussed in a rather confusing way in the first drafts of the self-assessment⁴⁸ are openly analysed and the necessary implications and recommendations are clearly drawn from them. In fact, the CRR provides a comprehensive and useful synthesis of Mozambique's main challenges to sustain its democratic development process. The NPoA is also a consistent document with a clear matrix of actions, activities and indicators to be followed.

In fact it would be fair to argue that, notwithstanding several problems along the way, the final products of the APRM in Mozambique, the CRR and its NPoA, can serve as useful tools for the government, civil society and the private sector to work with. The report provides a frank and honest criticism of the problems affecting the country, while the NPoA offers the government and other stakeholders a guiding instrument to deal with those problems.

Review by the APR Forum

Mozambique was peer-reviewed in Sirte, Libya, at the 11th Forum of Heads of State and Government of the countries participating in the APRM, on 30 June 2009. The event was attended by heads of state and government of South Africa, Algeria, Benin, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ghana, Kenya, Uganda, Sao Tome and Principe, Mali, Lesotho and Mozambique, as well as representatives of the APR Panel of Eminent Persons, Graça Machel, Ambassador Bethuel Kiplagat, Dorothy Njeuma, Domitila Mukantaganzwa and Professor Mahammed Séghir Babès.

Mozambique's CRR was presented by Ambassador Kiplagat who, according to the MPD (the discussions of the APR Forum are held in private and there are no formal or informal reports on the proceedings), stressed the following issues: a) 490 years of Portuguese colonisation of Mozambique; b) Mozambique's independence in 1975 and the 16 years of armed conflict that followed; c) the culmination of the peace process in 1992 and the democratic process; d)

48 Brito, Luís de, Sérgio Chichava and Jonas Pohmann, 'Algumas considerações críticas sobre o relatório de auto-avaliação de Moçambique na área de "Democracia e Governação Política"', Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Económicos (IESE), available at http://www.iese.ac.mz/lib/publication/outras/MARP_rev_3.pdf, accessed January 2009.

Mozambique's high dependence on foreign aid and e) the predominance of the FRELIMO party in public institutions and corruption.⁴⁹

After the presentation by Ambassador Kiplagat, President Guebuza was given the opportunity to comment on the report and the presentation. Again according to the MPD, President Guebuza spoke about: a) the liberation struggle and the establishment of FRELIMO; b) the fact that the externally-organised destabilisation war that plagued the country for 16 years was not a civil war, since it was led by foreign countries in the region that were against Mozambique's independence, namely Rhodesia and apartheid South Africa; c) criticised the perceptions put forward in the report about land use and how investors obtain the right of land use, underlining that it is in the interest of the state to keep the land as state-owned, but the citizen is free to use it (*usufruto*).⁵⁰

According to the MPD, there was not much discussion of the report by the country's peers and, at the end of the debate, the President of the APR Forum drew several conclusions: a) that the country's history should be considered and that the APRM should not prescribe anything to Mozambique; b) the impact of mega-projects in the country should be improved and c) it is important that all political parties are treated fairly.⁵¹

A press release issued after the meeting in which Mozambique was peer-reviewed underlined that '(...) the Forum commended Mozambique for the quality of its report and urged the Government to undertake measures to improve relations between FRELIMO and RENAMO so as to foster peace and stability in the country. It noted that there is room for the improvement of Mozambique's land tenure system but cautioned the Panel against prescribing choices for countries on this sensitive issue'.⁵²

The APRM in Mozambique since the completion of the review process

After the review by the APR Forum it was the responsibility of the government to ensure proper follow-up to the process. For that, the CRR and NPoA should be translated from English into Portuguese and disseminated to the country's stakeholders. However, the country held general and

49 Ministério da Planificação e Desenvolvimento (MPD), *Informe ao Conselho de Ministros sobre o Mecanismo Africano de Revisão de Pares (MARP)*, Março–Novembro 2009, November 2009.

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid.

52 *Communique issued at the end of the Eleventh Summit of Heads of State and Government Participating in the African Peer Review Mechanism (APR Forum)*, 30 June 2009, Sirte, Lybia.

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provincial elections in 2009 and there was little space for APRM-related activities. The main activities related to the APRM that were undertaken in 2009 were the publication of an executive summary of the CRR in Mozambique's main newspapers, as well as the organisation of discussions about the process on both radio and television stations.

President Guebuza was elected for a second five-year term in office and, in January 2010, the National Forum presented a report with an overview of the implementation of the APRM in Mozambique in the period 2006–2009.⁵³ At the presentation of the overview, the President of the National Forum mentioned that the National Technical Unit was working towards improving the NPoA, and that the official launch of the CRR should take place in February 2010. This was almost in line with the timeframe proposed by the APRM which recommends that the country review report for any country should be published within six months after its approval by the APR Forum.

Nonetheless, the documents were not published within the expected deadline. In fact, the report and the NPoA were only published in May 2011. In the meantime, the national structures of the APRM changed. The National Technical Unit, which was an autonomous body accountable to the National Forum and responsible for providing support to the National Forum, was replaced by a National Secretariat which is housed in the Ministry of Planning and Development (MPD) and headed by a civil servant. Additionally, the National Forum was streamlined and it now has only 36 members (against the former 58-strong membership).

The new National Forum is responsible for the monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of the NPoA as well as for public awareness about the process. Likewise the previous membership, the current National Forum, includes members from civil society (14 members), provincial governors (three), parliamentarians (five), counsellors of Agenda 2025 (eight), university rectors, or vice-chancellors (two), the president of INE, the president of the Bank of Mozambique, the president of the National Youth Council and a former parliamentarian (Maria Virginia Videira). In fact, the new membership is almost entirely drawn from the former membership (the few new members exist mostly because of changes in Parliament and provincial governors).

The new Secretariat is responsible for providing support to the National Forum in overseeing the implementation of the NPoA. Apart from its director, who was drawn from the MPD, it has kept two members of the previous Technical Unit who are being paid through a new agreement with the UNDP.

⁵³ Fórum Nacional do Mecanismo Africano de Revisão de Pares (MARF), *Relatório de Balanço, 2006–2009*, 2010.

Implementation of the national programme of action

With regards to the implementation of the APRM NPoA, two years after the CRR was adopted by the APR Forum, it is still not clear what has been achieved. The government claims that it has integrated the national programme of action into the Government Five-Year Programme and the country's new Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), the PARP (*Plano de Acção para a Redução da Pobreza*). However, whereas the main issues highlighted in the NPoA are included in these planning instruments, there are substantial gaps between them. In fact, the NPoA is broader than the PARP and the Five-Year Programme, and it involves activities that will need to be included into sectoral plans as well as implemented by other actors, such as Parliament and civil society organisations.

In fact, the alignment and integration of the NPoA with the government planning processes will need to be carefully considered. The government produces policies and strategies regularly, and all ministers and government institutions should consider the NPoA in their planning and decision-making.

Finally, the delay in the publication of the NPoA has negatively affected the beginning of any activity towards its implementation.⁵⁴ Without the published document there was no proper dissemination, and it is difficult to envisage how other stakeholders that should be involved in the implementation of the NPoA could start thinking about ways to turn the recommendations into proper action.

The current status of the APRM activities in Mozambique

As discussed, the new national structures of the APRM, the restructured National Forum and the National Secretariat, were launched in mid-2010. However, their main working instrument, the NPoA, was not released and disseminated until the end of May 2011 when, together with Mozambique's CRR, it was officially launched by President Guebuza and Professor Amos Sawyer (who replaced Ambassador Kiplagat as Mozambique's assigned member from the APRM Panel of Eminent Persons). It was expected that the dissemination would finally begin in June 2011, but no communication strategy or monitoring and evaluation strategy had been released as of May 2011.

⁵⁴ It seems that the delay in the publication of the report has been due to difficulties in translating the document. Initially, it was agreed that the translation of the country review report and national programme of action and its costs would be borne by the continental Secretariat/African Union. However, the documents were issued in English and French but not in Portuguese, and there was a long stand-off on the issue. Finally, it was decided that the Mozambican government would carry the costs and the translation was completed by the end of 2010. After the completion of the translation, though, there have been no clear reasons as to why the documents took so long to be published.

Finally, notwithstanding the launch of the CRR and the NPoA, there are still several missing elements for the next stage of the process. Firstly, it is unclear who would finance the APRM going forward. Donors have been committed to funding the process thus far, but have not made clear whether they are willing to fund the implementation of the NPoA and the national structures. Additionally, there has been neither a public discussion nor a published document on a Monitoring and Evaluation Strategy to the implementation of the NPoA, which is necessary for the National Forum to oversee its implementation.

Critical evaluation of the APRM process in Mozambique

Core structures

The Ministry of Planning and Development (APRM National Focal Point)

The Ministry of Planning and Development (MPD) had a central role at the beginning of the self-assessment as being responsible for setting up the APRM's main structures. Additionally and throughout the process it has worked alongside the National Forum, Technical Unit and Secretariat, also being responsible for drafting the budgets for the different stages of the APRM and working in partnership with the UNDP and other development partners. Finally, in the current stage of the process, the MPD is hosting the National Secretariat. Overall, the MPD played a positive role in the process, at least in its first five phases (until the country's peer review in Sirte). The Ministry now houses the Secretariat, whose director is a civil servant of the Ministry. This situation could compromise the independence and impartiality of the APRM, allowing undue government interference in the activities of the Secretariat and, consequently, the activities of the National Forum which should keep its independence from the government to better carry out its oversight role.

The APRM National Forum (Mozambique's National Governing Structure)

The APRM National Forum, both in its current and former membership, has been widely held as credible and representative in its composition and few criticisms have been levelled against the criteria used to select the members

of the Forum.⁵⁵ However, it would have been better if the MPD had publicised the criteria used to choose the members of the Forum and discussed them with a wider audience before making a final decision. If that had been done, it would have sent an early signal to everyone that the process was truly national (and not governmental) and participatory. Most importantly, it would have shown to all stakeholders the openness of the process and the willingness of the government to be evaluated by its citizens.

Process-wise, the APRM National Forum took over where the MPD left off, since it was up to the Forum to monitor and steer the implementation of the self-assessment process. There were high expectations around the Forum's work, but the Forum has not always lived up to those expectations.

Firstly its members, with important exceptions, seemed not to have committed themselves to the process. For example, from 2006 to the end of 2009 the Forum met in plenary at least nine times (six ordinary and three extraordinary meetings), but attendance was rather poor. Out of its final 57-strong membership (one of the Forum's members died and was not replaced), at least three members did not attend. The second meeting was attended by 33 members, the third, by 26 members and the fourth by 37 members, an average attendance rate of only 55%. Some of the members provided

55 Amongst the criticisms, some journalists questioned the fact that almost all members of the Forum lived in Maputo, Mozambique's national capital. In fact, if one compares the APRM structures with Agenda 2025 structures, Agenda 2025 was more sensitive to geographical issues and provided for a National Council, which was comprised of citizens from all provinces (totalling 36). For details, see Comunicação Social, MARP, 'Seminários Provinciais de Divulgação do MARP aos Jornalistas', document obtained at the Technical Unit.

a justification for their absence, but most simply missed the meeting.⁵⁶

Besides, many people interviewed for this report had the impression that only a few members of the Forum knew what the APRM was really about, and very few had internalised its agenda. To one of the participants, 'the members of the National Forum did not know what they would be talking about at the provincial seminars (...) they were not well informed about their role in the process'. Minutes of the Forum's meetings indicate that some members complained about the lack of commitment of their peers to discuss the self-assessment reports.⁵⁷

Throughout the process, the National Forum was expected to provide guidance and leadership to all involved in its activities. However, both were in short supply. With the exception of its chairperson and a few other members, most members of the Forum did not appear publicly (or did so very rarely) to disseminate the APRM's message.

Those few members of the Forum who discussed the APRM in media outlets did so usually before or after some crucial moment in the process. Nonetheless, these appearances were intermittent and seemed insufficient to sustain momentum. Many participants interviewed for this report, from civil society activists to researchers and government representatives, complained that the process lacked in leadership and orientation. Important decisions were left to be taken during the process (such as the research methods that the research institutes should use or dissemination strategies), and the members of the Forum knew far too little about an initiative that was dependent on their guidance. Asked to describe how deep the debate at the Forum's plenary meeting was, one of its members said the following: 'the documents were always late; there was little time; there was no deepening of the key issues.' In this regard, Mozambique's experience was similar to that of other countries.

The APRM National Technical Unit

The Technical Unit had a key role in the implementation of the APRM, from mobilisation of civil society to guaranteeing that the National Forum could perform its activities properly. However, several interviewees complained that the Technical Unit sometimes lacked the capacity to keep up

with the constant interaction with civil society organisations and research institutes. From the antennae and civil society activists interviewed, there was repeated criticism of the methods adopted by the Unit to deal with civil society organisations. Typically, the criticisms concerned the lack of trust (and empathy) showed by some of the Unit members towards civil society activists and organisations.

Additionally, the Unit faced two other interconnected problems: a) the lack of proper training of its staff on the APRM process itself and b) the lack of guidance and involvement of the National Forum.

Research institutes and methodology

The research institutes were responsible for ensuring three very important processes and outputs: a) the domestication of the questionnaire; b) that the research activities were participatory and inclusive, which is one of the APRM comparative advantages in relation to most assessments and c) the reliability and depth of the results of the self-assessment through the application of scientifically sound methods. The first and third tasks were explicit in the *Terms of Reference for Research Institutions* annexed to the UNDP agreement. The second was not explicit, but can be easily deduced from the remaining parts of the agreement and from the very nature of the APRM and its core documents.

As already mentioned, there were problems in ensuring continuity from the mobilisation to the research stage. There was both an overlapping of activities and a lack of coordination among those responsible for each task. These problems, in turn, did not help the inclusiveness and participatory character of the self-assessment because many people who had been sensitised and were ready to voice their concerns were not listened to by the research teams, whereas others were mobilised too late for their opinions to be taken into account.

As to the research methods chosen, they are all standard methods in the social sciences and are similar to those used in other countries. With regards to the qualitative methods, it is difficult to evaluate their application as no report on field activities has been released. The household survey, however, can be evaluated. Note that, as stressed above, none of the research institutes had proposed a household survey on their first technical proposals. Besides, Cruzeiro do Sul and Austral-COWI remained doubtful about its implementation throughout, whereas CEEI-ISRI came to share the view of the National Forum on the feasibility and importance of the household survey.

⁵⁶ At the second meeting, the Forum's minutes state that three people did not attend because their address was unknown and they had not received the invitation, which seems to illustrate the lack of organisation on the side of the Technical Unit, and a lack of commitment on the side of the members.

⁵⁷ Minutes of the National Forum 4th Ordinary Meeting, 11 March 2008, Joaquim Chissano Conference Centre, Maputo.

The National Institute of Statistics, which designed the survey sample and assisted CEEI-ISRI to administer the questionnaire, is a respected institution, and the sampling design is seen by Carlos Lauchande, a statistician at Cruzeiro do Sul, as accurate and scientifically sound.⁵⁸ Nonetheless, doubts have been raised regarding the quality of the data that was generated from the survey, because its administration was done with very little transparency and little information concerning fieldwork activities and data treatment has been released. It was not stated publicly nor to the other two research institutes whether the questionnaires, once returned, were re-applied to a small sample or randomly selected to confirm that there was no making up of answers by the administrators.⁵⁹ Questions remain as to what the percentage of questionnaires returned unanswered was, and the overall quality of the fieldwork. Technical as they are, these questions do bear on the validity of the data collected, and, consequently, of any conclusion drawn from them. The survey was carried out in record time in the country (less than a month) and with scant resources (around US\$ 100 000), which does raise potential doubts about its quality.

Robert Mattes, deputy director of the Afrobarometer initiative, is an obvious advocate of public opinion surveys. However, he does recognise that undertaking a reasonably-sized survey is no mean feat, but a rather costly, technically demanding and time-consuming exercise.⁶⁰ Mattes estimates the costs for conducting a national citizen survey of a sample of 1 000 people as between US\$ 85 000 and US\$ 125 000, depending on the infrastructure of the country and that for the whole survey a reasonable timeframe would be 23 weeks.

Looking at Mattes' timeframe and estimated costs, it emerges quite clearly that it must have been extremely challenging for CEEI-ISRI, even if its researchers counted on the INE's expertise and experience, to conduct the survey. CEEI-ISRI had a sample of more than 4 000 people on a budget that would suit a survey with a sample of 1 000, and they completed it in less than a month. Again, Mattes' opinion is that: 'based on my experience in the Afrobarometer, country teams should allow at least five to six months between deciding on results and receiving usable results.'⁶¹ Despite, or unaware of, Mattes' advice, the Technical Unit and the National Forum insisted on the importance of a household

survey, and CEEI-ISRI thought that it would be feasible to carry it out in less than a month on a rather limited budget.

In addition to the doubts that were raised regarding the methods used and the fact that the research process was seriously compromised by the lack of time and logistical problems, the result – the first draft of the self-assessment report – had important gaps. This viewpoint is again shared by most people we talked to, including researchers that were involved in the self-assessment. All four thematic areas' reports were superficial on the discussion of most issues. In fact, the researchers have admitted that there was no time to undertake research sufficiently thorough to test strong hypotheses.

Cross-cutting issues

Civil Society mobilisation and engagement

The APRM offers an opportunity for civil society organisations to raise issues and voice questions about topics that concern their activities. It is a chance none should miss. Yet, notwithstanding the importance of the initiative, civil society engagement in the APRM cannot be taken for granted because it depends on the existence of a strong and active civil society, which is not the case in Mozambique. Most Mozambican civil society organisations have little capacity to engage meaningfully in policy dialogue as recent reports have pointed out, and they work essentially in a reactive fashion to external opportunities and programmes.⁶²

Any serious attempt to engage Mozambique's civil society organisations on a given issue would have to consider how civil society is structured and distributed in the country. In terms of coverage, for example, according to a report by the National Institute of Statistics published in 2006, 70% of civil society organisations are located in only five of the 11 provinces. Maputo hosts 13% of those organisations, but they employ a disproportional 52% of the whole not-for-profit sector in the country and also receive more than half of all funds. Structurally, civil society is heavily dependent on external funding: 71% of funding comes from foreign donors which is distributed unevenly because more than half of it goes to foreign NGOs and over 20% goes to national NGOs which represent no more than 3.9% and 3.1% of registered civil society organisations respectively.⁶³ In this scenario, any

58 Interview with Carlos Lauchand, statistician, Cruzeiro do Sul, 9 December 2008, Maputo.

59 In administering such surveys, it is common to catch people who should be administering the questionnaires under a tree, filling in the answers by themselves. Therefore, it is important to re-apply some questionnaires to guarantee that they were properly administered.

60 Robert Mattes, 'Using Representative Opinion Surveys in the African Peer Review Mechanism Process', *Occasional Paper no. 13*, Governance and APRM, SAIIA, October 2008, available at http://lnw.creamermedia.co.za/articles/attachments/17681_saiia_occasional_paper_no_13_october_2008_surveys_-_mattes.pdf, accessed on 7 January 2009.

61 Ibid.

62 For instance, see CIVICUS (www.civicsocietyindex.org), *Índice da Sociedade Civil em Moçambique 2007*; Francisco, António. 'Sociedade Civil em Moçambique: Expectativas e Desafios', in Brito et al (org.), *Desafios para Moçambique 2010*, Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Económicos (IESE), 2010.

63 Instituto Nacional de Estatística, *As instituições sem fins lucrativos em Moçambique: Resultados do primeiro Censo (2004/2005)*.

meaningful strategy for civil society engagement would have to be context-specific, and different strategies should be devised for each context. For instance, considerable amounts of time, resources and capacity-building activities should go to provinces whose civil society organisations have the least favourable conditions. Nonetheless, to our knowledge the strategy adopted for civil society mobilisation was nationwide in character and did not differentiate between regions and provinces.

Furthermore, if the APRM wants to be added to the long-standing efforts at improving governance in African countries, and it clearly does, its activities should be thought of within a longer time-frame. Civil society mobilisation campaigns should be seen as 'governance schools', to borrow a phrase from Paulo Cuinica the executive secretary of the G-20 platform, as an important chance to capacitate civil society organisations on issues that affect everyone's lives. If that was the case, then the official structures should have carefully drafted a strategy for civil society mobilisation, with inputs from civil society organisations. Again, this did not happen.

The APRM was a lengthy process and according to our interviewees, it was not clear to most organisations what its advantages were over other similar processes that had already been undertaken in the country, such as the drafting of Agenda 2025. The value it has added to the development of the country is not clear. If it was not for the efforts of some organisations, such as the FDC and the Centre for Public Integrity (CIP), which tried to mobilise other organisations and discuss the process, the input from civil society would have been minimal.

There are several lessons that can be drawn from the Mozambican process in terms of civil society engagement. First, the engagement of civil society cannot be taken for granted. Civil society organisations often have scarce human resources for varied activities and they have to prioritise. If civil society engagement is to be guaranteed, they have to be involved in the process from the outset. Besides openness, including to criticisms and transparency from the governing structures, is essential for the legitimacy of the process and the engagement of civil society. The National Forum had representatives from civil society in their membership, but civil society organisations are complex and diverse, working in different areas, and the involvement of some might not guarantee the involvement of the others. Additionally, it is often best to outsource the mobilisation of civil society to other civil society organisations, who should be given the resources to do so.

Access to and dissemination of information and transparency

Until the FDC began its work, little was known about the APRM in Mozambique. According to most of our interviewees, it was, and for some it remains, an unknown entity. At a seminar promoted by MISA-Moçambique in 2007, journalists voiced their concerns about the 'discrepancy between the government rhetoric about the APRM and the public knowledge of the mechanism, which is very limited'.⁶⁴ Journalists that attended seminars in 2007 questioned the very notion of 'peer' in the context of the APRM, which sounded strange in Portuguese and in many Mozambican local languages (oddly, after some debate, the journalists concluded that the best translation would be *casais*, which literally means 'couples' in English).⁶⁵ From the outset, the process faced considerable challenges and it was important that the national structures guarantee a consistent flow of information and transparency of their actions and activities. Furthermore, a communication strategy would be important to find ways not only to make the APRM known to the people, but also to explain to all what the APRM was really about.

In fact, the Technical Unit started preparing a communications strategy in 2007 which should have benefited from Kenya's experience. The Technical Unit's director met with a Kenyan journalist and a member of Kenya's national NEPAD Secretariat at a conference and felt he could be an added value to the Mozambican process. However, the strategy presented by the Kenyan journalist was ill-suited to Mozambique, and was, after some time had already been spent on its translation, rejected by the National Forum.⁶⁶ In the end, the communications officer at the Technical Unit had to work in a more informal, *ad-hoc* manner, since the Unit's strategy was only written down when the mobilisation was already over (January 2008).⁶⁷

64 'Défice de conhecimento sobre a natureza do MARP', *Notícias*, 27 de Março de 2007, available at <http://www.jornalnoticias.co.mz/pls/notimiz2/getxml/pt/contentx/32273>, accessed 7 January 2009.

65 Comunicação Social, MARP, 'Seminários Provinciais de Divulgação do MARP aos Jornalistas', document obtained at the Technical Unit.

66 This process could not have been otherwise. First, the journalist's knowledge of Mozambique's media landscape was dismal. He wrote 'It (Mozambique) has one of the most vibrant press cultures in Africa; boasting 225 recognised publications, 45 radio stations, 34 TV stations and two cellular phone networks.' True, this data might have been found at some official database, but it is far from the reality on the ground. In reality, there are far fewer operating television channels (as of 2008, six television stations offered free-to-air services), and their geographic coverage is small (apart from the public television, *Televisão de Moçambique*, the remaining reach few provinces). Of the publications if we take the published newspapers there were, as of 2009, three dailies and less than ten weeklies, apart from some newspapers that circulate as fax-sheets, and most of them do not reach beyond Mozambique's main cities.

67 Interview with Felicidade Panguene, communications officer, Technical Unit, 6 January 2009.

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According to the terms of the UNDP agreement with the government, there was a budget of US\$ 157 500 for the whole communication process and, according to the Unit's communications officer, that was rather limited for the tasks at hand.⁶⁸ A publishing agency was subcontracted to design the campaign and, from that, thousands of leaflets, banners and posters were printed and distributed. Radio and television spots were also used, as well as debates on some radio programmes. In the rural areas, community radio stations were asked to collaborate (those financed with state money via the *Instituto de Comunicação Social* and not those that are independent of state funds and are affiliated to the National Community Radio Forum - *Fórum Nacional das Rádios Comunitárias*, FORCOM). The reason, again, was lack of resources.⁶⁹

On the ground it seems that the strategy did not work out as planned.⁷⁰ Very few people really understood the APRM objectives and principles, or found out rather late in the process. Several journalists stated that only after attending the seminars organised by the Unit at the end of the dissemination phase, between December 2007 and January 2008, did they finally feel at ease reporting on the APRM.⁷¹

More worryingly, the strategy neither managed to impact the political discourse in the country nor mark the APRM as a different, more innovative and participatory political initiative. At the end of the self-assessment process, a member of one of the research institutes stated that: 'The process grew and died in isolation'. A provincial antenna told us that some people he met and talked with about the APRM during the self-assessment initially thought the mechanism was a political party or even a new religion, which stresses the weak social penetration of the process and the difficulties in explaining to people a rather abstract and completely new initiative.

One of the weaknesses of the communication strategy was that it did not manage to relate the APRM to current national debates and initiatives. Given the very nature of the APRM, this would have to be done with caution, since there could be no meddling with government and party politics. Caution,

68 Here one has to wonder how the Kenyan journalist planned his strategy. He envisaged that the country should spend around US\$ 1 200 000 just on communication, two-thirds of the whole APRM budget in Mozambique (one hopes he was aware of this). Besides having worked on the Kenya process, whose budget was around US\$ 1 000 000, surely he should have known better.

69 Interview with Mr Felicidade Panguene, communications officer, Technical Unit, 6 January 2009.

70 Interview with Graça Samo, executive director, Women's Forum.

71 Comunicação Social, MARP, 'Seminários Provinciais de Divulgação do MARP aos Jornalistas', document obtained at the Technical Unit; 'Sobre o MARP: Jornalistas em Nampula lamentam a fraca divulgação', *Notícias*, 27 December 2007, available at <http://www.jornalnoticias.co.mz/pls/notimz2/getxml/pt/contentx/97788>, accessed 7 January 2009.

however, should not have meant detachment, for detachment from politically-charged issues could mean that the process would be seen as politically irrelevant and engagement would decline. In addition, because of a lack of time and resources, the campaign was conducted mainly in Portuguese, and the message was conveyed in formal, almost academic, language.

If one agrees that 'to involve is to inform', as Marta Cumbi, the FDC's director thinks, the strategy should have found words and images to persuade Mozambicans to join the APRM. There was, however, an over-reliance on descriptive spots on radio, newspaper and TV which sent a rather abstract, impersonal and distant message about the process. People might have heard of the APRM, but very few had any knowledge about its meaning and objectives. Iraê Lundin, an anthropologist that was part of CEEI's research team, stressed that the strategy should have focused on a more personalised means to communicate the APRM message. Lundin gives the example of election campaigns where candidates go to specific areas and speak to people personally. However, a strategy more suitable for national realities would have taken months of staff training and dissemination which could not be done within the set timeframe.

In the face of these difficulties, at the district level, it was up to the district antenna to mobilise and sensitise the population, yet both provincial and district antennae had very limited resources and support to carry out their activities. The district and provincial antennae were paid, respectively, a meagre MT 1 000 (around US\$ 40) and MT 1 500 (around US\$ 60) for all their time and commitment.

In addition to the difficulties in disseminating information about the APRM, the process also faced some problems with regards to transparency and access to information. Civil society organisations took part in several stages of the process, but only had access to the final version of the country self-assessment report because the country review mission insisted that the report be made available to the wider public. Besides, the arrival of the CRM was postponed twice, and, when it finally scheduled its visit to the country in February 2009, the information was only circulated some days prior to the arrival of the mission. Similarly, the CRR and NPoA were ready in 2009 but were only launched in May 2011 (even though an executive summary was circulated in 2009). In the meantime, there was no effort by the national structures to inform the public about the reasons for the delay in the launch.

Financial and logistical problems

One of the lessons learned from pioneer countries is that financial constraints can determine the success or failure

of the process. In comparison with other countries, the Mozambican budget seems fair. It is higher than the budget for the Kenyan and Ghanaian processes, and smaller than the South African APRM. Yet, the peculiar characteristics of Mozambique, from geography to civil society mobilisation, could still have rendered the budget insufficient. Besides, the capacity of the national APRM structures, especially the National Forum and the Technical Unit, to make an efficient and wise use of the resources would be central to guarantee that the resources allocated would suffice to finance the process.

Most people interviewed for this commentary voiced strong criticisms with regards to the lack of resources but also regarding their management. At the provincial and district level, the work of the antennae was totally dependent on disbursements from the Technical Unit, which chose to centralise money allocation and the disbursements were always rather late. Tomás Manhicane, then executive director of *Cruzeiro do Sul* (the Research Institute for Development José Negrão), stated that logistical problems created considerable difficulties in the process, an opinion that was echoed by many others. Lourenço do Rosário mentioned that the Unit even had to negotiate with banks to lend them money earlier than the donors' disbursements were available. Naomi Kitahara, UNDP deputy resident representative, said that the UNDP as funds manager did its best, but the problem was that the money had to come from donors to the UNDP and then to the Technical Unit. In the end, this scheme worked but with problems. The complexity of donor disbursement mechanisms is well-known, and there could have been built-in mechanisms to deal with that. After all, the agreement with the UNDP was signed in November 2006, and the serious spending started almost a year after, allowing plenty of time for financial planning.

Time constraints

Notwithstanding the length of the process in the country, it has been a shared viewpoint amongst our interviewees that time constraints were a huge setback to the implementation of the APRM in Mozambique. The research institutions repeatedly stressed that the lack of time allowed for research activities compromised the quality of the final work and that the negative impact of such constraints in the final product were reported several times to the National Forum.

In fact, the process in Mozambique was marked by long periods of almost no activity that were interrupted by some months of intense action. Research institutes were given only four months to gather and analyse information which was clearly insufficient. This was particularly the case given the challenges noted in this report (infrastructure problems,

dispersed populations and lack of qualified staff) and the importance of a participatory and inclusive process. Furthermore, logistical problems were much more likely to occur at the research stage than at the previous stages, given the complexity of the task. As an added problem, which resulted from previous delays, the research teams had to work during December and January, months in which it is very hard to engage public participation.

From the launch of the National Forum (June 2006) to the beginning of the Technical Unit's activities (July 2007), more than a year went by with little being done, be it in terms of mobilisation or research, by any of the official APRM structures (the FDC's activities took place within this period, from June 2006 to January 2007). Then, within about eight months, from July 2007 to February 2008, the first stage of the process was declared finished successfully and on time. So the core of the process, from civil society mobilisation and research activities to the writing of the self-assessment report and the validation seminars, took just eight months, whereas the setting up of structures and organisational matters took at least (if one discounts the time elapsed from 2003 to mid-2006) a year. Afterwards, the CRM also produced its report within months (between February and June 2009), but the CRR and NPoA were only launched in May 2011.

Conclusions and recommendations

Eight years after its official accession to the APRM, Mozambique finally launched its CRR and NPoA. To every country involved, the APRM has been a *tour-de-force* in terms of management of complex structures, openness to criticism and commitment to the mechanism's principles of broad civil society participation and inclusiveness. No country has gone through the process without problems and setbacks, and Mozambique has had its share of difficulties.

As discussed throughout this report, the implementation of the APRM in Mozambique suffered from problems related to financial and time constraints, a lack of meaningful civil society participation, poor communication, difficulties in understanding the process by stakeholders, a lack of transparency and a lack of commitment from members of the national structures. However, notwithstanding these problems, both the CRR and the NPoA are comprehensive documents that should provide the government with useful information and recommendations to feed its policy-making processes.

The government of Mozambique has been committed to the APRM since the country's accession to the mechanism but, as Mozambique enters the critical stage of implementing the NPoA, political support seems to be dwindling. In fact, the two main development policies of the government for the coming years, the Five-Year Programme (2010–2014) and the Action Plan for the Reduction of Poverty (PARP, Mozambique's third Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper) were approved prior to the launch of the APRM NPoA and, although the government stresses that the NPoA was used in their drafting, it is unclear to people that did not participate in those processes how that exercise was undertaken, since there are several objectives, activities and indicators of the NPoA that have not been included in those policy documents.

At the current stage, the National Forum should ensure that both the CRR and the NPoA are made widely available to all that are interested in monitoring their implementation. It should also ensure that simpler versions of the both documents, preferably in national languages as well as Portuguese, are distributed to the provincial and district antennae, so that they can provide feedback on the process to those who took part in the seminars and also make use of it on their projects. It would be very important for the antennae, both at the provincial and district level, to be involved in the follow-up activities.

Finally, a word of caution is in order. Mozambique faces important challenges to its democratic development and more often than not the government response to these challenges is the drafting of policies and strategies. There is no shortage of unimplemented strategies and policies in the country, and one would hope that not only the government but also civil society organisations acknowledge the criticisms provided by the APRM CRR and take the NPoA as not only another strategy or policy, but a real programme of action to effectively address the problems of the country.

Annex

Members of the National Forum

Former Counsellors of Agenda 2025

- Lourenço do Rosário (President), Vice-Chancellor, University A Politécnica
- Amélia Zambeze (Deputy President), President Rural Women Association, AMRU (Civil Society)
- Cheik Aminudin Muhamad, (Deputy President) Maometana Community
- Máximo Dias, Lawyer, Parliamentarian
- Tomas Muacanhia, Professor, Eduardo Mondlane University
- Julieta Langa, Professor, Eduardo Mondlane University
- Prakash Ratilal, Economist
- Alberto Igreja, Lawyer
- David Aloni (passed away and was not replaced), Philosopher/Sociologist, Former Parliamentarian
- Archbishop Tomé Makhweliha (never showed up), Catholic Church, Nampula
- Eduardo Bahule (never showed up), Statistician
- Eneas Comiche, Former Mayor of Maputo
- Jorge Soeiro, Economist
- Álvaro Vaz, Civil Engineer

Civil society representatives

- Reverend Dinis Matsolo, Christian Council of Mozambique
- Paula Monjane (replaced by Narciso Matos), Community Development Foundation (FDC)
- Abdul Manafi Mutualo, Islamic Council of Mozambique
- Adelino Buque, Deputy – Private Sector Association (CTA)
- Amade Camal, Islamic Council of Mozambique
- Calos Simbine, President – Industrial Association
- Domenico Liuzzi, General Coordinator – KULIMA
- Dulce Mavone, Coordinator – ORAM
- Graça Samo, Executive Director – Fórum Mulher
- João José Uthui, TEIA (ONG Forum)

- Natividade Bule, ECOSIDA/CTA
- Eufrigina dos Reis, Coordinator – Mozambique Debt Group (GMD)
- Alberto Nhampossa, CONSILMO
- Ana Filipe Kinklimuka (HIV/Aids)
- Luís Filipe Pereira, Cruzeiro do Sul
- José Viana Agostinho (Replaced by Abílio Campos), Link – ONGs Forum
- Enrique Del Castillo, CEM/Caritas
- Renaldo Chingore João, President – National Union of Peasant Farmers (UNAC)
- Simeão Nhantumbo (Replaced by Domingos Tembe), Workers Union of Mozambique (OTM – CS)

Presidents of parliamentary committees (8)

- Alexandre Meque Vicente, Social Affairs, Gender and Environment Committee
- Maria Virgínia Videira, Budget and Planning Committee (Parliament)
- Alfredo Gamito Agriculture, Regional Development, Public Administration and Local Government Committee
- Açucena Xavier Duarte, Petitions Committee
- Jerónimo Nalia, Public Order and Defence Committee
- Leopoldo Ernesto, International Relations Committee
- Lutero Simango, Economic Activities Committee
- Ossumane Aly Dauto, Legal Issues, Human Rights and Legality Committee

Vice-Chancellors of public and private universities

- Brazão Mazula (replaced by Filipe Couto), Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM)
- Jamiisse Taimo (replaced by Patrício José), Higher Institute of International Relations (ISRI)
- Carlos Machilli (replaced by Rogério Utui), Pedagogic University (UP)

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- Alberto Ferreira (never showed up), Catholic University of Mozambique
- João Leopoldo da Costa, Higher Institute for Science and Technology (ISCTEM)

Other personalities

- Albano Naroromele (replaced by Leonel Matias), Higher Council of Media
- Artemisa Franco, Centre for Human Rights Research
- Carlos Coelho (replaced by Jaime Alfredo Cuambe), Higher Council of Media
- Eduardo Munhequete (replaced by Osvaldo Pitersburgo), Youth National Council
- Ernesto Gove, Governor – Bank of Mozambique
- João Loureiro, President – National Institute of Statistics (INE)
- Lázaro Mathe (replaced by Eliseu Machava), Provincial Governor – Cabo Delgado Province
- Manuel Lázaro, President – FAMOD (Forum of Associations of People with Disabilities)
- Paulina Mateus N’Kunda, General-Secretary – Mozambican Women’s Organisation (OMM)
- Raimundo Diomba (replaced by Maurício Jacob), Governor – Manica Province
- Telmina Pereira, Governor – Maputo Province

Members of the National Forum – Restructured (August 2010)

Former counsellors of Agenda 2025

- Lourenço do Rosário (President), Vice-Chancellor, University A Politécnica
- Amélia Zambeze (Deputy President), President Rural Women’s Association, AMRU (Civil Society)
- Cheik Aminudin Muhamad (Deputy President), Maometana Community
- Máximo Dias, Lawyer, Parliamentarian
- Tomas Muacanhia, Professor, Eduardo Mondlane University
- Julieta Langa, Professor, Eduardo Mondlane University
- Prakash Ratilal, Economist

Civil society representatives

- Reverend Dinis Matsolo, Christian Council of Mozambique
- Narciso Matos, Community Development Foundation (FDC)
- Abdul Manafi Mutualo, Islamic Council of Mozambique
- Adelino Buque, Deputy – Private Sector Association (CTA)
- Amade Camal, Islamic Council of Mozambique (Civil Society)
- Calos Simbine, President – Industrial Association
- Domenico Liuzzi, General Coordinator – KULIMA

- Dulce Mavone, Coordinator – ORAM
- Graça Samo, Executive Director – Fórum Mulher
- João José Uthui, TEIA (ONGs Forum)
- Natividade Bule, ECOSIDA/CTA
- Eufregina dos Reis, Coordinator – Mozambique Debt Group (GMD)
- Alberto Nhampossa, CONSILMO
- Ana Filipe, Kinklimuka (HIV/Aids)
- Osvaldo Pitersburgo

Presidents of parliamentary committees

- Telmina Pereira, Social Affairs, Gender and Environment Committee
- Eneas Comiche, Budget and Planning Committee (Parliament)
- Alfredo Gamito, Public Administration, Local Government and Media Committee
- Francisco Mucanhaia, Agriculture, Economic Activities and Services Committee
- Teodoro Waty, Constitutional Issues, Human Rights and Legality Committee
- Maria Martins, International Relations Committee

Other personalities

- João Leopoldo da Costa, Higher Institute for Science and Technology (ISCTEM)
- Eliseu Machava, Provincial Governor – Cabo Delgado Province
- Ernesto Gove, Governor – Bank of Mozambique
- João Loureiro, President of National Institute of Statistics (INE)
- Ana Comoana, Provincial Governor – Manica Province
- Maria Elias Jonas, Provincial Governor – Maputo Province
- Felipe Couto, President – Council of Public and Private Universities
- Virginia Videira

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B. Interviews

National Forum

- Adelino Buque, Maputo Commercial Association
- David Aloni,⁷² Sociologist, Parliamentarian, RENAMO.
- Domenico Liuzi, Kulima Director
- Eufrigina Manoela, Mozambican Debt Group Coordinator
- Graça Samo, Executive Director, Women's Forum (Fórum Mulher)
- Lourenço do Rosário, Chairperson of the National Forum
- Luís Pereira, Economist
- Máximo Dias, Lawyer, Parliamentarian, RENAMO-UE

APRM Technical Unit/Secretariat

- Marechal Nhavoto, Assistant Coordinator (thematic areas – Corporate Governance, Governance and Economic Management)
- Adelaide Liquidão, Civil Society Officer
- Teresa Elvira, Communications Officer
- Arlete Patel, Technical Unit Director
- Felicidade Panguene, Assistant Coordinator (thematic areas – Democracy and Political Governance, Socioeconomic development)

Technical research institutes

- Iraê Baptista Lundin, Anthropologist, Researcher, Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CEEI-ISRI)
- Miguel Castanha, Economist, Researcher, Austral-COWI, Lda.
- Dipac Jaiantal, Economist, Researcher, Cruzeiro do Sul
- Tomas Manhicane Jr, Economist, Executive Director, Cruzeiro do Sul
- Carlos Lauchande, Statistician, Cruzeiro do Sul.

Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Comunidade (FDC)

- Marta Cumbi, Executive Director, FDC.
- Albino Franciso, former researcher, FDC APRM Unit
- Sergio Muchanga, former director, FDC APRM Unit

APRM National Focal Point

- Lourenço Sambo, Economist, Ministry of Planning and Development

Development partners

- Naomi Kitahara, UNDP Deputy Resident Representative
- Teresa Mendes, Senior Programme Officer, DfID Mozambique

Provincial and district antennae (focal points)

- Mohamad Yassine, CERPRE, Maputo
- António Jorge Zacarias, G-20, Inhambane
- Anastácio Matavel, Fonga, Gaza (telephone interview)
- Eugénio Fernandes, G-20, Sofala (telephone interview)
- Gervásio Fabião Chinsipo, G-20, Tete (telephone interview)
- Benvinda Gilberto, Homoine, Inhambane.

Others

- Paulo Cuinica, Executive Secretary, G-20.
- Diamantino Nhampossa, Executive Director, UNAC (National Union of Peasant Farmers)

⁷² Mr Aloni passed away on 30 August 2008 when we were still preparing this report.