

Evaluation of the Danish engagement in Mozambique 1992-2016: Results and partnership building a stable and inclusive society

Management response and follow up note

This note summarises the main findings, conclusions and recommendations from the evaluation report and includes comments from Evaluation Department (EVAL) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The evaluation was commissioned and managed by EVAL and conducted by an independent evaluation team of international consultants from TANA Copenhagen Aps (DK).

1. Background

Denmark has a long history of development cooperation with Mozambique, and has been a long-standing donor to the Mozambican development process since the country gained independence in 1975. The cooperation between Mozambique and its development partners has been premised on the twin goals of assisting the country to transition from conflict to peace and supporting the development of Mozambique into a stable and democratic society with improvements in living conditions for its people. Denmark has actively contributed to this agenda through its portfolio of support.

Over the last 40 years, Denmark has provided around 8 billion DKK in development assistance to Mozambique. Humanitarian assistance dominated the aid envelope during the initial period post-independence, reflecting the context of war and resulting acute humanitarian needs. Following the end of the civil war in the early 1990ies, Denmark provided support to a large range of sectors, including agriculture, education, health, environment, energy, and infrastructure as well as strengthening democratic governance through support to civil society, decentralisation, justice sector reform and public financial management. Moreover, Denmark has supported green growth and employment programmes and general and sector budget support.

From the early 2000s, Denmark was an active supporter of the implementation of the Paris principles and was engaged in joint programming and budget support. Denmark was an active partner in the establishment of a joint framework for development cooperation, political dialogue and negotiation of performance targets and monitoring of results between the Mozambican government and donors.

With the decision to focus Danish development assistance and reduce the official ODA to 0.7% of GDP, Denmark decided in 2015 to phase out its development cooperation with Mozambique by 2019, ending over 40 years of development cooperation with Mozambique.

In order to document results of the Danish engagement EVAL commissioned in 2016 an independent evaluation of the Danish support provided to Mozambique.

The three overall objectives of the evaluation were defined as follows:

- To document the changes and results achieved through Danish-Mozambican cooperation from 1992-2016, with a specific focus on the period 2006-2016 (1992-2006 covered in a previous evaluation).
- To assess the specific value added of the Danish approach to partnership, including the choice of modalities, engagements and the ability of Denmark as a donor to adapt to changing contexts ranging from post-conflict to a more stable situation in Mozambique.
- To provide potential lessons learned on support to transition from fragility to development based on the Mozambican experiences.

2. Executive Summary (by consultant)

As part of its refocusing of Danish official development aid (ODA) in 2015, the Danish Government decided to phase out a number of country programmes, among them Mozambique, which had been a recipient of Danish aid for four decades. As part of this process, the Evaluation Department (EVAL) of the Danish Ministry for Foreign Affairs (MFA) commissioned an independent evaluation of the main achievements and lessons learned during the period 1992-2016. The evaluation is intended to inform the Danish and Mozambican people of the Danish contribution to the development of Mozambique, and highlight Denmark's approaches and strategic choices during the last 24 years of this long-term cooperation.

The evaluation is generally very positive in its findings. It concludes that Denmark as a development partner during the last 24 years has made relevant choices in its support to the Government of Mozambique (GOM) in its fight against poverty. Given the extreme development challenges the country faced both after the independence in 1975, and after the peace agreement in 1992 after 16 years of civil war, the country has made remarkable progress. Denmark, as a middle-sized donor, has played a part in this development and has provided a predictable and persistent partnership that included important strategic support to key development processes - as explained below.

Scope of the evaluation

The evaluation report assesses the relevance, effectiveness and sustainability of the achieved results and the contribution to sector and overall development, and extracts lessons learned from Danish cooperation with Mozambique during the period 1992-2016, with emphasis on the last decade. The findings of the period 1992-2006 are primarily based on the *Evaluation of Development Cooperation between Mozambique and Denmark, 1992–2006*, published in 2008 by the MFA. Focus is on the added value of the Danish partnership with Mozambique and the report provides an

account of the overall approach and strategic choices made by Denmark, with examples of sector interventions and key processes of change during the period 2006-2016.

The evaluation process spanned approximately six months and consisted of an *Inception phase*,¹ *Data collection* in Maputo, Nampula and Tete provinces, and in Copenhagen, and *Analysis and Reporting*. The evaluation was guided by eight evaluation questions and a set of assumptions on Denmark's role and performance as a development partner related to predictability, persistency, flexibility and focus on state-building. The Danish contribution has been assessed against the different phases of Mozambique's social, economic and political development, from the transition period after the peace agreement in 1992, towards relatively stability and democratic development. The evaluation phases were carried out through a close dialogue between the evaluators and EVAL, MFA and Royal Danish Embassy (RDE) in Maputo.

Background

The Danish partnership with Mozambique dates to Frelimo's² 10-year independence struggle from the Portuguese colonization and has since then accompanied the development of the country. In 1975, the newly independent republic was one of the poorest countries in the world, ranked as 172 out of 177 countries in the Human Development Index (HDI).³ A particularly violent resistance from the colonial power had left the country in a terrible state and daunting development challenges. The illiteracy rate was more than 95% and the country practically lacked public health care. In the years immediately following independence, Mozambique managed to extend health care coverage and education to a wider part of the population. However, the civil war that followed between 1976 and 1992 destroyed these social and economic gains and the country had to rebuild most of them following the General Peace Agreement, signed in 1992. Since then, most of the social indicators have improved; the illiteracy rate dropped from 93% in 1975 to 48.9 in 2012, enrolment in public primary education increased from 692 000 to 1.37 million students from 1975 to 1990, and from 1.5 to 5.5 million in the 1995-2014 period. Public secondary education almost quintupled, from 6 000 to 28 000 students in the 1975-1990 period, and increased more than seventeen-fold, from 38 400 to 651 000 students, between 1995 and 2014. According to the National Household Survey in 1996/1997, the poverty headcount index was 69.4% and, in the 2014/15 survey, it had fallen to 49.2%. Between 1990 and 2015 the HDI, doubled, from 0.219 to 0.418.⁴ It is against this background that the Danish partnership with the Government of Mozambique (GOM) is assessed.

¹ Including a desk review, a portfolio overview and analysis, and an inception mission to Mozambique.

² Mozambique Liberation Front.

³ <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:http://www.frigoletto.com.br/GeoEcon/evolucaoidh2000.htm>, accessed on 18 May 2017.

⁴ Instituto Nacional de Estatística (2015a). *Quarenta Anos de Independência: um retrato estatístico*. Maputo, Instituto Nacional de Estatística; UNDP (2016). *Human Development for Everyone: Briefing note for countries on the 2016 Human Development Report (Mozambique)*; República de Moçambique (2001). *Plano de Acção para a Redução da Pobreza Absoluta, 2001-2005 (PARPA)*. Versão final aprovada pelo Conselho de Ministros; República de Moçambique (2009). *Relatório de Avaliação do Impacto do PARPA II, 2006-2009*. Maputo, 23 de Novembro de 2009; Instituto Nacional de Estatística (2015b). *Relatório Final do Inquérito ao Orçamento Familiar – IOF – 2014/15*. Maputo, Instituto Nacional de Estatística; World Bank. *Poverty and Shared Prosperity 2016: taking on inequality*. Washington, The World Bank.

Major results

Successive Danish country programmes have consisted of support to different sectors, special initiatives, minor grants, and general budget support (GBS). The evaluation finds that sector programme support (SPS) during the evaluated period contributed, among other things, to increased electrification, access to education and to health services, an improved network of rural roads as well as improved capacities in planning and strategizing in many of the governmental institutions that Denmark partnered with. One of the main contributions, and maybe the most strategic choice of Danish cooperation, is related to efforts to support state-building processes through support to the consolidation of the Public Financial Management

(PFM) system. This support spans the last twenty years. As many of the consulted stakeholders confirmed, PFM reforms improved the capacity of the state at local level to deliver services and is likely to have been a factor in reducing poverty from 51.8% to 46.1% between 2009 to 2014. The fact that Danish support was aligned with government priorities and focused on key sectors for poverty reduction that provide basic services to the population is undisputable and the evaluation finds that Denmark has, as a middle-size donor, contributed to these positive development results.

Sector	Project support	Sector Programme Support
Agriculture	1992-1998	1999-2010
Education	1992-2001	2002-2011
Energy	1992-2001	2002-2006
Environment	1992-2005	2006.2015/16
Health	-	1992.2016
Justice	1992-2001, 2014-2016	2002.2013
Private Sector	1992.1999	2000-2016
	Joint macro-finance programme	MoU with GOM
GBS	2000-2003	2004-2014

Relevance

The evaluation finds that at an overall level the focus of Denmark's country programme over the period evaluated has been relevant and that the choice to focus on a more comprehensive and multi-sector support to one particular province, the Tete province, allowed Denmark to provide more holistic support that led to important outcomes in terms of the development of the province and improved service delivery, particularly in the health sector, as well as strengthening the development of the education sector, including the quality of teacher education. The willingness to test new approaches and to focus on areas where few other donors were prepared to take a risk in investing funds, such as the development of the State Financial Management System, SISTAFE, the training of judges and prosecutors through the long-term support to the Centre for Legal and Judicial Training (CFJJ) and the more recent core support to the Technical Secretariat of Food Security and Nutrition and its work on food security and fight against malnutrition, proved to be very relevant choices. The consultations clarified that at an initial stage these choices were often driven by personal commitment by senior Danish Embassy staff and their convictions of the value to support these initiatives. However, they were soon institutionalised and integrated into the strategies of the country programme.

The evaluation finds that the support to decentralisation was another important strategic choice for Danish assistance. The Environment SPS (2006-2015/2016) included funding for different municipal programmes with focus on capacity development in environmental issues, administration, PFM and overall development management at municipal level and hereby contributed to the decentralization process. Parallel efforts to decentralise political decision-

making to provincial and district levels were also funded by Denmark. The municipalities are one of the few arenas for power sharing in the country, given the structure of the state as provincial administrations are governed by presidentially appointed governors and municipalities by local elected governments. The findings from the desk review and the stakeholder consultations concurred that the Danish support to municipalities in the central and northern regions contributed to power-sharing through providing support regardless of whether the municipality was led by the opposition or not. To some extent it also contributed to ease political tensions by increasing the efficiency of these municipalities and the abilities of the municipalities to manage alternation in political power. The municipal programmes also contributed to introducing an environment and climate change approach to challenges affecting poor populations in the targeted municipalities. Consulted stakeholders stressed that most of the technical knowledge in the municipal administrations on environmental, climate change and waste management issues stemmed from the technical assistance and knowledge brought by Danish aid.

Effectiveness and impact

The evaluation did not include an in-depth assessment of the effectiveness or impact of the full range of SPS. However, based on earlier reviews and the stakeholder consultations, the evaluation finds that all programmes demonstrated important results, either at programme level, or for specific programme components. The 2006-2016 period has been characterised by less focus on project support and special programme grants and an increased focus on a sector wide approach (SWA), donor coordination, joint funding mechanisms, and general budget support. It is therefore in general difficult to assess specific Danish attributions, although as a mid-sized donor Denmark has contributed to the positive progress in the regions and the sectors that were the focus of Danish support.

The evaluation highlights that Denmark played a key role in the progress of the Justice sector and legal reform, and particularly the professionalization and the national outreach of justice institutions. The evaluation concludes that Danish support has been so significant that the increased access to justice and improved Rule of Law during the last 15-20 years,⁵⁵ can be partly attributed to the Danish partnership with the institutions and actors within the sector. It also concludes that the mainstreaming of an environment perspective, resulting in increased awareness and attention to environmental aspects and sustainable development across a broad range of sectors, stands out as one of Denmark's strongest and most strategic contributions: The roll-out of e-SISTAFE, the first full implementation of the Multi-sectoral Initiative on Chronic Malnutrition (PARMDC) in Tete province and the progress of health indicators and the institutional development of the Health sector in Tete, as well as the development of environment and climate change and HIV/AIDS strategies, are other examples of relevant areas where Denmark has contributed to important developments. On the other hand, however, Denmark shares responsibility with the GOM and other involved donors for the slow or lack of progress in the support to some sectors (e.g. the agriculture programme - ProAgri).

⁵⁵ However, from this general improvement, the situation of the Rule of Law has had a negative development the last five years.

Efficiency

In regard to efficiency, Danish contributions have made use of governmental systems and increasingly channelled development aid through the Treasury Single Account, CUT, promoting the use of the e-SISTAFE, harmonizing the funding with existing systems and procedures which has meant less of an administrative burden both for the partnering ministries and the Danish Embassy. The evaluation finds strong evidence that Denmark has been an active donor and coordinated most of its support, particularly during the last decade of the period evaluated with other donors, through SWA, joint donor funds and mechanisms, delegated partnerships (being both the lead donor in some programmes, e.g. in the municipality development programme PRODEM, and a more silent donor in others, e.g. the civil society and social accountability programme - AGIR.

Sustainability

The evaluation presents a broad overview of 24 years of cooperation. The discussion of the effectiveness, impact and sustainability of the different types of support during this period has been assessed based on earlier reviews and evaluations. The country portfolio, demonstrates several cases where new Danish sector programmes or new programmes were developed based on earlier Danish support, strengthening the sustainability of some of the achieved results and the promotion of best practices. The evaluation finds that although political priorities of the Danish development cooperation have shifted over the period evaluated, the partnership with Mozambique has been characterised by continuity and respect for the development priorities of the GOM. The general long-term and persistent support from Denmark has also allowed for processes of change to develop over time and through this to allow institutions to mature and to progressively take responsibility of the development of plans and strategies. However, the dependency on external expertise has been extremely high in the case of Mozambique, due to the low rate of national staff with higher education. Denmark has responded to this situation during the period evaluated by providing a high number of technical advisors and other forms of technical assistance, which has been a relevant and necessary strategy to enhance the professionalization and the know-how of partner institutions, as many of the stakeholders stressed. It has been in this context been difficult to build in a sustainable approach given the extensive needs of capacity development at central, provincial and district levels. This dependency on external support was an issue, which several of the consulted stakeholders raised as a concern for the sustainability of new systems and approaches after the phasing out of the country programme. In this regard, key respondents in the health and environment sectors were concerned about how they best can maintain achieved results, particularly in relation to institutional development of the supported governmental institutions, and how lessons learned from pilots and strategic supports can be integrated into new programme phases or initiatives in other provinces and regions.

Added value of the Danish support

Denmark has been an engaged, predictable and persistent partner. Denmark's long-term partnership with Mozambique has had poverty reduction and support to a democratic development as the points of departure from which Denmark has focused its key activities in dialogue with the Mozambique Government. The partnership has been characterized by a willingness to provide support to many of the priorities of the Government, including a readiness

to test new modalities and fund key institutions for public sector reform. This strategic choice has been one of the added value of the Danish aid.

Several of the SPS have benefitted from a long-term partnership that has included both financial and technical assistance, combined with the promotion and the development of the governmental systems for strategic planning and PFM. The different partnering sectors could count on highly qualified technical support and engaged dialogue with the Embassy on how to develop the sector programmes. Denmark belonged to the group of donors that at an early stage advocated for General Budget Support and maintained this position throughout the period evaluated. The findings confirm that Denmark has responded to the needs and the most pressing priorities of the country during the different phases of the period evaluated.

Denmark has contributed to state building. In line with the overall strategic choices Danish cooperation has had a strong emphasis on supporting the development and consolidation of governmental systems, particularly during the last decade, focusing on planning processes, strategy development and financial management. This approach has included support to the formulation of sector strategies and new systems, as well as cross-cutting strategies for the sectors receiving Danish support.

Denmark took a specific stance and some risk in supporting sectors with less visibility, such as PFM and environment, or challenging sectors where few donors were ready to commit themselves, as in the case of the Justice sector. The success of the PFM reform provided the cornerstone for more alignment of development aid, when the country was more stable, and helped it to move from an emergency state to pursuit of development goals. It also played a significant role in decentralising the control of planning and implementing sector interventions from central to local levels. Here Danish support to environmental and health SPS showed interesting progress in rolling out the electronic application of the State Financial Management System (SISTAFE) to district levels.

The bilateral cooperation between Denmark and Mozambique had a focus on strengthening state-institutions. The country programme had less focus on the role of non-state actors in the building of the state, though more attention was paid to these actors in the later stage of the period evaluated with the purpose to strengthen the demand side and not only the supply side of state-building. Throughout the period evaluated, civil society initiatives were supported directly by the Danish MFA – in addition to the country programme - through framework agreements with Danish civil society organisations (CSO).

Denmark was a strong advocate for and committed to donor coordination and alignment with government programmes and national systems. Alignment has been very important in increasing ownership and addressing national needs as they arose. In this sense, the coherent implementation in Mozambique of the Aid Effectiveness agenda played its intended role. Denmark was effective in contributing to the use of governmental systems and increasingly channelled its support through the Treasury Single Account (CUT) using a general and sector budget support modality. Denmark also stood up to the test at critical moments, when it abandoned General Budget Support or reacted strongly to the debt crisis, by continuing to

advocate for the use of national systems. This is an example of the contribution to the state building and of being a persistent partner.

The principle of alignment with governmental systems and greater coordination between donors was also successfully put into practice by Denmark. The focus on alignment and bilateral support to the GOM has however also meant that Denmark as a donor has been less visible in terms of support to the demand side of building an accountable and transparent state. In other words, greater attention to the checks and balances between state and non-state actors in development and reform processes could possibly have made Danish assistance more relevant and effective.

Lessons learned

Important to continue to discuss how to strike the right balance between alignment to government plans to support state-building and implementing a human right based approach to development in a challenging context such as Mozambique.

The context in which the Danish development cooperation with Mozambique has taken place has been extremely challenging. At the time of its independence in 1975, Mozambique was in a terrible state, not only because of independence struggle per se but also due to the destruction of key infrastructure that representatives from the former colonial power Portugal actively were engaged in before leaving the country. The colonial legacy left extremely weak institutions, almost inexistence of basic services and underdeveloped human capital, resulting in Mozambique being one of the least developed countries in the world. Only one year after independence, a bloody civil war lasting 16 years started that would further pose enormous challenges to the development efforts of the country.

The last decade has also been affected by the low intensive military conflict between the GOM and RENAMO. The democratic development and the donor support to state-building has taken place in a context where the same party, Frelimo, has won all national elections since independence. The development of the civil society has been slow and it is only during the last decade of the period evaluated that civil society organisations in a more assertive manner have taken up a role of monitoring the performance and claim accountability of duty-bearers. The more than 40 years of Danish cooperation with Mozambique provides an example of a persistent focus on state-building, including the rehabilitation of key functions and institutions.

Denmark has been one of the development partners in Mozambique that has been most aligned with GOM plans. The evaluation raises a discussion of a more principled nature concerning the application of the Aid Effectiveness Agenda, and especially of aligning to government plans where such plans may not always have been sufficiently consulted with e.g. civil society and the private sector not necessarily out of unwillingness from the GOM but also because civil society and private sector have been weak.

The evaluation finds that alignment has been important in increasing ownership by government of programmes and addressing national needs as they arose. In this sense, the coherent implementation in Mozambique of the Aid Effectiveness agenda played its intended role.

Denmark contributed to state-building and effectively aligned its modalities of support accordingly. Harmonisation with governmental systems and greater coordination between donors was also successfully put into practice by Denmark.

However, alignment to government plans as part of state-building pose challenges. The discussion of ownership of plans should be systematically confronted with high demands on development strategies and governmental policies should include participatory and inclusive processes that include in-depth discussions both on the supply and demand side of state-building and democratic development. This has been a challenge not only in Mozambique but for the Aid Effectiveness agenda in general. Restoring state functions in a post-conflict country like Mozambique has been a matter of undeniable importance, but as these functions were restored, more attention could have been devoted to the checks and balances within the state and to non-state actors and processes. As several donor stakeholders stressed in interviews, this lesson is not for Denmark alone, but for other donors as well.

The Aid Effectiveness agenda is currently contested by many of the development actors that until recently were its strongest advocates. Some donors have opted, just like Denmark, to increase their support to non-state actors, to counterbalance the strong governmental support. However, the increased focus on civil society takes place in a global context with an increasingly shrinking space for civil society and citizens' liberties and security, with more restrictive NGO-legislation and restriction in freedoms of speech and assembly in many countries, including Mozambique. This shrinking space is also manifested in an increased number of threats and attacks against journalists and human rights defenders (particularly in relation to extractive industry issues and the defence of natural resources).⁶

Establishing the right balance between the principles of the Aid Effectiveness Agenda and the Human Rights Based Approach to development is an important and ongoing discussion, to which the lessons from its implementation in Mozambique may provide important inputs. The experience of how and why the support to the accountability work of civil society increased during the last years is relevant both for other donors and the Danish Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Explaining the decision to exit has been challenging

Denmark has invested 40 years of development cooperation in Mozambique and contributed to state-building in an initially fragile country to a country about to unleash its development potential, with the discovery of natural resources. There are still governance and capacity challenges to ensure that natural resources can boost development. There are also opportunities for another phase of cooperation with a country poised to transition from a low-income country to a mid-income country, which now may be lost due to the withdrawal of a permanent presence in the country. The decision to exit Mozambique seems to be detached from national dynamics and a prospective view of cooperation. The exit process has been well communicated and planned. However, it has been difficult to explain the rationale behind the decision to down-size

⁶ See for example Human Rights Defenders under threat – A shrinking space for civil society, Amnesty International, 2017, and Civic space under threat in extractive industries transparency initiative countries, Civicus August 2017.

the Danish development cooperation and why Mozambique was one of the selected countries to be phased-out and this fuels speculation about the reasons, as well as expectations that this decision might be reverted.

The changing political priorities of the Danish government has been well managed

Another area that the evaluation highlights is how to manage the relation between a decentralised mandate to the embassies and their dialogue with the partnering governments, and the policy priorities for the overall Danish development cooperation that are defined by the MFA in Copenhagen. There are important lessons to be learned how the Danish Embassy in Maputo developed the country programme in close dialogue with the GOM at the same time the embassy considered the instructions from Copenhagen such as to limit the number of SPS and to introduce new priority areas.

Build in evaluative processes in country programmes from start

Finally, this evaluation provides an overall assessment of the last 24 years of cooperation. There are many more lessons to be learned from the different sector programmes and key processes supported. The evaluators found a gap in the extent to which support to different sectors has been evaluated. In-depth analysis on the effects and lessons learned from Danish support to the different sector programmes is insufficiently documented. A more articulated evaluative and learning approach to Denmark's role and added value as a partner would benefit current and future development cooperation.

This evaluation is one of several evaluations of country programmes that are currently being phased-out, the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs could use this opportunity to discuss how final evaluations could be better built into support to new programmes.

3. EVALs comments to the evaluation (MFA)

This evaluation was conducted during a period where the Embassy in Maputo was downsizing and preparing for the phase-out of an extensive country programme with many engagements and partnerships. This has affected the evaluation process and limited the availability and participation of both embassy staff and partners in the evaluation process.

However, despite challenges and constraints, the evaluation team has consulted a substantial amount of documentation and conducted interviews with over 150 stakeholders during the process. The preliminary findings have been discussed with relevant stakeholders in the MFA in Copenhagen and with the embassy in Maputo. Moreover, EVAL hosted a validation workshop with participation of external stakeholders in May 2017 with the participation of over 25 experts, NGO representatives, researchers, consultants and others with knowledge and a history with Danish development cooperation in Mozambique. During the workshop, the preliminary findings of the evaluation was discussed and validated.

Thus, EVAL finds that the evaluation report is founded in solid and triangulated evidence of results of the Danish engagement.

The evaluation raises some general issues pertaining to the provision of development assistance in a post-conflict and poverty-ridden context. Specifically, four issues are worth noting:

1. Long-term engagement and willingness to take risks place Denmark as a trusted and predictable partner to the Mozambican partners

The evaluation finds that Denmark has supported a range of sectors and initiatives that were not high-profile, some relatively high-risk, but nevertheless paved the way for significant public sector reform, as for example the support to the public financial management system, SISTAFE, which has led to significant improvements in accountability in PFM. Support to the justice sector as well as the comprehensive support to the health sector are also mentioned in the report as significant examples of long-term engagements that have yielded positive results.

The willingness of Denmark to take risk and support pilots, and the low profile of Denmark as a donor meant that Denmark was assessed by partners to provide high-quality support.

2. Aligning with government priorities and adhering to the aid effectiveness principles has been a strong tenet of Danish aid. This is viewed as a strong advantage, but has also posed challenges to democratic governance

Denmark was a strong proponent of the aid effectiveness agenda and has since early 2000s supported harmonisation and alignment. According to the evaluation, Denmark was among the donors considered to show strongest commitment to alignment to government systems, which produced significant results in terms of state-building. However, the evaluation also finds that the adherence to the aid effectiveness agenda to some extent contributed to consolidate the centralist nature of the Mozambican state, and that Denmark could have been more active in counter-balancing this development by being a more vocal partner in supporting civil society.

3. A changing political context in Denmark has challenged persistence and predictability and prompts discussions on how to balance the decentralised mandate of the embassies

With the decentralised mandate of the Mozambique country programme introduced in 2003, the embassy was given a significant room for manoeuvre in terms of decision-making and management. This enabled a strong alignment to GoM priorities and contributed to the predictability and flexibility noted above. Central policies for Danish development cooperation were implemented with attention to the Mozambican context, and the evaluation notes that, although challenging and with risks of reverting development gains, the decision to phase out of sectors and introduce new priorities in the bilateral cooperation was managed effectively.

This prompts a discussion about how embassies balances overall priorities for development cooperation emanating from Copenhagen with partner country priorities, and at the same time ensuring quality in the support provided.

4. Mixed record of implementation of cross-cutting issues

The evaluation notes that with regards to cross-cutting issues (HIV/AIDS, gender, environment and climate change and human rights), Denmark has a mixed record in implementation. The evaluation finds that especially concerning gender equality, the focus has been on mainstreaming

in strategies and documents, but the evaluation did not find evidence of actions that would significantly address the slow progress in gender equality in Mozambique.

In general, the evaluation notes that summative analyses, evaluations and monitoring evidence focusing on the Danish contribution have been limited, and the evaluation concludes that evaluative evidence at outcome level in general has been lacking.

As Denmark moves towards other types of engagements and partnerships, it is worth taking note of these experiences and lessons learned.