



Evaluation of Norwegian Development Support to Zambia (1991 - 2005)

Evaluation Report 4/2007



Norad

Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation

P.O. Box 8034 Dep, NO-0030 Oslo

Ruseløkkveien 26, Oslo, Norway

Phone: +47 22 24 20 30 Fax: +47 22 24 20 31

Layout and print: Lobo Media AS

ISBN: 978-82-7548-273-8

Evaluation of Norwegian Development Support to Zambia (1991 - 2005)

Oxford Policy Management

February 2008

Preface

Zambia was chosen for the first country evaluation in years of Norwegian development cooperation. It is a country that has been a recipient of Norwegian development aid since the seventies. When the Norwegian embassy in Lusaka was approached about the study, the bold question from the embassy was: How could it be explained, that after 40 years of development assistance, the ordinary Zambian was as poor as he or she had been at the time of independence? Thus the very *raison d'être* of development aid was being questioned.

Our response was to use power analysis as a basis for explaining progress or lack of it in Zambia. The main question the consultants were faced with was: *How do power relations within Zambia and amongst the donor community affect the scope for achieving pro-poor outcomes through development cooperation?*

We believe that Oxford Policy Management has produced a consistent, lucid and well-written report, which goes a long way in responding to the main issues raised in the terms of reference. The report makes sobering reading. The neopatrimonial nature of the Zambian state has limited the attention paid to the poor by government and donors. The harmonisation of donors may have reinforced this lack of focus on the poor by concentrating too much on the government parties at the national level.

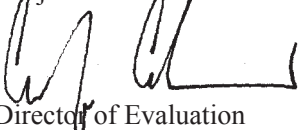
Donors, including Norway, have been too much preoccupied with technical issues in their dialogue with Zambia. In the nineties, the actual content of the economic policies were often considered to be beyond argument. This added to the depolitisation of the cooperation.

On the results of Norwegian development cooperation the picture is not unambiguous. Norway is seen as a flexible and generous donor, but not too rigorous concerning results. Norway scores well on relevance; our support is in line with Zambia's own development goals and plans. On effectiveness it is more mixed. In some respects, Norwegian aid has performed well. That relates in particular to institution and capacity building. But that has come in some cases at the cost of impact on poverty and sustainability.

The analytical tool used in the report – the neopatrimonial model – is not uncontroversial, although widely used by political scientists in analysing African affairs. The evaluation team concludes that the model is appropriate for Zambia, but that it has to be applied within a dynamic context. Positive signs in the Zambian society are part of this dynamic context. The report finds clear indications of change, and states that democratic consolidation is underway, although the process is still fragile. Maybe the donors' efforts to help rectify the economy in the nineties and the dialogue on political issues later have started to bear fruit in recent years.

The Evaluation Department believes that this report will be a valuable contribution to the debate about future development cooperation with African countries. There is no reason to believe that the general findings are unique to Zambia.

Asbjørn Eidhammer



Director of Evaluation

Acknowledgements

This evaluation was carried out for the Evaluation Department of Norad, and under the guidance of an Evaluation Reference Group. The evaluation team would like to thank both for the support received and the timely comments on interim and draft reports. The Royal Norwegian Embassy gave assistance in identifying and copying documents, particularly for the case studies and the project analysis, for which the team is grateful. Much of this work had to be carried out over the summer period, and staff sometimes had to stand in for their colleagues on leave. We appreciate the extra effort that has been taken.

We interviewed stakeholders in Norway and Zambia, in Lusaka and in the provinces. We would like to thank the people who were generous with their time, who helped us in the field, and who organised focus group discussions for us. In particular we appreciate the time rural people spent with us answering our questions. Thanks to you all.

Contents

Acknowledgements	7
Abbreviations	10
Executive Summary	13
1 Introduction	18
1.1 Background	18
2 Analytical Framework	20
2.1 The DAC Evaluation Criteria	20
2.2 Political Economy Analysis	21
2.3 Methodology	22
3 Power Structures	26
3.1 Characteristics of a Neopatrimonial State	26
3.2 Decentralisation in Zambia	27
3.3 Decision-making, Appointments and Accountability	32
3.4 State and Society	33
3.5 Conclusion	36
4 International Donor Assistance	37
4.1 Trends in ODA to Zambia	37
4.2 Donor - Zambia Policy Dialogue	39
4.3 Donor Engagement with Power Structures	41
4.4 Assessments of the Impact of ODA in Zambia	42
4.5 Conclusions	43
5 Norwegian Development Cooperation with Zambia	44
5.1 Trends in Norwegian Development Cooperation over the Period	44
5.2 The Domestic Context	47
5.3 Norwegian Engagement with the Zambian Government	49
5.4 Norwegian Approaches to Economic and Political Reform in Zambia in the 1990s	50
5.5 Modalities of Assistance	54
5.6 Conclusions	56
6 Development Assistance, Power Structures and Poverty Reduction	57
6.1 Poverty in Zambia	57
6.2 Power Relations and Poverty	57
6.3 Civil Society, Poverty Reduction and the Discursive Construction of a 'Depoliticised' Economic Sphere	58
6.3.1 Privatization in the Copperbelt	60
6.3.2 Depoliticising Poverty Reduction	61
6.4 Contribution of Projects to Poverty Reduction	62
6.5 Conclusions	63
7 Assessment of Norwegian Assistance	64
7.1 How Norway is Perceived as a Donor	64
7.2 Relevance of Norwegian Support	65
7.3 Effectiveness of Norwegian Support	65
7.4 Impact and Sustainability of Norwegian Support	66
7.5 Conclusion	66
8 Conclusions and Future Directions	68
8.1 Conclusions	68
8.2 Recommendations	70
Bibliography	72
Annex A: Terms of Reference	78
Annex B: Persons Interviewed	90
Annex C: Zambian Economic Development Strategies and Power Relations	95
Annex D: Phase 1 Projects	102
Annex E: Case Studies Executive Summaries	121
Annex F: Data Annex	133

Abbreviations

ABF	Agribusiness Forum
ACC	Anti-Corruption Commission
AM	Agreed Minutes
ASIP	Agriculture Sector Investment Programme
ASNP	Agricultural Support to Northern Province
BESSIP	Basic Education Sub-sector Investment Programme
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CCJDP	Catholic Commission for Justice, Development and Peace
CCZ	Council of Churches in Zambia
CFU	Commercial Farmers' Union
CG	Consultative Group
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CRC	Constitutional Reform Commission
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CSPR	Civil Society for Poverty Reduction
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DFID	Department for International Development, U.K.
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECZ	Electoral Commission Zambia
ESAF	Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility
FBO	Faith Based Organisation
FFTUZ	Federation of Free Trade Unions, Zambia
FNDP	Fifth National Development Plan
FODEP	Foundation for Democratic Process
GBS	General Budget Support
GNI	Gross National Income
GRZ	Government of the Republic of Zambia
HDI	Human Development Index
HIP	Harmonisation in Practice
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Country Initiative
HPI	Human Poverty Index
HRC	Human Rights Commission
IESR	Institute for Economic and Social Research
IMP	International Monetary Fund
JASZ	Joint Assistance Strategy Zambia
JCTR	Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection

KK	Kenneth Kaunda
KS	Kommunesektorens Interesse og Arbeidsgiverorganisasjon (Norwegian Association of Local and Regional Authorities)
LAZ	Law Association Zambia
LGAZ	Local Government Association Zambia
LIRDp	Luangwa Integrated Rural Development Programme
LO	Landsorganisasjonen Norge (Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions)
MACO	Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives
MAFF	Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Fisheries
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MMD	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MTEF	Medium Term Expenditure Framework
NCA	Norwegian Church Aid
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NGO-CC	NGO Coordinating Committee
NOK	Norwegian Krone
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NRDC	Natural Resource Development College
NZTT	NRDC/ ZEGA Training Trust
OAG	Office of the Auditor General
ODA	Overseas Development Assistance
OVC	Orphans and vulnerable children
PAGE	Programme for the Advancement of Girls' Education
PE	Political economy
PEM	Public Expenditure Management
PEMFAR	Public Expenditure Management and Accountability Review
PRA	Participatory rural appraisal
PRBS	Poverty Reduction Budget Support
PRGF	Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PSCAP	Public Sector Capacity Building Programme
RIDP	Restructuring Institutional Development Programme
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SCAGA	Strategic Governance and Corruption Assessment
SFAP	Support to Farmer Associations Project
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SLAMU	South Luangwa Area Management Unit
STI	Sexually transmitted infection
SWAp	Sector wide approach
UNIP	United National Independence Party
WB	World Bank

WHIP	Wider Harmonisation in Practice
ZACCI	Zambian Chamber of Commerce and Industry
ZAWA	Zambia Wildlife Authority
ZCTU	Zambia Congress of Trade Unions
ZEGA	Zambia Export Growers Association
ZNFU	Zambian National Farmers Union

Executive Summary

Background

This is an evaluation of Norwegian development cooperation with Zambia between 1991 and 2005. The context for the evaluation is a perception of the ineffectiveness of aid to Zambia in general, and Norwegian aid in particular, in addressing the continuing, and at times deteriorating, levels of poverty in the country. The evaluation team was asked to explore power relations within Zambia and between donors and Zambians with a view to answering the following questions:

- How do power relations within Zambia and amongst the donor community affect the scope for achieving pro-poor outcomes through development cooperation?
- How do power structures at different levels of Zambian society influence the potential of aid to reduce poverty?
- How do domestic and international power relations in Zambia affect the outputs of Norwegian-financed pro-poor interventions?

The evaluation, which was carried out between May and October 2007, had two phases; a study of power structures and development cooperation as related to Zambia and three case studies of Norwegian support to wildlife management, transparency in financial management and agriculture in Northern Province.

Approach

The evaluation tries to bring together the DAC evaluation criteria of relevance, effectiveness, impact and sustainability with an analysis of formal and informal power and political structures. The criteria is used to examine why the objectives of aid policies and development cooperation may have been undermined by formal politics, informal networks of actors and personal interests, leading to lack of progress in achieving sustainable development and poverty reduction.

To do this, the team examined different forms of documentation: policy statements, project documentation, existing evaluations of Norwegian and other donor programmes, studies commissioned by donors and academic studies. In addition, interviews were held with a variety of key stakeholders, including those who had been active in Zambia in the 1990s. Focus group discussions were carried out as part of the case studies.

Power Structures

Ideally aid is used in the ways outlined in locally owned development-policy documents and strategic plans; it augments domestic funds and supports initiatives that strengthen formal institutions and empower local populations so that government and citizens work together within a comprehensive, consistent, and well-articulated national policy and framework to generate economic growth and to distribute gains equitably to alleviate poverty. This model can fail for a large number of reasons and in various ways. The aim of this analysis of political power and structures is limited though, to exploring only one of these – the ‘logic’ of Zambian politics, the way it has changed over the course of three regimes, and how it has impacted aid effectiveness. Here we focus on the Zambian elite because they have been relatively unrestrained by citizens until recent years.

In explaining why the political system may operate in ways detrimental to development and the poor we have taken a cue from political scientists writing about Zambia who have labelled the nation ‘a neopatrimonial’ state. We examine the evidence that Zambia does fit this model, which indicates a tendency towards the centralisation of power in the hands of a president and a small group of elite, who as ‘big men’ sit atop their own clientelist networks and are dependent on him and his access to state resources. They are rarely held accountable by a

(relatively) weak civil society or by formally constituted but under-funded representative and watch-dog institutions that are prone to ‘capture’ by those they are supposed to be holding accountable. Into this accountability vacuum donors have stepped, trying to hold governments to account through aid conditionalities and by writing policy themselves. We conclude that, overall, this provides a good explanation of Zambian power relations during the period of the evaluation. However, there have been changes over the latter part of the period which point to a fragile move towards a more rational-technical state with a stronger developmental agenda.

The choice of development models used by Kaunda, Chiluba and Mwanawasa has been influenced by donors, contemporary economic theories and African-nationalist agendas, and by each man’s desire to stay in office, leading to their use of public resources and the advantages of incumbency. In due course all three adopted economic liberalisation and structural reform as national policy, but each regime demonstrated a reluctance to implement some of their key provisions. In general this is because *implementing* – as opposed to *writing* – policies can actually undermine the imperatives or ‘logic’ of clientelist politics. This is not to say that the failure to reduce poverty or consolidate democracy can be blamed solely on Zambian politics, for international economic factors, vacillating donor demands, and regional politics also have an impact. But domestic political systems and structures are key in affecting the way national resources are allocated, including how meritorious and incorruptible the civil service is, whether capacity building is prioritised and how strong the media and watch-dog agencies are

In the absence of a strong political-party system, an independent parliament and watchdog organisations, NGOs, community-based and faith-based organisations have increasingly formed ‘the only serious issue-oriented political opposition in the country’. That said, the bulk of the rural population -- more isolated, impoverished, and uneducated – appears to have remained marginalised, under-served by the state, and voiceless. A strong and vibrant media has also developed over the years, and has at times held the government to account.

During the last forty years the overall structure and functioning of Zambia’s political system has changed slowly, and this has affected the course of development and the ways in which aid could be used. Donors are beginning to understand that because transformation has to be generated domestically by deeply rooted forces their impact can be marginal at best. It is important that they put aside a purely normative approach and include political-economy analysis to support their interventions.

International Donor Assistance

Throughout the period of the evaluation, Zambia has been one of the major aid recipients in Africa. For the earlier period, in the 1990s, multilateral donors, and in particular the IFIs, were the most important donors. However, since 2001 bilateral flows have more than doubled, while multilateral flows have fallen to 11% of the total by 2005.

In the 1990s, development cooperation programmes were negotiated on a one-to-one basis with government, and there was little formal attempt to coordinate assistance amongst donors except through the Consultative Group meetings, which started in the mid-1980s and focused on macroeconomic and structural policy reforms. Some donors did act together on certain issues, such as the constitutional changes banning Kenneth Kaunda from standing in the 1996 elections. Governance became a much more prominent element of donor dialogue from the late 1990s onwards.

The dynamic of donor engagement with the Zambian government has changed since 2001. The CG process had a hiatus over the election period, and in September 2002, the Nordic Plus countries met in Helsinki and agreed to push forward a joint harmonisation process in Zambia. This was taken forward by the embassies in Lusaka, and the “Harmonisation in Practice” initiative, HIP, was started, which has, in turn, led to the process for the Joint Assistance Strategy for Zambia. Over time, this alignment process has incorporated more agencies, including the multilateral agencies, the WB and the UN system, and is now known as WHIP, the Wider Harmonisation in Practice. It remains to be seen whether, as some stakeholders fear, harmonisation and the need for consensus will constrain those donors prepared to take a stronger stance on issues of governance.

Norwegian Development Cooperation

Zambia has been one of Norway's partner countries over the evaluation period. Most assistance has been given on a government to government basis, though this has fallen from almost 95% at the beginning of the period to a low of 69% in 2001 with concerns over the election, rising back to just under 80% in 2005. Assistance to local NGOs rose to 20% of the total in 2001, but now Norwegian NGOs receive over 15% of assistance, though this is often disbursed to local NGOs. Since 2000 education, agriculture, environment/wildlife, health - basically HIV/Aids related,, financial management and good governance have been the main sectors receiving support.

Norwegian development policy has evolved since 1992, when the concept of recipient responsibility was introduced. There has been more emphasis on working with the private sector and civil society, on improved donor coordination and on support to MDG achievement. Currently Norway is gradually reducing the number of sectors with which it is involved to two or three per country, plus budget support.

Norway's engagement with Zambia has been a combination of policy dialogue, and project and programme support using a number of different partners and modalities.

An analysis of the policy dialogue from the 1990s, looking at minutes of consultation meetings between the two governments, plus CG meetings, shows that this was focused very much on macroeconomic issues. Norway was not unusual in its concentration on issues of liberalisation and privatisation. There was little room for discussion around the principles of economic policy, only on the implementation. Discourse analysis reveals a recurrent emphasis on the believed technical correctness of such policies and, insofar as problems are identified, these are located within the realm of tardy implementation. Overall there was a tendency to depoliticise economic issues, and address political objectives, such as the fight against corruption, separately, leading to potential incoherence between objectives.

Modalities of assistance changed over the period, with a move away from projects towards greater support to government sector programmes. Examination of support to NGOs and UN initiatives show that there have been considerable problems of sustainability as projects have faced difficulty in integration within wider government service delivery systems.

The case studies show that, over the period of the evaluation, there has been pressure on projects to adopt a more centralised management model. An analysis of the eleven projects included in the evaluation leads to the possibility that harmonisation is leading to a concentration on the two big players, government and donors, at the expense of CSOs and NGOs. The place for third parties at the development cooperation table is becoming smaller, and more contested. The effect on the space for pro-poor development cooperation is difficult to assess, but may end up with more importance on policy dialogue.

Development Assistance, Poverty and Power Structures

The analysis of the power relations indicates that there have been no obvious champions of the poor in national government, at least since the Kaunda period. Donors have had two major formal channels with government for influencing this: through policy dialogue and through direct funding of projects with poverty alleviation as a major objective.

Policy dialogue was focused on the macro-economy for much of the 1990s, and very much at a technical level, though with concerns arising towards the end of the period about governance. The development of the PRSP as a policy instrument by the IFIs created an opportunity for civil society to engage more directly with government and also with donors, but the line ministries did not, in general engage with or 'own' the process. When Zambia moved to the FNDP, as opposed to the PRSP as a planning framework, the involvement of the line ministries increased considerably but the process caused frustration at the provincial and district level.

The evaluation team found that Norway, in line with the approach taken by other donors, has tended to focus on technical issues in its formal dialogue with government. It has been cautious in addressing issues which could be seen as overtly political, where the legitimacy of its engagement could be challenged. Rather it has focused more on building capacity for

Zambian organisations, both within government and with civil society partners, in the expectation, or perhaps the hope, that this will both build challenges within the system to abuse and will develop champions for the poor.

In this respect Norway has taken a similar approach to other donors. Insofar as international donor personnel analyze the political element of economic reform, they tend to do so from the perspective of ‘strengthening the domestic constituency for reform’, promoting ‘country ownership’ of reform programmes, and creating the conditions through which governments can ‘build consensus’ for reform. The actual content of reform – based as it is on assumptions of a single, ‘correct’ approach – is often assumed to be beyond argument, and the task of politics is simply to persuade people of the merits of implementing reform. Poverty reduction becomes depoliticised, and there is some evidence that poverty reduction lacked both national and international political prioritization in Zambia.

Norway as a Donor

The perception of Norway as a donor is often difficult to distinguish from a perception of the Scandinavian donors as a whole, who are seen as supportive, in part because of their history of support to Zambia as a frontline state in the past. There is little knowledge in Zambia of the precise nature of Norwegian support currently.

Norway is seen as a flexible and generous donor, though there was a perception that Norway was not as rigorous in its approach as other donors, focusing more on process and less on results and impacts. Perceptions of how well Norway has encouraged greater ownership of projects are mixed. Views have been expressed that projects started in the 1980s and early 1990s were very much seen to be designed by expatriate organisations and consultants with limited input from Zambians themselves. This perception has changed as Norway’s projects have both become more aligned to national approaches and support has moved more towards either sector approaches, or larger multi-donor projects.

The issue of ownership is more difficult to disentangle. This is largely because for many of the larger projects the relevant question is not is there national ownership, but *whose* ownership within Zambia. For some projects, this is an issue of layers within the hierarchy – there may be ownership at national level, but much less at the level of implementation, and even less at the level of the ultimate intended beneficiaries. In the area of support to improved financial governance, it is more difficult to pin down ownership in these terms. Rather the various projects are seen as supporting reformers within government, who have a vision of a more self-reliant Zambia, free from corruption, and are therefore promoting a joint agenda with donors and these reforming elements.

Norwegian support appears to score well on relevance. Analysis of policy documents, including MoUs, indicates that Norwegian development support to Zambia has become more aligned to Zambian policies and strategies over the years. There is evidence of greater consultation within Zambia on areas of mutual concern, and over the years there has been more assistance given in the form of sector and budget support. The recent process of alignment has taken this a step further, with Norway delegating support in some areas through other development partners.

The evidence on effectiveness is more mixed. A relatively poor level of monitoring during implementation has reduced project effectiveness, and Norwegian support has been most effective in delivering intermediate outcomes such as capacity development and institutional strengthening.

The evidence from the case studies on impact and sustainability show that much depends on the effectiveness and robustness of the government organisations involved in the projects. Support to the Auditor General’s Office appears to have had positive impact, but it is too early to comment on sustainability.

Conclusions

Norwegian aid to Zambia shows a similar pattern to that of other donors, in that it went through the same processes of emphasis on firstly macroeconomic stability and structural adjustment in the 1990s, followed by a focus on governance, but in an apolitical manner,

emphasising reform of state institutions. For the most part bilateral donors have moved in the same direction, though at times at different speeds. Recent initiatives on harmonisation are reinforcing this tendency and also now bringing in the multilateral donors and IFIs into one process with the bilaterals.

There has been success on the macroeconomic front, in part due to external factors. The focus of dialogue has moved to governance issues, again with some success. There appears to be some Zambian effective demand for improved governance, not just in civil society organisations but also at technical and political levels within government. Such reform as has taken place has been within the constraints arising from the strongly centralised and personalised nature of power in Zambia, and as such they are rather fragile in nature. However they are an important step in the direction of developing a technical-rational modern state, rather than a patrimonial one.

To support the development of a modern democratic state in Zambia, Norway could take the following actions:

- Improving its own understanding of the political context of Zambia.
- Supporting the further development of formal checks and balances in political life.
- Funding capacity building in support of decentralisation.
- Including civil society in the harmonisation process.
- Increasing support to local NGOs rather than through Norwegian organisations.
- Encouraging intellectual and public debate on political issues and on poverty reduction.

1 Introduction

1.1 Background

This evaluation of Norwegian development cooperation with Zambia covers the period from 1991 to 2005. The context for the evaluation is the perceived ineffectiveness of aid to Zambia in general, and Norwegian aid in particular, in addressing the continuing, and at times deteriorating, levels of poverty in the country. The Terms of Reference¹ for the evaluation ask the evaluation team to examine the power structures within both the domestic Zambian and at the international level and how they interact to affect the scope of different stakeholders to strengthen the probability of pro-poor outcomes, and to do this by exploring the changing relationships between stakeholders.

The evaluation has two components: a first phase which is a study of power structures and development cooperation within Zambia; and a second phase comprising three case studies. The case studies were identified in the ToR. The study of power structures examines how power linkages function within Zambia with a view to answering the following main questions:

- How do power relations within Zambia and amongst the donor community affect the scope for achieving pro-poor outcomes through development cooperation?
- How do power structures at different levels of Zambian society influence the potential of aid to reduce poverty?
- How do domestic and international power relations in Zambia affect the outputs of Norwegian-financed pro-poor interventions?

The terms of reference further unpacks these main questions with particular reference to the main domestic and international stakeholders: multilateral and bilateral donors, political and economic interests; formal and informal power relations; public and private sector; local and central authorities and civil society.

The report is based on a review of secondary data sources, including Norwegian and Zambian policy documents, academic studies, evaluations, project documents, minutes of annual review meetings and CG meetings. A number of key stakeholder interviews were carried out in Oslo, Lusaka, South Luangwa and Northern Province and a list of persons met can be found in Annex B.

The evaluation was carried out between May and August 2007. An interim report was produced in June, prior to the three case studies, which were carried out in July and August. A workshop was held in September 2007. As a result of the workshop discussions and comments from the Reference Group further interviews were carried out in October 2007.

The work was undertaken by a team of ten.

Main evaluation: Anne Thomson, Team leader
Dennis Chiwele, deputy team leader
Neo Simutanyi, political scientist
Diana Cammack, political scientist
Andy Storey, discourse analyst
Katarina Kotoglou, aid specialist

1 See Annex A

In addition, the team was supplemented by specialists for the case studies:

Keith Lindsay, wildlife specialist
Henry Mwima, wildlife specialist
Tim Cammack, public finance specialist
Inyambo Mwanawima, economist

The agriculture case study was carried out by Dennis Chiwele and Anne Thomson.

2 Analytical Framework

The challenge of this evaluation is to analyse the extent to which political systems and structures within Zambia have permitted Norwegian aid to be used effectively to reduce poverty between 1991-2005. This task differs significantly from the traditional approach to evaluation of an aid programme, which tends to use DAC evaluation criteria primarily. Here we are trying to retroactively unravel the little-explored interaction between aid and politics, covering a period when data were not systematically collected and when policy documents made few references to the linkages between the two issues. Further, when politics was discussed it was generally referred to as ‘governance’ and equated to activities taking place through formal institutions. While donors knew that underneath formal governance and decision-making in Zambia there existed a whole world of shadow politics -- with alliances that came and went, people who emerged and left the scene, interests and incentives that mattered but changed constantly, etc – they did little to record it.

Information about these processes was not collected, and for that reason it is now difficult to assess the role of politics in the past. Nonetheless, some attempt has been made to reconstruct the story because we now know that informal politics of the sort found in Zambia and other sub-Saharan African states, are central to determining how policy decisions are made, whether poverty alleviation strategies are implemented, and how effectively aid is used.

2.1 The DAC Evaluation Criteria

DAC criteria for evaluating programmes are used in the analysis for the case studies and when assessing the overall Norwegian development cooperation programme. Slight modifications have been made to the criteria to reflect the particular focus of this evaluation.

Relevance

Relevance of a country programme of cooperation is assessed in terms of the following questions:

- Are the objectives of the programme, as laid out in the country programme and the MoU, still valid and do they respond to the objectives of the donor as identified in broader policy positions?
- Do the programme objectives respond to the priorities of the recipient government?
- Are the activities and outputs of the programme still consistent with the overall goal of the programme?
- To this we would add an assessment of whether power structures in Zambia undermine any formal commitment to the mutually agreed objectives for Norwegian development cooperation.

Effectiveness

- To what extent are the objectives of development cooperation likely to be achieved?
- What are the main factors influencing the achievement of these objectives?

We have interpreted the second question in a broad context, to include the extent to which these objectives reflect the aims and motivations of those responsible for planning and implementing the activities identified in the programme.

Efficiency

We do not propose to address efficiency issues directly in this evaluation. There may be instances where these can be identified as significant, particularly in the case studies, but they will be of interest to the evaluation when they are linked to power relations, for example in terms of processes or procurement, and will be addressed on this basis.

Impact

Impact is an important element in this evaluation, whether intended or unintended. Rigorous impact assessments are expensive and lengthy studies, and do not appear to have been carried out for any of the projects or programmes covered by the evaluation. The extent to which conclusions can be drawn from the one major impact evaluation (for agriculture in Northern Province) is limited because of lack of any baseline information. Informally, impact can be assessed through interviews and this has been done in the case studies.

Sustainability

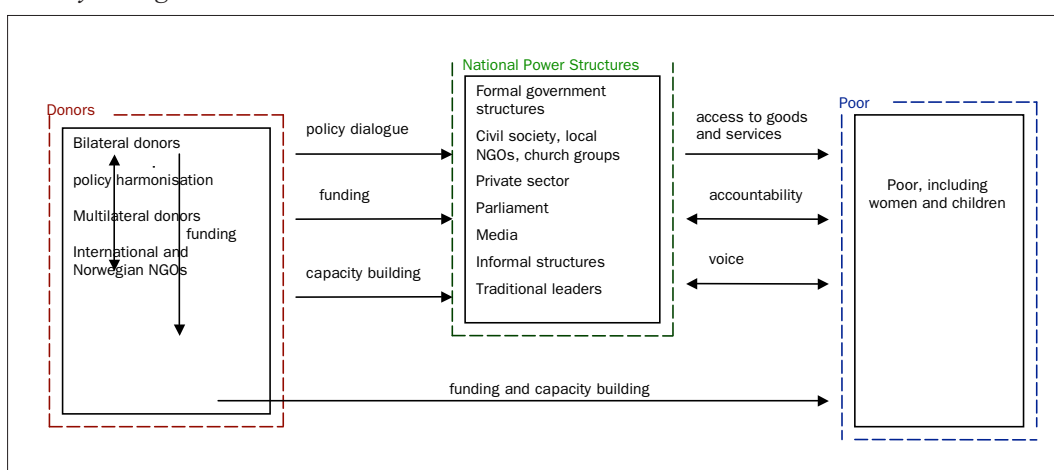
This has been assessed at project level, in the case studies, but also for the specific projects examined in Phase 1, in particular through interviews with key informants. Of particular interest will be the extent to which an understanding or lack of understanding of power structures has affected sustainability.

2.2 Political Economy Analysis

Political economy (PE) is an ill-defined term used by sociologists, historians, political scientists and other academics to refer to theories concerning the relationship between economic and political power among and within states. It most commonly refers to interdisciplinary studies that draw on economics, law, and political science to explain how political institutions, the political environment, and economic systems influence each other. Political economy studies have a long history, dating back at least to the 19th Century.

The basic ideas of political economy studies were adapted in the late 1990s by development practitioners, who have been using them to design methods of exploring informal political systems and the way they interact with aid to deliver or hinder development. This methodology arose as a result of donors' rising frustration with poor performance, 'failed states' and wasted aid. They sought new ways of understanding why aid does not work in states that remain non-developmental. Though formal (visible, rational-legal) political structures and systems are taken into account, PE analysts working in the field of development focus on informal institutions, and the motives underlying the behaviour of actors that are rooted deeply in society and history. DFID (Drivers of Change), SIDA (Power Analysis), the World Bank (Stakeholder Analysis), and the Netherlands (SCAGA) amongst other donors have their own PE frameworks that direct researchers to explore the specific topics they consider vital to explaining how change happens and how that is linked to good governance, e.g., 'foundational factors', actors, institutions, influences and gatekeepers.

Figure 2.1 A simplified account of development cooperation and aid Donor-Power Structure-Poverty linkages



The method used here to explore Power and Political Structures is similar, though we are focusing on the past, rather than the present (when it would be easier to identify key actors and contemporary issues of value to study). Here we attempt to explain why aid has been used with little effect on poverty, by focusing on the underlying political logic that has driven decision making, the use of resources, poor implementation of policies, corruption, and the incentives and interests of key actors.

The linkages between the DAC evaluation framework and Political Economy analysis are tentative: the DAC evaluation criteria of Relevance, Efficiency, Effectiveness, Impact and Sustainability are expected to measure how well aid is used. The assumption underlying the DAC framework is that if the aid programme is relevant (responding to expressed need, and it is ‘harmonised’ and ‘aligned’, for instance), and resources are used efficiently, the programme will be effective in that it will have a positive impact on poverty (reduction) and will kick-start a process of local development that is self-sustaining. A descriptive report may result, explaining how aid has been used and what has happened over a period of fifteen years (in this instance). But such a report can be written without ever asking the critical question - ‘why did it not achieve its stated objectives?’ This is where PE analysis is of use – for its main aim is to explain why an aid policy or a set of projects may not be relevant, funds might not have been used efficiently, and why a programme is ineffective, not sustainable and has low impact.

Therefore the political analysis focuses on how formal politics, informal networks of actors, and personal interests have undermined to some degree the use of Norwegian aid between 1991-2005. One of the main sources of information for this political analysis is existing studies of the political economy of Zambia. Given the time frame for the evaluation, we have, as suggested in the Terms of Reference, used work undertaken by academic researchers over much longer periods of time, to guide our hypotheses about politics and policy decisions. This work predominantly uses a model of a political system that has been widely applied in sub-Saharan Africa – the hybrid or neopatrimonial state. We examined the information available from existing literature and from interviews with key stakeholders to assess to what extent this model can explain the *Zambian experience*.

The conclusions remain tentative due to the lack of data and the shortage of time to do such comprehensive and difficult research. These reasons changed over that time period as the context changed – different people governed under different (constitutional) circumstances, within a global environment that continued to change rapidly after the end of the Cold War. The external economic environment changed, most importantly for Zambia the price of copper fell dramatically during the period, and is now rising again. The international aid regime changed too, as did donors’ ideas about what drives change and thus their strategies to promote reforms and development; these had an impact on how funds were delivered and what policies became fashionable (structural adjustment, PRSPs, rights-based development, participatory development, centres of excellence, MDGs etc). As important for explaining why Zambia has remained poor, though, are factors that are deeply rooted in the society, such as the weak regulatory environment; the inefficient public service; networks of relations that rely on ethnic, regional, or family relations; weak civil society; personalised forms of rule, etc. PE analysis attempts to explain why these are powerful inhibitors of development, and why it is difficult for aid to be used well in such circumstances.

Figure 2.1 was presented in the inception report as a representation of the linkages between Development cooperation, power structures and poverty. In many respects it represents the approach taken by Norway and other donors to improving the effectiveness of their development assistance, in particular a view that for development it is important to support and engage not just with government, but also with other agents and organisations with power and influence: civil society, the private sector, the Parliament, for example. One of the important questions that has arisen as the evaluation evolves is whether this is likely to be an effective approach to creating effective demand and action for poverty reduction or whether the vertical linkages characteristic of a neopatrimonial structure are too strong to allow effective alternatives to emerge.

The power analysis focused on donors and *Zambian national power structures*. We were unable to address power relations between men and women and at community level within the time frame, though, if the hypothesis that Zambia is predominantly a neopatrimonial state holds, then we would expect the power relations at community level to show similar traits. Where possible we addressed some of these issues in the case studies.

2.3 Methodology

As indicated above, the methodology had a number of elements.

Different forms of *Documentation* were examined. These can be categorised as follows:

- Norwegian policy and programming documents covering overall development policy and specific engagement with Zambia
- Zambian policy and planning documents, including the PRSP and the Fifth National Development Plan (FNDP)
- Project documentation for the projects selected for brief and in depth analysis
- Project specific monitoring and evaluation reports
- Evaluations carried out by Norway of thematic and sector support
- Evaluations carried out by other donors
- Data provided by Norad and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- OECD data on donor assistance to Zambia
- Academic studies of political, social and economic processes in Zambia
- Studies commissioned by donors on political economy in Zambia

This was complemented by *key stakeholder interviews*. Because of the long time period of the evaluation, importance was placed on identifying individuals, Zambian, Norwegian and others, who had been involved in development assistance in Zambia in the 1990s. This was more difficult at national level in Zambia, though the case study teams had more success in identifying individuals who had been active at project level in the 1990s.

To a large extent the choice of stakeholders was guided by Figure 2.1. However, given the focus of the evaluation, and the time limitations, more attention was paid to interviewing donors and those related to national power structures than to the poor themselves, though where relevant in the case studies focus group discussions were carried out with the intended beneficiaries. Efforts were made to interview NGOs and CSOs who represent the poor. Interviews were carried out with individuals in the following areas:

- Norwegian staff in Norad and the MFA with responsibilities for Zambia and Africa
- Norwegian staff who had worked in or were working in the RNE embassy in Zambia
- Zambian civil servants with responsibilities for national policy
- Zambian civil servants with responsibilities for managing donor assistance
- Zambian politicians, including MPs
- Current donor representatives, bilateral and multilateral
- Representatives of Zambian NGOs and other civil society representatives
- Representatives of the media in Zambia
- Private sector representatives
- Traditional leaders
- Provincial and district level civil servants
- Project implementers, from public and private sector

The questions asked in the interviews varied according to the role of the stakeholder, but there were a set of core questions, around how policy was determined and decisions made, the role of the stakeholder in those processes, and the perception of Norway as a development partner.

Trends in international development cooperation towards Zambia have been addressed through:

- a statistical analysis of the flows of assistance to Zambia throughout the period, from which donors, to which sectors, and through which channels;
- an analysis of donor approaches (both multilateral and bilateral) through examination of country strategies, and more general donor policies;
- analysis of existing evaluations of major donor funded activities and country programmes as a whole;
- interviews with major donors and IFIs, as to the rationale behind key funding decisions and perceptions of success;
- analysis of donor harmonisation processes and the JASZ;
- a discourse analysis of some key donor documents.

The second element, national power structures and their influence on policy was addressed through:

- analysis of secondary material on power structures and political economy;

- an assessment of the roles played by different agents both in terms of policy dialogue, but also in providing access and voice for the poor, and in directly providing opportunities for poverty reduction through economic activity.
- Triangulations of findings through key stakeholder interviews.

The third element, the interaction between Norwegian support and national and international power structures was addressed through:

- A statistical analysis of Norwegian assistance to Zambia, levels, sectors and implementing partners.
- An analysis of Norwegian approaches, through examination of general development policies, Zambian country strategies, country programs, MoUs, and other documentation on the Norwegian aid programme.
- Analysis of a small number of Norwegian funded projects, which cover a variety of aid channels and modalities, to assess the appropriateness of partners, in view of the power relations identified in elements 1 and 2.² These projects will be examined in regard to the broader Norwegian programme, or throw light on why did modalities change over the period, was one modality more successful than another, and was that to do with the way the assistance linked in with the different power structures.
- Examination of existing evaluations of Norwegian-funded programmes in Zambia
- Analysis of key documents for Norwegian policy dialogue, with government and also other donors, including discourse analysis.
- Three case studies of Norwegian development cooperation with Zambia focusing on Wildlife Management, Transparency in Financial Management and Agriculture in Northern Province³.

The individual projects examined were chosen to provide an overview of Norwegian support to Zambia over time. We have identified projects which can be taken together to look at different approaches within a sector, which cover a number of different modalities, and which also cover different time periods. The projects were chosen from an analysis of a spreadsheet provided by Norad. The spreadsheet contained details of individual project agreements between the Norwegian government and the Government of Zambia. The projects chosen as a result of this analysis were discussed with Norad at the inception phase.

The overall themes of the three case studies were identified in the ToR. Within those themes, individual projects were identified to cover much of the support given to the Zambian government in this thematic area. The wildlife case study covers a series of projects which start before the beginning of the evaluation period and continue to the present day; the financial management case studies cover the later period of the evaluation, and also continue to the present day; and the agriculture case study covers a series of projects which started before the evaluation period, but support was terminated in the late 1990s.

The time period

The time period covered by the evaluation is long: 1991-2005. The evaluation team has tried to keep the analysis within this period as much as possible. However, in some cases, both with individual projects, and more particularly with the political analysis, it has been necessary to look at the period immediately preceding this to understand the genesis of certain trends and characteristics. The environment for development assistance internationally and within Zambia has also changed in the later period of the evaluation, and the implications of the evaluation for donors in general and Norway in particular have to take some of these more recent events into consideration.

Limitations of the methodology

Other than the normal limitations set by time available, analysis of power relations is difficult to undertake according to the evidentiary standards that usually apply in a more quantitative approach to evaluation. There are very few stakeholders who do not have some vested interest in ensuring that their account of history presents themselves in a positive light. In countries where informal relations are important, these are not often documented, and therefore accounts can be and are contested. We have tried to restrict our analysis to processes and

² Summary analyses of these projects is included in Annex D

³ The executive summaries of the case studies are included in Annex E. The full ext of the case studies is available as downloads at www.norad.no/default.asp?V_ITEM_ID=10435

accounts which have been confirmed by a number of sources: interviews, literature, newspaper accounts. However that has meant that in some instances, supporting evidence has had to be left out, particularly in the analysis of power relations. We find it significant that, in presentation of earlier versions of this report, very few Zambians disagreed with the analysis of Zambia as a neopatrimonial state (though none of those consulted were actually members of government). The analysis was more contested by non-Zambians.

3 Power Structures

To measure how well aid is delivered by donors and used by recipients, the OECD DAC framework directs evaluators to look at the relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, sustainability and impact of aid programmes.⁴ Each of these categories goes directly to two related issues under study here: whether *Zambian* power structures and systems, and the relationship between donors and the government of Zambia have either facilitated or enabled aid to be used effectively to alleviate poverty.

Ideally aid is used in the ways outlined in locally produced development-policy documents and strategic plans; it augments domestic funds and supports initiatives that strengthen formal institutions and empower local populations so that government and citizens work together within a comprehensive, consistent, and well-articulated national policy and framework to generate economic growth and to distribute gains equitably to alleviate poverty. This model can fail for a large number of reasons and in various ways.⁵ The aim of this analysis of political power and structures is limited though, to exploring only one of these – the ‘logic’ of *Zambian* politics, the way it has changed over the course of three regimes, and how it has impacted aid effectiveness. Here we focus on the *Zambian* elite because they have been relatively unrestrained by citizens until recent years; they have used their power in self-interested ways, sometimes weakening or perverting the state’s will to design and especially, to implement development policies well.

In explaining why the elite might behave in ways detrimental to development and the poor we have taken a cue from political scientists writing about *Zambia* (e.g., Erdmann, 2003; Rakner, 2003; Child 2004; Braathen, 2002; Eberlei, c. 2005; Gibson, 1999). They have labelled the nation ‘a neopatrimonial’ or a ‘hybrid’⁶ state (along the lines outlined in Bratton and van der Walle, 1997; Chabal and Daloz, 1999; and Cammack, Sept 2007). The evaluation team looked at these analyses and at the information received from key stakeholder interviews to examine two questions:

- Does the model of the neopatrimonial state provide a reasonable explanation of the workings of domestic power relations in *Zambia* during the period of the evaluation?
- Have there been any changes over that period which indicate either deepening or a move away from these power relations?

3.1 Characteristics of a Neopatrimonial State

Briefly, the tendency of neopatrimonial states is towards the centralisation of power in the hands of a president and a small group of elite, who as ‘big men’ sit atop their own clientelist networks that are dependent on him and his access to state resources. Party politics are based on individuals, rather than principles, and institutionalised checks and balances are not very strong. The public-private distinction is weak, so that the state can become a source of personalised wealth. Vertical ties, such as ethnic, regional and/or tribal links, unite people, and are much stronger than horizontal, interest-based links, such as class or profession. Important decisions, about policy and the use of resources, are often made informally, and by the president and a small group of advisors. They are rarely held accountable by a (relatively) weak civil society or by formally constituted but under-funded and captured representative and watch-dog institutions. (Into this accountability vacuum donors are known to have stepped, trying to hold governments to account through aid conditionalities and by writing policy themselves – e.g., Booth, 2006)

4 OECD, ‘DAC Criteria for Evaluating Development Assistance’, www.oecd.org/document

5 Including problems with aid delivery mechanisms and capacity constraints though capacity here is seen as dependent on will: training, education, attitudes, professionalism, meritorious employment practices and other ingredients of individual and institutional capability are assumed to be available (or can soon be supplied) if there is the will to do so.

6 All modern states exhibit practices that can be characterised as patrimonial; in a neopatrimonial state, however, the patrimonial logic is both dominant and widespread. Both logics continue to be operational, though, for a neopatrimonial state must have rational-legal institutions (however dysfunctional) and the political elite must express commitment to the separation of the public and private spheres (however rhetorical). This is important because in purely patrimonial regime no public-private distinction exists. O’Neill, 2006.

This can be contrasted with the rational democratic state, where power resides within formal institutions, such as the Presidency, Parliament and an independent judiciary, and decisions are made according to formal rules and principles.

All states have elements of both these models, and indeed, *all* states move backward and forward on the continuum between rational-legal (modern, Weberian) tendencies and patrimonialism. A neopatrimonial state will often hold elections and have democratic-style institutions, but these institutions will not function as they would in a developmental state, and do not have power to function as designed.

Typically in African states of this sort decentralisation (devolution of power/funds) is slow. Also private and public resources are mixed together (corruptly, with impunity) and used to win and retain power, especially in unfair elections. Cabinets grow in size as presidents recruit loyalists using state funds. (Kjaer, 2004). Political parties are centred around personalities and infrequently care or campaign about issues, policies or platforms. Thus politics is fluid, as personal alliances and party coalitions come and go depending on their usefulness. Resources and power flow through patronage/clientelist networks, often to the village level through (often competing) party and/or customary connections. Decisions are frequently made outside formal institutions and according to particularist criteria that benefit a region or group (ethnic, etc). The roots of this sort of political system are deep within society, as is evidenced by the fact that non-state organisations are subject to the same tendency. Taken together these characteristics work against the introduction of formal institutions ('rules of the game'), which are needed to create an environment conducive to economic growth and democratic governance. Thus, such countries are largely non-developmental. This, though, is subject to change over decades, for all developed states have gone through a neopatrimonial phase.

3.2 Decentralisation in Zambia

In a neo-patrimonial state, decisions over policy and resource use are centralised in the President's hands. The opposition is relatively powerless, and individual politicians often may look for ways of joining the ruling party, to gain access to power. The President will seek to constrain the growth of alternative power bases, and to restrict access to resources. To examine the extent to which Zambia conforms to this model, we shall examine two issues which have been a focus of both national political, and to some extent donor concern throughout the period of the evaluation: the issue of constitutional change and of decentralisation.

The presidency remains the most powerful office in the land, 'the locus of all major policy decisions' (Brown, 2004: 6). The formal system of government is underpinned by the centralisation and personalisation of power common to patrimonial and hybrid states. In Kaunda's time these tendencies were reflected in the single-party regime and in the lack of success by activists to reduce the president's formal powers. Even after the reintroduction of a multi-party system,

Box 3.1 Constitution-making to Tackle 'Presidentialism' in Zambia

New constitutions are meant to transform the relationship between society and the state, and amongst the branches of government. Attempts are made in countries such as Zambia to initiate a transformation of highly centralised political systems and structures through constitutional revisions. They are meant to limit the control of the president by reducing his discretionary and legal powers; by strengthening watch-dog bodies, such as anti-corruption bureaux and human rights commissions; and by making groups that should provide 'checks and balances' (such as the judiciary, parliament and electoral commission) more powerful and independent.

Relations of power in Zambia between the presidency and parliament have reportedly been 'unbalanced' since independence. During Chiluba's time the Constitution Review Commission (CRC) complained that there were no 'sufficient countervailing safeguards' to 'check the executive branch'. While MPs might have exercised the powers given them (through standing orders, committees, etc) they did not. This was caused by their weak capacity and parliament's institutional constraints, and because Chiluba controlled

parliament (with an MMD majority), its Speaker, and its legislative timetable. Under Mwanawasa this has changed somewhat, as he does not dominate parliament in the same way. After the 2001 elections the constellation of political forces changed, and the circumstances surrounding Mwanawasa's accession to power made him a weaker president than his predecessors. Not surprisingly, he has tried to protect the powers of the presidency laid out in the constitution.

Between 1973 and 2003 there were four constitutional reforms. The 1973 Chona Constitution commission wrote a constitution to suit a one-party state; following the return to plural politics the Mvunga constitution commission wrote the multiparty constitution (1991); the Mwanakatwe constitution (1996) attempted to address the inadequacies of the 1991 constitution; while the Mung'omba commission was established by Mwanawasa with a far-reaching mandate to overhaul the constitution to suit the circumstances of the 21st century.

Not surprisingly, both Kaunda and Chiluba wanted to ensure that the entrenched powers of the presidency were not tampered with, that the patronage system was unaltered and that centralisation of power remained. Therefore, while reformers' goals were to change the structure of government and increase public accountability these were not realised, for whenever the recommendations of the commissions and government conflicted, government had its way. Both Kaunda and Chiluba used the Inquiries Act, which gave them latitude to accept or reject the recommendations. Under the Mwanawasa presidency civil society has therefore refused earlier methods of constitution-making, which has placed serious constraints on the president's room for manoeuvre.

Donors rendered no support to the constitutional reform process in the 1991 and 1994, apparently believing that Kaunda and Chiluba were committed to change. But both used constitutional reforms to entrench provisions that would maintain their power. Chiluba not only inserted the clause barring Kaunda from contesting the 1996 elections, he also removed the clause that required a presidential candidate to be elected by 50 % plus one. He ignored donor and civil society protests and the parliament went on to pass a constitution that suited his interests.

After Mwanawasa came to power, the constitutional debate was reopened by civil society organisations under the umbrella of the 'Oasis Forum', which had been active in the anti-third-term movement. It called for constitutional reform that would ensure that a future president would be elected by more than 50% of voters. At the same time many informed observers interviewed were of the view that Mwanawasa distrusts civil society organisations so he ignored their demands and established a CRC on his own terms and appointed people he trusted to sit on it (Interviews with key informants June and July 2007). However the CRC's recommendations were not very different from those of previous commissions. It called for reductions in the powers of the president; appointment of ministers from outside the legislature; election of the president by at least 51% of the vote and adoption of the constitution by a constituent assembly. Though the government had reservations over most of the recommendations, it nevertheless promised to implement them, but not until after the 2006 elections. Differences of opinion survive today, especially over the mode of adopting the constitution (At the time of writing this report a National Constitutional Conference Act had been passed in August, which was later assented to by President Mwanawasa. However, civil society groups have criticised the composition of the new body as skewed in favour of government and the ruling party, with some threatening to boycott it).

In summary then, the struggle for constitutional reform is a reflection of conflicting interests – between on the one hand the president and those around him, all of whom are anxious that he retain power over state resources and on the other, those who want to constrain the president and his circle by distributing power, and promoting openness and accountability. The fact that centralising tendencies are rooted deeply in the political economy of the society, not simply in the law, means that even if the constitution is changed real reform will come only afterwards through social and political action.

President Chiluba dominated parliament, sometimes governed with state-of-emergency powers and opposed constitutional reforms that would have made some state institutions, such as the judiciary and electoral commission, more ‘independent of the presidency and more accountable to parliament’. He also continued to use the power of appointment to manage powerful bodies (commissions, courts, police, etc) as does Mwanawasa. Many of these appointments are for limited terms; judges for example are contracted for three year periods, thus constraining judicial independence. The latter has also delayed changes to the constitution aimed at limiting the presidency’s powers (JCTR Policy Brief, 2005: 10-11; Erdmann and Simutanyi, 2003: 4 & 16).

Box 3.2 Stalled Decentralisation in Zambia

Since independence in 1964, successive governments have produced measures nominally aimed at decentralising power, resources and personnel to local level. These measures have been unsuccessful because central government has been reluctant to devolve decision-making powers and resources to the local authorities, or to promote civic activism. This tendency was established in the colonial era, when the structure of local government was designed to control what went on at the local level, not to encourage citizens to take responsibility for their affairs. Local authorities were subordinated to central control and dependent on central government for their funds.

The 1980 Local Administration Act made this control even more pronounced as it introduced a prefecture system, where a District Governor, a personal representative of the President was made responsible for coordinating council and government functions at district level. The council was itself comprised of UNIP councillors and worked to the dictates of the party and the President and was beholden on the central government for its resources. Slow and inadequate funds from the central government seriously affected council operations throughout the country. As a consequence most local authorities were unable to deliver public services or meet their wages bills, sometimes for periods ranging from six months to more than a year.

The advent of multipartyism reintroduced competitive politics in local authorities but did not change the structure of local governance. The Local Administration Act 1992 did not alter the centrality of the Ministry of local Government vis-à-vis the councils and the role of central government. The Act gives powers to the Minister of Local Government to regulate the work of local authorities, including power to dissolve councils that in the view of the Minister are operating outside the law. The President has overall power to vet council by-laws or to reverse them. For example, former president Frederick Chiluba decreed that all council housing stock that was rented be sold to sitting tenants for close to nothing, thus depriving councils of revenue. In 2005 President Mwanawasa reversed a Chipata Municipal Council by-law that empowered the council to impose a levy on bicycles given the large number of bikes in the district. The measure, which had been in force for more than two years, deprived the council of much-needed revenue and affected its ability to meet its wage bill.

Despite adopting a National Decentralisation Policy in 2002 and establishing the Decentralisation Secretariat there has been no progress in recent years. The Decentralisation Implementation Plan (DIP), a product of a wide consultation with stakeholders, which aims at devolving functions currently performed at central level to the district still awaits approval by Cabinet. The evaluation team were told that this is currently being revisited with the new Ministers, in order to identify funding and capacity building requirements.

While donors argue that decentralisation will promote participatory democracy and improved delivery of public goods and services, there is nothing inherent in restructuring of government that makes the new system democratic. Indeed, British colonial rule was operationalised through decentralised institutions that reached the district level and African leaders such as Samora Machel and Yoweri Museveni created revolutionary committees at local levels to ensure they (at the centre) could keep an eye on events in the rural areas and could give orders that would be obeyed by villagers. Similarly, in 1964 Kaunda ‘instituted a process that resulted in a considerable reduction in the size of the provincial administration. Most of [its]

powers... were stripped and transferred to the newly established central government departments and ministries at the provincial level. The primary aim... was to establish political control over the civil service arm of government, in general, and the provincial administration, in particular' (Saasa with Carlsson, 2002: 115). Further changes resulted in the fusion of UNIP and provincial functions. Thus, decision-making powers remained in Lusaka while Kaunda governed, little funding found its way to the provincial level, and local actors remained dependent on the centre for their resources. (see Box 3.2).

In the 1990s the provincial administration was a 'wing' of central government so provincial-level administrators continued to answer directly to the President. Decisions were taken mainly by sector ministries, not by provincial administrators, whose role was 'facilitative'. Promises to reform were made in 1993 and again in 1999. But amendments to the 1995 Local Government Act actually tended to 'erode the powers of local level authorities' as they allowed for increased political interference by central government.

This tendency was also clear at sectoral level. In two of the sectors examined in the case studies for this evaluation, there was clear evidence that during the 1990s centralisation actually increased. In agriculture, management of Norwegian support to agriculture in Northern Province was moved from the provincial level to the central level to be implemented in line with the Agricultural Sector Investment Programme. Similarly the Luangwa Integrated Rural Development Programme (LIRDIP) was brought under the control of the National Parks and Wildlife Service in the early 1990s, followed by the creation of the Zambian Wildlife Authority, each change leading to greater centralisation and loss of local control. Although there were technical and institutional arguments given for these changes, they nonetheless reduced local autonomy and brought resource in particular back under the control of the centre.

An analyst concluded in 2002 that in Zambia there is an 'evident lack of political will' to 'meaningfully and decisively put an enabling decentralisation policy and legislative framework in place' (Saasa with Carlsson, 2002:120). Since then a National Decentralisation Policy, which presents a 'vision for the future', has been articulated, but it fails to present a 'programme of changes' to devolve 'service provision to an elected local government' (GRZ 2002; OPM, 2005:7-8). Decentralisation is still 'stalled' despite significant donor assistance; district commissioners, answering to the President, have retained power at local level, and district councils have insufficient funds and their reach is limited. (Key informant interviews, 22 June and 19 & 23 July 2007; Meynes, 2005:18) Kaunda's phrase – 'decentralisation within centralism' (Gertzel, 1984) – aptly describes the process in Zambia, where 'presidentialism' – the personalisation of politics and centralisation – remain strong. The model of the neopatrimonial state cannot be rejected.

However, in recent years some transformation is evident: the space the current president has to operate in has been curtailed (compared to Kaunda's) by multipartyism, a more organised civil society (sometimes funded by donors), and a vociferous media. Though formal parliamentary opposition is still very weak, an informal opposition has had a constraining influence. The turning point was undoubtedly the failed third-term bid by Chiluba in 2001. Since then it is more difficult for a president to change the formal rules to say, entrench himself, his family members or a chosen successor in power. Whether he can obtain such goals by using patronage, corruption, clientelist politics, regionalism and tribalism, and other informal 'tools' available to 'big men' remains to be seen.

Loyalty and Party Formation

In a neopatrimonial state, politics tends to revolve around charismatic individuals, and political parties are formed around such individuals. They compete with each other and largely ignore the interests of the public at large. The literature on party politics in Zambia supports this picture of political parties, which has been called locally a 'floating political system' (Key informant interview, 18 June 2007).⁷

Zambian parties share a number of tendencies:

- weak institutions, which result from, and reinforce a 'personalised style of politics';

⁷ This confirms the findings by NDI/FODEP in 2003, cited in Erdmann and Simutanyi, 2002: 34-6, that none of the political parties has a countrywide administrative structure or a means to conduct business on a regular basis with local members. Parties are hampered by a lack of funds, and other shortages such as staff and offices. They also lack internal democratic processes and generally candidates are selected by party leaders

- funding provided by the leader or a few of his richest supporters, with little money or active input from members; and
- decisions made autocratically, including the selection of candidates.

Within and between parties public interest issues are unimportant and can be trumped by ethnicity, tribe,⁸ regional origin,⁹ or bribes when tests of political loyalty are made.¹⁰ This makes it easy for a president to argue one side of a case – such as Chiluba when at ZCTU campaigning against structural adjustment and the use of emergency powers – and acting exactly the opposite when at State House. Splits within parties may be justified by rhetoric (such as right vs left) when in reality ‘no solid ideological content divides leaders’, and its only ‘who should be president’ that separates them. Coalitions are driven by self-interest rather than a principled stance, and this has made Zambian parliamentary politics fluid and subject to radical shifts at times (e.g., 1993-96). Because parties are essentially political vehicles for individual politicians they cannot serve as a ‘check’ against government policies or ‘executive dominance’ (Key informant interview, 18 June 2007; Rakner, 2003: 128; Erdmann and Simutanyi, 2003: 36 and Simutanyi, 2005b).

The trick for any president faced by opposition or factionalism is to find a way of creating coalitions or co-opting (real or potential) opponents into government. In a number of interviews, Kaunda was described as a master at inclusion by keeping disparate elements in a ‘maximum coalition’ and ultimately by creating a single-party state. At the same time he ensured that some opposition figures were marginalised, arguing that their campaigns caused violence and tribalism. He then obtained and retained support by filling ‘ministries and public bodies... with members of particular factions of the ruling party... while civil service officials were by-passed’. Rent-seeking opportunities were also handed out, which was eased by the creation of parastatals and by a regulatory economic policy that made it necessary for people to obtain permits to do almost anything. (Erdmann and Simutanyi, 2003: 5 and 195-6 and Simutanyi, 2005 a: 2-3).

Chiluba’s strategy seemed to have been more exclusionist. Early on he stopped interacting with his old colleagues who had put him in power, and within a short time he expelled from the MMD weak opponents, those whose views (e.g., on corruption and drug dealing) differed from his own, and those who could challenge him for the presidency. This led to a reduction in the capacity of his advisors and, not unrelatedly, to his surrounding himself with a small group of people willing to siphon off government funds.¹¹ In the mid-90s he detained without trial key opponents, including Kaunda, leading to elections that were seriously ‘flawed’. In his second term he sought support for his third-term bid, but he had no natural constituencies of support because they were no ‘winners’ other than the beneficiaries of privatisation emerging from his policy of economic liberalisation (Rakner, 2003). Doling out state funds and rent-seeking opportunities,¹² instrumentalising tribal or regional affinities, and pursuing populist political agendas are classic ways of winning support by presidents if they are unable to fight elections on their records or on differences of opinion about key issues.¹³ It is not surprising then, that these came to characterise the Chiluba presidency. For instance, he displayed ‘no political will to combat [corruption]’ (Transparency International, 2005) because it served the purpose of keeping him in power.

8 It is important to note that during campaigns appeals to tribal affiliation have increased since the Chiluba era and are worrying to those who adhere to Kaunda’s vision of a united Zambia. (Key informant interview, 22 June 2007).

9 A constant thread of ‘regionalism’ runs through Zambian politics from the 1960s – Southerners vs. others, Bemba speakers (from the North) vs. the rest, the Western (Barotse) autonomy issue or the reassertion of Eastern power, but one key informant argued that this is no more real than left-vs.-right ideology as a political rallying cry. Appeals to regionalism mask ‘contestation of power’ between factions that are essentially centred on a single individual (Key informant interview, 15 June 2007; Simutanyi, 2005 a).

10 For instance, Chiluba expelled party members who voted against his government on corruption legislation, spoke out against the third term, and alleged that the president bribed delegates to vote for him. Simutanyi, 2005 a: 10. Also see Rakner, 2003: 124-8, who notes there were 35 parties registered in 1996 and 11 people contested the 2001 presidential elections. The parties lacked ideological differentiation and none presented ‘an alternative economic agenda’

11 For example, two years into his presidency two cabinet ministers resigned due to allegations of increased tolerance of corruption in Chiluba’s government. Corruption took the form of abuse of public resources; using front companies in government procurement and receiving kickbacks from contracts. The most widely cited cases of corruption under Chiluba involved a cabinet minister over-invoicing prices of furniture sourced from South Africa purportedly for State House; another minister’s involvement in receiving bribes from contractors of the Merzaf flats in Lusaka; the disappearance of 23 oil tankers; corruption in the procurement of maize shipments and the copper cathodes and cobalt scams. A parliamentary accounts committee report on the scams was banned by the government in the 1994. One minister was sacked, while the other was shielded from prosecution by Chiluba.

12 E.g., before the 1996 elections, Chiluba’s government sold council and government houses at give-away prices as an inducement to people to vote for the MMD. In 1999, government created a ‘Presidential Discretionary Fund’, unofficially called the ‘Slush Fund’ with a budgetary allocation of about K12 billion (approximately \$5 million) which was at the disposal of the President alone, who in turn deployed it for partisan purposes (Burnell, 2002: 251).

13 Similar trends were seen in Malawi in 2002-04 and in Uganda after 2000

Mwanawasa's method of managing politics is different. He did not seek to form coalitions or create a government of national unity, though he had won only 29% of the vote. Instead he co-opted a few leading opposition MPs into his cabinet, some of whom were prominent individuals with their own followings. This helped him build a constituency of his own as people crossing the floor to join him won by-elections on his MMD ticket and those that didn't change parties accepted his leadership. A formal alliance with UNIP and the rehabilitation of Kaunda in 2003 provided him with more support. His legitimacy was enhanced further by his campaign of 'zero-tolerance against corruption' which targeted Chiluba and his cronies. But Mwanawasa has used nepotistic appointments and close observers also state that the President is now surrounded by 'weak' advisors and cabinet ministers, 'many [of whom] are poor' and are therefore 'afraid of being fired' and barred access to state resources. Their dependence on him makes it harder for them to tell him what he doesn't want to hear. Thus we still have 'the normal African patronage system' at State House (Key informant interviews, 19 – 22 June 2007).

Although the 2006 election is outside the scope of this study, it is worth pointing out that there did appear to be more public debate on issues, rather than personalities, in particular on television. Nonetheless, the parties contesting the election, and the main challenge to Mwanawasa was still focused around an individual, rather than a developing political party. Politics in Zambia retains many of the characteristics of a neopatrimonial state.

3.3 Decision-making, Appointments and Accountability

In a neopatrimonial state, the institutions which should provide the checks and balances on political power are weak, in particular in comparison to the power of the President. We examine below the extent to which, during the period of the evaluation, there have been efforts to strengthen these institutions, and how successful these have been.

The Zambian constitution confers on the president far-reaching decision-making authority, which includes making all the key public appointments in the Zambian state; veto powers over decisions by parliament, the judiciary and local authorities; and a hand in the running of public companies¹⁴ and awarding government contracts. The power and centrality of the presidency is also enhanced by resisting the 'delegating [of] all but the most trivial decision-making tasks' (Bratton and van de Walle, 1997: 63). At the pinnacle of the Zambian patronage machine, the president is the ultimate dispenser of resources and rents to key supporters. As a result, people seeking favours have 'turned pleasing the appointing authority [president] into an art. To get anywhere you have to be favoured' (Key informant interview, 18 June 2007).

Box 3.3 Neopatrimonialism and Erring Public Officials

During the Chiluba administration calls for the dismissal of public officials who were named in corruption scandals were often ignored. Typically the President demanded additional evidence before action could be taken. As a result very few officials accused of corruption were disciplined in those years. In one case, for example, two ministers alleged to have abused their positions to divert money from the National Assembly to cover expenses for the MMD national convention in early 2001, were simply suspended rather than dismissed.

While President Levy Mwanawasa is believed to be more decisive in dealing with erring officers than his predecessor, he has also had problems disciplining close associates. For example a senior official in the treasury who was accused of corruption by the Task Force on Corruption, had his suspension lifted and was promoted to a rank of deputy secretary to cabinet by the President. His downfall came only when he was cornered by the Task Force, which brought more evidence against him, and he lost his job.

In Zambia the institutions that in a democratic state hold the members of government and the bureaucracy to account have been judged 'largely ineffectual' because they have few powers, and have been 'chronically under-funded'. Also, the chairmen/women of many of these

14 While this report was being prepared President Mwanawasa announced the government's decision to revoke the concession agreement to the Canadian-run Railway Systems of Zambia citing poor performance. However, the idea was first aired in South Africa at an international conference and many ministers expressed ignorance of the decision (Personal communication with a senior civil servant at Cabinet Office, 23 June 2007).

agencies (Auditor General, Anti-Corruption Commission, Human Rights Commission, etc) do not have secure conditions of service and are appointed (and can be dismissed) by the president. They are therefore 'highly sensitive to signals coming from the Office of the President'. In the civil service, appointments are often politicised, while rewards come in the form of new appointments and rent-seeking opportunities. 'Financial indiscipline' may be condoned because it allows personal gain for supporters.

As the financial and transparency case study illustrates, 'financial transparency initiatives ... strike at the heart of the less legitimate area of patronage systems' (see Case Study 1, p.69). Regarding the role of the Auditor General's Office the case study concludes that 'there is likely to be more tolerance of an accountability process with a neopatrimonial regime if in the end it has little effect' (p.70). A senior government official told the team that rules, including financial regulations, are regularly broken with impunity thereby encouraging thefts and rent-seeking by public officials. In particular, he said that 'laws are there but not enforced. Zambia has no history of good regulations nor adherence to certain values. Modernity is a part-time thing. Informality is what governs behaviour' (Key informant interview, 8 October 2007).

Politicisation of the judiciary, by making the courts arbitrators of disputes between politicians and parties, has becoming more noticeable in Zambia (Zambia News Online, 7 July 1997). During the Mwanawasa period the ambivalent status of the courts has been the subject of comment: the Zambian Constitution and law 'provide for an independent judiciary; however, the judicial system was hampered by inefficiency, corruption, and lack of resources. Government officials used their offices to circumvent standard police and judicial procedures. [On the other hand in 2006] the courts continued to act independently and at times made judgments and rulings critical of the government.'¹⁵ But the recent practice of placing high court judges on contract and paying them Presidential-sanctioned salary increases seems to have compromised their independence (Key Informant interviews 22 June 2007, 8th October 2007).

While it is recognised that many public servants possess good qualifications and have the technical capacity to design and comment on policy proposals, they lack the autonomy to make decisions and have to refer even insignificant decisions to higher authorities, often as high as State House (Key informant interviews, 6, 13, 22 June 2007; also see Burnell, 2002; von Soest 2006). This is also true at Cabinet level. A high-ranking official in Chiluba's government told the evaluation team that in that government, a cabinet minister was not in a position of power (Key informant interview, October 8th 2007). The evaluation team was told by two different sources that "Zambia is a country where people keep their jobs by not doing them". When the team examined Norwegian support to agriculture in Northern Province, we found a situation where staff at grass roots level had a clear understanding of the reasons why the programme was not delivering results, but no way of addressing the planning and decision-making processes. Centralisation and hierarchy that result in excessive deference, passivity and fear of taking the initiative, do undermine the design and implementation of development policy and therefore, the effective use of aid.

There are indications of change. The team was told that in the last few years, more knowledgeable politicians were coming to the fore who had a better sense of accountability and responsibility, both for their decisions and for their civil servants (Key informant interview, October 9th 2007). Senior officials also pointed to the return to planning during Mwanwasa's presidency had provided a more effective framework for government decision-making¹⁶ (Key informant interview, 9th October 2007). It remains to be seen if this will change the dominant ethos of public service in Zambia over time.

3.4 State and Society

In a neopatrimonial state, power relations are dominated by vertical lines of influence, rather than horizontal class interests. The fact that Zambia is 50% urbanised, many of its workers are unionised and literacy and education levels are relatively high, especially in the city, all work to democracy's advantage. Indeed, it is safe to say that democratic consolidation is underway despite setbacks. Specifically, the degree of leverage the executive has had vis-à-vis society,

¹⁵ <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2006/78764.htm>

¹⁶ During the Chiluba era, there was no central planning document. One official described this as being a hand-to mouth country.

parliament and other representative institutions has varied. During the one-party era civic institutions were co-opted into the UNIP framework and President Kaunda held ultimate power and made key decisions, though MPs still needed to respond to their constituencies and ignored some of his dictates to get re-elected.¹⁷ Chiluba's overwhelming victory in 1991 gave him considerable power in relation to the MMD-dominated parliament. He also managed to push aside civil actors initially, though later civic organisations (funded by donors) and the media led the successful campaign against his third-term bid. Mwanawasa had a legitimacy problem initially, and he had to cope with a parliament in which MMD had lost its dominance, an active and vocal civil society, and a vociferous media, emboldened by their anti-third term campaign against Chiluba. He has gained leverage though, by taking on popular issues and presiding over economic growth. (Key informant interviews, 15, 19, 22 June 2007. Also see Farrington and Saasa, 2002; Brown, 2004; Meynes, 2005; and Corella, Mutesa, Hamabuyu and Mpepo, 2006). His re-election in 2006, with 43% of the vote, has consolidated his position.

In the absence of a strong political-party system, an independent parliament and watchdog organisations, NGOs, community-based and faith-based organisations have increasingly formed 'the only serious issue-oriented political opposition in the country' (Erdmann and Simitanyi, 2003: 44).

Box 3.4 Civil Society Activism and Donor Support for Change

NGOs proliferated in this period partly as a result of increased donor funding, but also because older and more formal ways (e.g., via the trade union movement) of influencing government had been closed off. There were more than a thousand NGOs registered by 1995 and many CSOs in the rural areas. They remained politically ineffectual by and large, because they had small memberships with weak roots, were poorly organised and lacking in capacity, especially lobbying skills, and were dependent on donor funding.

A few new advocacy NGOs did arise, joining the outspoken Law Association (LAZ) and church groups, such as the Catholic Commission for Justice, Development and Peace (CCJDP), the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR). They too focused on human rights, civic education, and elections. These included the Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP), Afronet, the NGO coordinating committee (NGO-CC), and the Civil Society for Poverty Reduction (CSPR). Service-delivery NGOs emerged too, particularly as the state withdrew further and donors stepped in to the breach, thinking that the NGO sector was less corrupt and inefficient. Church organisations have been particularly prominent champions of rights and social issues, partly because they are relatively well-funded, but also because they have deep roots and wide memberships. Chiluba rejected the views of his transitional allies, especially if they criticised his government, and his attitude 'escalated into open harassment of NGOs, including the arbitrary arrests of leaders, arbitrary tax auditing and fines'. Their influence waned further and they remained largely reactive. (Erdmann, and Simitanyi, 2003: 41-3; Rakner, 2003: 118).

Since multipartyism re-emerged in 1991 elections have been commercialised and candidates go around distributing food, money and articles of clothing (chitenge and T-shirts) to woo voters. 'People have come to recognise that to vote they need to be paid' (Key informant interview, 15 June 2007). Buying votes contributes the apparent weak link between support for the administration and its poor performance (Afrobarometer, 2002). The 1996 and 2001 presidential petitions cited evidence of vote-buying and other irregularities, but judges felt they were not sufficient to nullify the overall results. A lot of by-elections have been nullified on account of electoral fraud though. In fact, the 'flawed' 1996 election saw Chiluba re-elected with ¾ of the vote, as the party managed to rally support probably through Chiluba's promises of debt relief for farmers and reduced food prices (Rakner, 2003: 110-111, 120). Electoral support in such circumstances is based on a rational calculation that casting a vote for candidates most likely to form the next government – such as incumbents or those close to the likely winner – has the most likelihood of guaranteeing benefits (jobs, goods and public services). (Key informant interview, 19 June 2007).

¹⁷ Interestingly, though, the single-party system seems to have changed electoral politics at the local level and made some MPs more independent. See Gibson, 1999, on their campaigns about wildlife protection.

In the 1990s donor-government dialogue on governance issues made little headway, partly because on the donor side pressure for reform was ‘uncoordinated’ and donor interventions were ‘ad hoc’. Zambian activists also argue that donors were ‘naïve’, ‘ignorant’ or ‘idealists’, and did not listen to civil society closely enough. Had they done so, they would have understood better how to consolidate democracy after the transition. (Van der Heijden, 2001: 15; Key informant interviews, 15, 20, 21 and 22 June 2007). More alive to the problem, civil society and the media especially began speaking out about poor governance and corruption in government.

In Chiluba’s second term new political parties and alliances were formed to prepare for the 2001 contest. When it appeared that Chiluba intended to stand for a third term, NGOs and other civic organisations organised in opposition. Especially active were the Zambian Law Association, the Zambia Episcopal Conference, and the NGO Coordination Committee, which produced the Oasis Declaration in 2001, arguing against the third-term bid. The anti-third term movement was liberally supported by donors; donor support is seen as key generally in getting civil society’s voice heard. Indeed, this campaign was a ‘watershed’ for civil society activism. On the other hand, the campaign for constitutional reform is ‘less focused’ and harder to rally around, thus less successful, though activists see the donors’ approval of the Mwanawasa regime as having deprived them of funding. (Key informant interviews, 15, 21 and 22 June 2007 and Erdmann and Simutanyi, 2003: 43).

That said, the bulk of the rural population - more isolated, impoverished, and uneducated – appears to have remained marginalised, under-served by the state, and voiceless.

Box 3.5 ‘Strengthening’ the Rural Poor

Almost by definition the rural poor in neopatrimonial states remain tied to ‘patrons’ through traditional networks of power. Horizontal ‘voluntary associations’ that cut across vertical (ethnic, tribal) ties, to campaign on shared causes are largely absent. The poor access public goods, receive information and convey their views upwards through chiefs, mostly because the state’s and political party’s local representatives are absent or weak. They have few connections to urban-based NGOs, but are more likely to belong to churches that speak on their behalf at the centre. ‘Strengthening’ the poor is an ineffective aid strategy in circumstances where the likelihood of their gaining goods or services through formal (state) means is poor, and where it is still more likely that traditional networks and patrons are able to provide scarce resources. ‘People are all rational. They rationally assess the system’ and even if it doesn’t support them, they will stick with it. ‘Rebelling against this system is not the answer’. To change the system, state services must become more available in an open and transparent manner.

Source: Key informant interview, 18 June 2007

A strong and vibrant media has also developed over the years, and has at times held the government to account. Indeed, one quick measure of the progress being made towards good governance is the extent to which freedom of expression is allowed, for the media (as an accountability mechanism) and demands for openness are a direct threat to autocratic governments. Thus it comes as no surprise that media freedoms are still under attack periodically in Zambia, though it appears on the face of it to have a vibrant press.¹⁸ Further, government has failed since 2002 to pass the Freedom of Information Bill, which would have given the media more access to classified government records and has only partially passed the Independent Broadcasting Authority and Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Acts. Moreover, the state media are available almost exclusively to the ruling party during election campaigns, especially by-elections.

¹⁸ Zambian legislation limits freedom of expression and information especially through criminal defamation and insult laws that infringe on the expression of independent and critic views. The December 2003 Independent Broadcasting Authority and ZNBC Acts, which set up two independent boards, have not yet been fully implemented and the regulation of broadcasting and the national broadcaster is still under the direct control and influence of the Minister of Information. The existence of independent newspapers and broadcasters is negated by the government’s use of the powerful state-owned media, including ZNBC radio and television, three newspapers (Zambia Daily Mail, Times of Zambia, Sunday Times of Zambia) and of the news agency (ZANA).

The Public Order Act (POA) and other statutes have at times been used to harass journalists. Other tools of harassment have included criminal libel and defamation suits brought by ruling party leaders in response to stories on corruption. While journalists have been arrested, detained, and harassed by MMD supporters in previous years, there was little such activity in 2006¹⁹.

3.5 Conclusion

The analysis above indicates that in many ways the model of the neopatrimonial state is an appropriate one to analyse power relations in Zambia, though one which has to be applied within a dynamic context.

During the last forty years the overall structure and functioning of Zambia's political system has changed slowly, and this has affected the course of development and the ways in which aid could be used. One determinant of change has been the personalities (thus methods and goals) of the three presidents and their close advisors²⁰. They sometimes empowered formal institutions rather than used informal tools to impose their will, though they undoubtedly felt their options to promote such positive change were limited by structural constraints, such as how often they had to face the electorate and how legitimate and popular their government was. There are indications that some formal regulatory institutions²¹ have been strengthened in the last few years, with positive results in the area of accountability; informal institutions, in particular civil society, have had a positive impact in restraining Presidential power. However moving away from a neopatrimonial state is a slow and fragile process and requires a break with deeply engrained behaviour. If changes have been taking place since the Chiluba presidency, and the evaluation team saw some evidence of this, 2005 is still too early to judge how significant they may turn out to be.

The global context has also been important: since 1991 we have seen the end of the Cold War, improved mineral prices, the 'first African World War' in neighbouring DRC, and the rise of China, amongst other events important to Zambia. Other forces that are transformational (outside the scope of this study) have undoubtedly played a role.²² Here we have emphasised the nature of Zambian politics, and have highlighted an elite that is determined to promote narrow interests²³ and a population that remains vulnerable to clientelist politics for lack of consistent, alternative ways of acquiring goods and services. This system is likely to evolve slowly, and so any study of Zambian power relations should be updated from time to time.²⁴

Neopatrimonial states are non-developmental and poorly performing (World Bank Group, 2002; UNDP, 2004) and aid being delivered to these is subject to waste and abuse in ways that are described above. This fact goes directly to the relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, sustainability and impact of Norwegian aid to Zambia between 1991 and 2005. Donors are beginning to understand that because transformation has to be generated domestically by deeply rooted forces, their impact can be marginal at best, and that they must put aside the old normative tool box meant to fix formal institutions and take up a new set of tools. These include political-economy analysis – focusing on how informal power operates and how it is changing – and a range of interventions that aim to support large, context-specific historical processes of transformation and pockets of long-term, progressive change in all sectors.

19 Freedom House, Country Report Zambia 2007, <http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=22&country=7305&year=2007>

20 Annex C contains a more detailed analysis of Zambian economic development and power relations

21 See for example the case of the Audit Office as indicated in the case study on transparency in financial management.

22 e.g., tribalism and regionalism wielded by an unscrupulous politician, an empowered middle class, resource constraints and stresses, neighbouring unrest and mass immigration, etc. For an increase in the use of ethnicity, see Hulterstrom, 2007.

23 'The Zambian elite is extremely selfish and always works to advance its own self-interest'; Zambians are lacking in 'patriotism', meaning they don't care much about improving the nation and its people. (Key informant interviews, 6 and 22 June 2007)

24 It is recommended that the embassy employ a local (e.g., journalist) who is familiar with Zambian personalities and politics to continually map power structures, relationships between individuals and groups and their shared and diverse interests, and that this map is used by the embassy whenever planning aid, diplomatic, security or governance interventions nationally, regionally, or sectorally.

4 International Donor Assistance

This section examines how donors engaged with Zambia over the period of the evaluation: the nature of the financial flows to Zambia, how policy dialogue took place, and on what issues, whether donors acted in concert when engaging Zambian power structures, and how they themselves assessed the impact of their assistance.

4.1 Trends in ODA to Zambia

Zambia has since the 1990s received comparatively high levels of aid per capita, and remains as one of the major aid receivers in Africa. Zambia's aid dependency has been exceptionally high throughout the period 1990 – 2005, as one might expect given its high level of aid per capita combined with extreme (and worsening) poverty and low levels of GNI per capita. Average aid per capita during the period 1990 - 2005 was \$US79; and average ratio of ODA to GNI was 23%. This makes Zambia one of the most aid dependant countries in the world. At times, net ODA has been almost four times government expenditure (table 4.1). Total net ODA flows to Zambia during the period 1990 – 2005 amounted to \$US12.6 billions, of which \$US10.1 billions (81%) represented grants, and \$US2.5 billions (19%) represented net loans. The main trends in total net ODA flows during the period 1990 – 2005 can be summarised as follows:

- During the period 1990–1992 net ODA flows more than doubled from \$US475 million (\$US57 per capita; 16% (ODA/GNI)) in 1990 to \$US1.0 billion (\$US112 per capita; 36% (ODA/GNI)) in 1992. The increase in net ODA flows was largely due to net loans, while flows in the form of grants decreased.
- During the period 1993 – 2001, Zambia experienced a significant fall in net ODA flows, both in terms of grants and net loans, with the exception of 1995 when net loans (by the IMF) increased to \$US1.5 billions. In 1998, net ODA flows had fallen to one of its lowest levels: \$US 348 millions (\$US 34 per capita; 11.5% (ODA/GNI)). Net ODA flows then increased in 1999 and 2000, but fell again in 2001 to \$US349 millions.
- During the period 2002 - 2005, net ODA flows more than doubled, and in 2005 reached \$US945 millions (\$US81 per capita; 14.2% (ODA/GNI)). It is also worth noting that while grants have increased significantly since 2002, net loans to Zambia have decreased, most notably in 2003 and 2005 when Zambia's repayments of loans (most notably to the IMF and Japan) were greater than payments received.

Total bilateral and multilateral net ODA during the period 1990 – 2005 amounted to \$US7.7 billions (61%) and \$US4.9 billions (39%), respectively. Bilateral net ODA flows represented the largest share of total net ODA throughout the period (with the exception of 1995 when IMF provided a loan of \$US1.5 billions). Since 2001 bilateral flows have more than doubled, while multilateral flows have fallen significantly, most notably from the WB and the IMF. As a result, in 2005, bilateral net ODA flows represented 89% (\$US836) of total net ODA, while the share of multilateral flows had fallen to 11% (\$US109 millions). Table 4.2 below shows net ODA flows by main bilateral and multilateral donors. The three largest multilateral donors, the WB, IMF, and EC provided almost a third (32%) of total net ODA flows to Zambia during the period 1990 -2005. As mentioned above, the relative share of net ODA flows from the WB and the IMF has fallen significantly since 2001, and during recent years, net ODA flows by the IMF have been negative due to repayments of loans by Zambia. On the other hand, net ODA flows by the EC have increased significantly since 2001, and in 2005, the EC was the second largest donor (after the United Kingdom) with 15% of total net ODA flows.

Table 4.1 Total Development Assistance as a proportion of macroeconomic indicators

Total development assistance, 1990 - 2005	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Total net ODA (current \$US millions)	475	878	1031	867	715	2031	608	610	348	623	795	349	639	589	1125	945
of which Grants	786	549	781	638	487	523	413	382	353	439	523	396	524	743	969	1682
of which net Loans	-312	329	250	229	228	1508	195	227	-5	184	272	-47	116	-153	156	-737
ODA per capita (\$US)	57	102	116	95	77	212	62	61	34	59	74	32	58	52	98	81
ODA (% of GNI)	16 %	29 %	36 %	29 %	23 %	63 %	20 %	16 %	12 %	21 %	26 %	10 %	18 %	14 %	23 %	14 %
ODA % of government expenditure	76 %	82 %	216 %	144 %	163 %	378 %	102 %	89 %	68 %	154 %	257 %	75 %	133 %	101 %	164 %	97 %
ODA (% of gross capital formation)	107 %	229 %	307 %	231 %	189 %	470 %	165 %	119 %	72 %	124 %	142 %	51 %	80 %	55 %	85 %	53 %

Source: OECD www.oecd.org/dac/stats/dac

Table 4.2 Total development assistance for Zambia by top 10 donors 1990 – 2005

Top 10 donors (\$US)	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	90-05
IDA (WB)	3	212	173	173	185	207	178	166	40	152	206	136	150	98	156	102	2335
United Kingdom	43	67	99	40	69	76	61	94	33	64	111	56	28	66	283	166	1356
Germany	79	113	129	129	55	71	80	17	50	65	112	14	44	233	36	118	1344
EC	26	31	95	144	46	77	37	29	20	81	26	44	104	79	124	139	1102
Japan	40	83	117	91	106	79	42	44	34	59	32	47	68	28	14	132	1016
United States	12	22	71	34	13	21	18	48	12	27	46	29	48	64	82	124	671
SAF+ESAF+PRGF(IMF)	-5	0	..	..	..	1254	..	14	..	14	26	-149	-45	-236	-7	-236	630
Norway	55	52	50	33	51	35	31	37	32	27	25	21	29	36	37	49	600
Netherlands	43	17	42	27	28	42	27	24	22	13	51	30	35	35	54	56	548
Sweden	37	90	80	34	35	32	31	21	14	15	19	17	19	20	26	34	527
																	10128

Source: OECD www.oecd.org/dac/stats/dac

In 1996, the World Bank and IMF introduced the Highly Indebted Poor Country Initiative (HIPC) to provide a framework for debt relief for low-income countries, already eligible for IDA loans, but who faced an unsustainable debt burden. In 1999, this was linked to a WB initiative, the introduction of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), as a way of strengthening the link between debt relief, poverty reduction and social policies. PRSPs were supposed to be country-owned strategies, developed in a consultative manner with participation of the poor themselves. Over time they became a pre-requisite for IDA loans, not just for HIPC countries, and have become a feature of the international donor environment, with many donors structuring their country support around the PRSP²⁵.

In 2000, the adoption of the Millennium Development Goals by 147 heads of government in both the developed and developing world during the UN Millennium Summit reinvigorated a focus on poverty reduction. Similarly a renewed emphasis on aid effectiveness resulted in first the Rome Declaration of 2003 and then the Paris Declaration of 2005.

The Paris Declaration sets out a number of commitments for donor countries and their partners in the developing world: partner country ownership of development policies and strategies; donor alignment with partner strategies; donor actions more harmonised, transparent and collectively effective; management of resources for results; and mutual accountability. The Paris Declaration principles are currently being operationalised and monitored at country level to improve aid coordination.

In 2005, at the G8 meeting at Gleneagles, proposals were adopted to accelerate debt cancellation. This was adopted by the IFIs in their annual meetings. Zambia was one of 14 African countries that benefited immediately.

4.2 Donor - Zambia Policy Dialogue ²⁶

This section looks at how the international/ donor community operated in Zambia, and the dynamics of their engagement over the period 1991-2005²⁷. Development cooperation programmes were negotiated on a one-to-one basis with government, and there was little formal attempt to coordinate assistance amongst donors as we see today. However, the Consultative Group meetings, started in the mid-1980s, did attempt to coordinate donors around macroeconomic and structural policy reforms, and address financing gaps.

Prior to the election in 1991, the World Bank had suspended its Economic Reform Credit because of the impact that the retention of maize subsidies would have on Zambian debt arrears. Other bilateral donors withheld balance of payments support. After the election the MMD came to an agreement with the WB on economic reform, and proceeded to mend relations with bilateral donors, sufficiently that a CG meeting was held in March 1992. CG meetings continued to be held through the 1990s, focusing largely on macroeconomic issues, public sector reform and privatisation²⁸.

The MMD updated the New Economic Recovery Programme, formulated by UNIP in the late 1980s. The main elements of this were: the privatisation of state-owned enterprises; fiscal discipline and tax reform; control of inflation through appropriate monetary policy; reducing external debt; increasing social spending; reviving agriculture; and reforming the mining sector. Structural reforms were given a good report through the early part of the 1990s, but concerns were already being raised in December 1993 about the slow pace of privatisation. In 1995, the country looked to be moving off track, but there was a flurry of activity around privatisation, and the IMF agreed entry into ESAF with Zambia in late 1995.

Governance issues were raised from 1993 onwards, with bilateral donors expressing concern over corruption and drug trafficking in the 1993 CG meetings. The government was seen to take action against involved MMD members, and aid was unfrozen. There appears to have been a split between multilaterals and bilateral donors over issues of governance, with the IFIs indicating that they could not interfere in a country's internal politics, only over issues of

²⁵ The Fifth National Development Plan, adopted in 2006, is now accepted by the IFIs as Zambia's current PRSP.

²⁶ This section draws on Rakner, 2003, supplemented by interview material.

²⁷ More detail about the Zambian government's approach to economic policy is contained in Annex C.

²⁸ Assistance from bilateral donors at this period took two important forms: Balance of Payments support, and project/ programme assistance. By the early 1990s, issues of governance and human rights started to appear on the CG meeting agenda, bringing in aspects of political as well as economic conditionality.

macroeconomic stability and specific loan conditions. In 1998 the IFIs suspended the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF) on the issue of privatisation of ZCCM, along with a number of bilateral donors. A second ESAF was approved, but this went off track again shortly after it was agreed, over failure to address improved tax and revenue collection.

The most concerted bilateral donor reaction on governance matters came over the constitutional changes banning Kenneth Kaunda from standing in the 1996 election on the basis of his not being born to Zambian parents. First the UK, then Norway and the US withheld non-project funding, followed by a number of other bilaterals. The WB took a compromise position, extending funds which effectively undermined the bilateral stance. However there was not unanimous backing of the WB over mining in 1998, when a number of the bilaterals felt that the privatisation process was causing undue hardship within Zambia (key informant, May 2007).

Splits also appeared on the bilateral side, over the 2001 election process. Norway took the lead in funding the electoral process, despite European misgivings about the capacity of the Electoral Commission to organise a fair election, on the basis that, even with flaws, it was important that the process keep on track. However, donors took a step back over the issue of Chiluba's third term, and let CSOs make the running on this, though often with donor funding. CSOs had, by this time, taken a more prominent position in Zambia, to some extent due to the PRSP process, which had resulted in the formation of Civil Society for Poverty Reduction (CSPR) an umbrella body which received significant donor funding.

With the adoption of the PRSP in 2002, there was a much more concrete development plan with which the donors could engage. The extent of national ownership of the PRSP can be disputed. In spite of the consultation processes undertaken as part of its preparation, many Zambians feel that any ownership of the final document was vested in the Ministry of Finance²⁹. As in many countries, there was some resentment about the adoption of a policy instrument which was seen as being driven by the IFIs, and indeed, in 2006, Zambia reverted to a national planning process, with the adoption of the FNDP.³⁰

The dynamic of donor engagement with the Zambian government has changed since 2001. The CG process had a hiatus over the election period, and in September 2002, the Nordic Plus countries met in Helsinki and agreed to push forward a joint harmonisation process in Zambia³¹. This was taken forward by the embassies in Lusaka, and the 'Harmonisation in Practice' initiative, HIP, was started, which has, in turn, led to the process for the Joint Assistance Strategy for Zambia (JASZ)³². Over time, this alignment process has incorporated more agencies, including the multilateral agencies, the WB and the UN system, and is now known as WHIP, the wider Harmonisation in Practice.

The JASZ was finalised and signed by all parties in April 2007. It includes a Division of Labour Matrix which identifies lead agencies/ country partners for specific sectors, active agencies, and agencies who will step down from direct involvement in sectors. This will take time to operationalise as bilateral donors have existing agreements with partners and ongoing projects. However, over the last four years a number of bilaterals, including Norway, have gradually introduced delegated responsibilities for particular sector involvement. This involves channelling funding through another bilateral for specific initiatives.

From our interviews in Lusaka, it appears that the WHIP has led to some tensions amongst donors, both around the Division of Labour process, and around the JASZ. The widening out of the HIP has made the process more cumbersome, and it appears to some of the bilaterals, that the multilaterals in particular have moved the process away from the relatively light touch that the Nordics were comfortable with. It has proved difficult to reduce significantly the number of active donors in the more popular sectors, where there can be a troika of lead agencies and as many again active. At times it seems as though the demands of an agency's head office is taking precedent over the preferences of the Zambian government. Without

29 However, it should be noted that similar complaints have been made, particularly from the provinces and districts, about the FNDP. Incorporating the results of consultative processes into coherent planning documents is a challenge for most planning ministries.

30 The FNDP is a more comprehensive planning document, in that it includes expenditure on defence and basic government administrative functions in its budgetary coverage. There is more emphasis on wealth creation as the key to poverty reduction, less emphasis on targeting and sector priorities have changed, with more emphasis on education and tourism.

31 Introduction to Zambia's Aid Policy, 2007.

32 The adoption of the Paris Declaration in 2005 has increased donor interest in this type of initiative at the national level.

exception, both bilaterals and multilaterals indicated that the transactions costs of the process were high. Some remained optimistic that once the first phase was over, the time involvement would fall; others were more sceptical.

4.3 Donor Engagement with Power Structures

Donor engagement with power structures can be categorised in a number of ways: formal, technical and informal.

The formal processes of engagement have at their core serious policy issues. Often, however, the process has an element of theatre. Throughout the period of the evaluation, donors, in particular the IFIs set out formal conditions upon which their assistance was dependent. However, one informed commentator argues that, during the 1990s, neither donors nor the Zambian government expected much to be achieved with foreign assistance. As a result, non-compliance from the Zambian government was met with very weak sanctions.³³

The manner in which development assistance and loans are institutionalised can also add an element of artifice to the way in which donors have engaged with the Zambian government. Where there are formal joint government-donor meetings, such as the CG, most donors have already decided their potential levels of assistance. An extreme example took place in 1996, when Zambia had failed to meet the ESAF conditions in late 1995. Nonetheless, government and donors proceeded as though debt relief had been granted, despite the fact that the CG meeting, planned for March 1996, never took place³⁴.

Although donor positions can change because of changes in policy in their home base (and this is true for both bilateral and multilateral donors), these changes are usually well signalled in advance, and do not often result in a dramatic change in aid flows. Most donors have had individual annual or biennial processes of review and meeting, again at ministerial level, but with prior ministerial briefing undertaken by senior civil servants. The outcomes of these meetings are usually agreed well in advance.³⁵

There are few examples of individual donors breaking ranks and taking a stand on specific issues of principle. The ability of any individual donor to influence Presidential actions is extremely limited. On occasion there have been joint efforts to take a stance. Three Ministers of Development flew into Lusaka together to meet with Chiluba (the ministers of the UK, Sweden and the Netherlands), but the main effect seems to have been one of resentment at being confronted by three female ministers.

Technically, embassy and IFI staff tend to interact with civil servants over programme, sector and project meetings. How effective this is depends on how well civil servants have mastered their brief, and this varies from ministry to ministry. In addition, it has been noted by some informants that the current generation of civil servants are more sensitive to criticism, possibly because of less confidence in their own capacity, and that this can affect the quality of discussion at a technical level.

Ministerial engagement tends to be at a higher level. If there are key issues which are regarded as important at home, then a visit by the Minister to Zambia is regarded as important. Even with the increased autonomy given to most bilateral country offices, a visit from the Minister gives a level of gravitas to the discussion, particularly if sensitive issues of governance are involved. Equally, when a country partner is seen to be putting undue pressure on Zambia, the President may eventually threaten to complain in public³⁶. Ultimately bilateral development cooperation is a government-to-government agreement and when problems arise concerns move upstream.

Informal interaction between donors and key Zambian stakeholders is more difficult to document. At a high level, senior members of the donor community can have good links with members of government or of the opposition, which potentially gives them insight into the

³³ M. McPherson, "Ending Aid Dependence in Zambia" in Hill and McPherson eds. (2004)

³⁴ McPherson, *ibid.*

³⁵ The evaluation team came across one example where, despite the Zambian civil service giving a positive briefing about a project to the Minister, and the ambassador giving a positive briefing to his own Minister, the Zambian minister changed the script and made some very negative statements. The civil servants concerned could remember this clearly almost ten years later, an indication of how rare an occurrence such a frank exchange is.

³⁶ This happened over funding of CSOs in 2000.

background to important policy decisions. Many of the embassies rely in part on their local staff for information on what is really happening, and how to interpret public statements and events. In some cases, embassy staff move on to more important positions in government or civil society, while retaining connections in their previous organisation. Shared interests have brought members of the donor community together with senior government officials in informal settings. For instance, 'KK' was keen on preserving wildlife and supported a number of initiatives that allowed foreigners to press their cause in more informal and very effective ways.

The move upstream to budget support and policy dialogue has been frequently mentioned as making it more difficult for donors to understand what is going on at grassroots level. With fewer projects, the flow of information from project staff has dried up. At the same time, it increases the importance of communication amongst donors. It is too early to assess what impact the Division of Labour will have on government-donor dialogue. A case could be made that it should create more informed but also more equal dialogue, by reducing the number of donors engaged. Whether better dialogue will have more impact on government actions is a different question.

Engagement should be a two-way process. However, there have been indications in a number of our interviews that, for different reasons, Zambia has not always been particularly effective in policy engagement. Partly this may have arisen from a feeling of dependence on donor assistance and powerlessness. At times, as much as 45% of the government's budget has been externally funded. This is changing, as debt relief and rising copper prices have effect. In 2006, this had fallen to 27%. Morale and commitment in the Ministry of Finance appears to have risen in line with what is perceived as greater traction with donors³⁷.

Concerns have also been raised by Zambians about the quality of the preparation for donor meetings. One senior government politician pointed out that consistency and knowledge is needed in dealing with development partners, otherwise Zambians give in and say yes. However, even when officials have tried to take a stand, it has been difficult to persuade donors to modify their proposals. A senior official can refuse a donor proposal, but cannot have a more suitable proposal in its place, if this is not in accordance with the donor position (Key informant interview 8th October 2007). The centralisation of decision-making also militates against individuals being prepared to take strong stances and also against civil servants presenting technical analyses that could be seen as controversial. At a subnational level, the evaluation team found in the case studies that Zambian officials were not well prepared in project level meetings with donors.

4.4 Assessments of the Impact of ODA in Zambia

A number of donors have undertaken evaluations of their assistance programmes in Zambia over the period concerned. The evaluation has identified evaluations carried out for the World Bank, SIDA, Germany, for their involvement in PRSP processes, Irish Aid, and UK technical cooperation for economic management.

None of these evaluations try to make a link between the assistance provided and impact on poverty. This is understandable given the broad processes being evaluated and the difficulty in showing contribution, far less attribution where any individual country programme is relatively small, and may not be focused on poverty reduction except as an overarching goal. However, it does beg the question as to the overall purpose behind development assistance. Some of the evaluations focus more on organisational issues on the donor side (OPM, 2005). Others focus on the organisational and institutional issues on the GRZ side, in particular capacity. The German assessment of alignment with PRSP processes criticises the continued involvement in projects where other donors are moving more upstream into policy dialogue.

A number of issues are raised by more than one of the evaluations. On public sector reform, an area which has been supported by a number of donors, there is concern over a perceived lack of political will to implement plans which will have uncomfortable consequences. The low pay of public employees and high staff turnover is frequently mentioned.

³⁷ Key stakeholder meetings, October 9th 2007.

The 2002 evaluation of the WB programme (World Bank, 2002) is critical of the emphasis on macroeconomic management (by and large seen as successful) while little effort was seen to be made to target poor households, or provide intellectual leadership in stimulating a national debate on the role of redistributive programmes. This is an interesting contrast to the OED evaluation in 1997, which comments on the increase in poverty, but gives no comment as to any link between this and the WB's country programme. The one area, other than macroeconomic stabilisation, which is singled out for comment are the constraints resulting from a lack of private sector entrepreneurship. The need to address the losers from structural reform, in order to ensure that this is not derailed, is also mentioned.

Howard White's evaluation for SIDA of their country assistance echoes this point. He argues that, as of 1998, on policy dialogue, there had been a feeling on the part of donors that GRZ is not sufficiently committed to reform, and that poverty has not featured in policy dialogue. Growth has been haphazard, creating an uncertain environment for poverty reduction, and while aid may have assisted what growth there was, the channels to poverty reduction have not worked particularly well.

A somewhat different view is adopted in an assessment undertaken for SIDA (Saasa, 2002) of the relationship between donor aid and poverty reduction. This identifies as one of the major factors behind the lack of impact of aid on poverty levels as the absence of a "functional and thought-out national institutional framework within which external resources are mobilised" resulting in poor synchronisation of external resources. This is a deficit which is being currently addressed by a combination of the harmonisation process, and the development of Zambia's Aid Policy and Strategy, recently adopted by Cabinet.

Another assessment of the effectiveness of aid during the Chiluba period identifies five lessons which emerge: (i) lack of donor harmonisation contributes to 'the low effectiveness of the exercise of leverage', (ii) 'no amount of aid-supported government policies to promote poverty reduction can be successful if the country's own development efforts are receding', (iii) politics do matter and fiscal reform without an eye to governance is ineffective. (iv) Making matters worse donors did not implement their programme in a timely manner or deliver their aid fully. They were also accused of changing the goal posts as economic and political conditionalities were imposed at different times by different donors. (v) As donors took a larger role and financial dependency increased, government officials' commitment to the design, implementation and evaluation of aid activities declined (Van der Heijden, 2001).

4.5 Conclusions

ODA to Zambia has been important, both in relation to GNI and as a percentage of government expenditure, throughout the period under consideration, though there has been considerable variation on a year-to-year basis, which in itself makes ODA more difficult to manage effectively.

Much of the dialogue in the early years between donors and government focussed on macroeconomic issues, in particular liberalisation and privatisation. The CG meetings were the main forum for coordination, though all donors had their own bilateral negotiations. However there was considerable consensus amongst donors on policy stance for much of the period. The dynamic of donor engagement with the Zambian government has changed since 2001, with a joint harmonisation process, culminating in the JSAZ, signed in 2007. This could lead to more effective dialogue by reducing the number of active partners.

Donor evaluations of assistance point to a lack of targeting and focus on poverty in both donor programmes and in policy dialogue. They also express concern about lack of government commitment to aid activities.

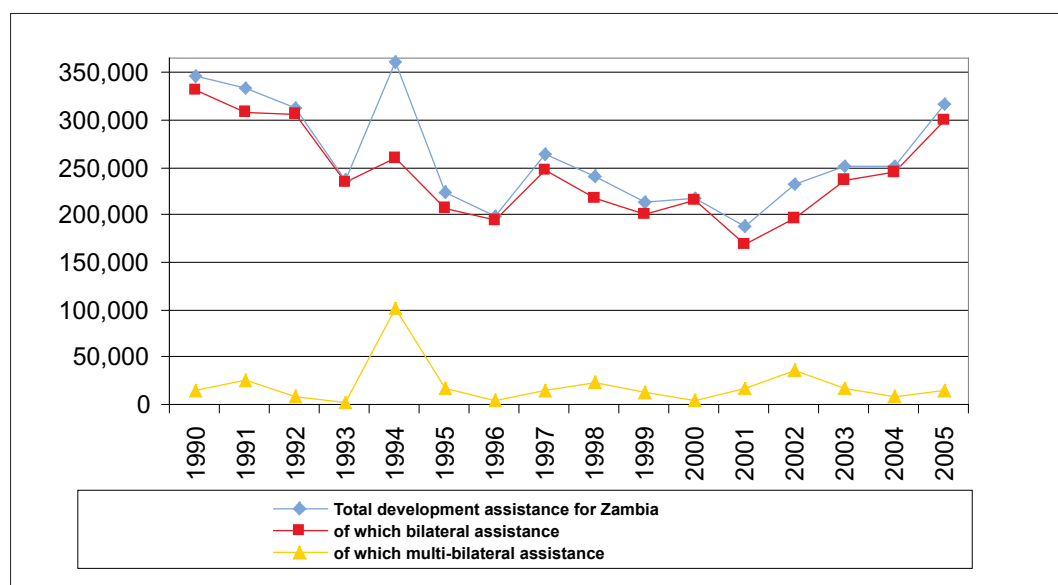
5 Norwegian Development Cooperation with Zambia

This section looks at Norwegian ODA to Zambia, the channels used and changes in the domestic context of ODA. Norwegian agreements with GRZ are examined, and their practical implementation is reviewed through an analysis of minutes of some of the meetings, including CG meetings, and a review of a select number of projects implemented during the evaluation period.

5.1 Trends in Norwegian Development Cooperation over the Period

Norwegian development assistance to Zambia during the period 1990 – 2005 has been divided into NOK3.9 billion (92.4%) bilateral assistance³⁸, and NOK318 million (7.6%) multi-bilateral assistance³⁹. In 1990, Zambia received NOK346 million (8.6% of Norway's total development assistance). In 2001 development assistance had fallen to NOK187 million (3.2% of Norway's total development assistance). Since 2002 development assistance has been increasing, and in 2005 it amounted to NOK315 million (4% of Norway's total development assistance).

Figure 5.1 Total development assistance for Zambia 1990 – 2005 (NOK 1000)

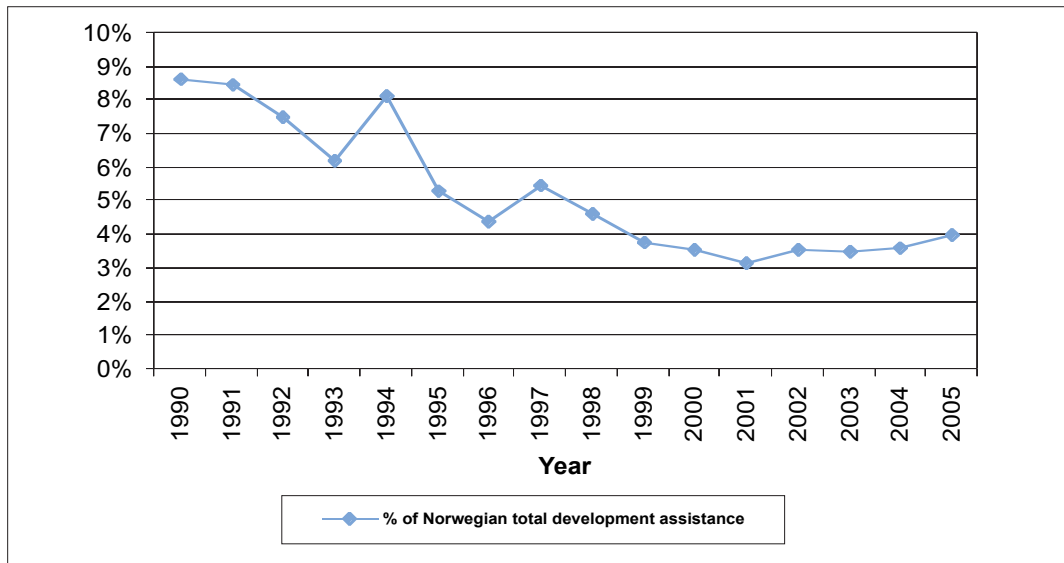


Source: Statistikkportalen and AMOR/Norad/STN

³⁸ Denotes direct cooperation between Norway and developing country, or support through an international, regional, local or Norwegian NGO.

³⁹ Denotes assistance that is channelled through a multilateral organisation, and earmarked for projects/programmes in a specific country/region.

Figure 5.2 Development assistance for Zambia as % of total Norwegian bilateral development assistance 1990 - 2005 (%)

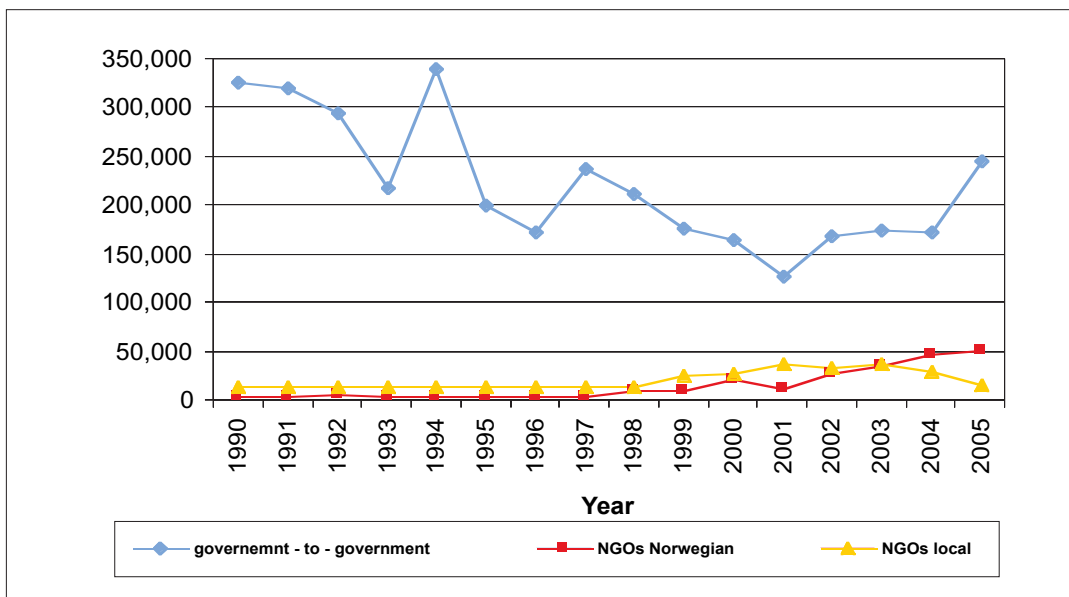


Source: Statistikkportalen

Channel of Assistance

The main channel of assistance during the period 1990 – 2005 has been government – to – government⁴⁰. In 1990, NOK327 million (94.5%) of total development assistance to Zambia went through the government – to – government channel. As mentioned above, during the period 1990 – 2001 development assistance to Zambia fell significantly. In 2001 only NOK128 million (68.7%) went through the government – to – government channel. Subsequently, development assistance through both local NGOs and Norwegian NGOs increased.

Figure 5.3 Channel of assistance 1990 – 2005 (NOK 1000)



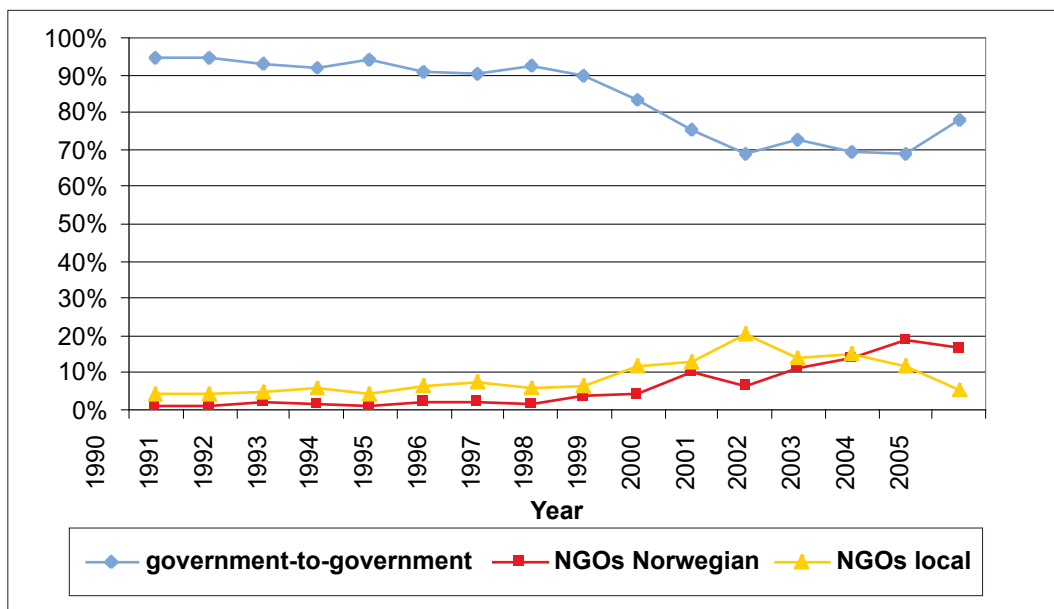
Source: AMOR/Norad/STN 110507

As mentioned above during the period 2002 - 2005 total development assistance to Zambia increased, and so did flows through the government – to - government channel. At the same

40 Include assistance through public institutions, ministries, consultants, and private sector.

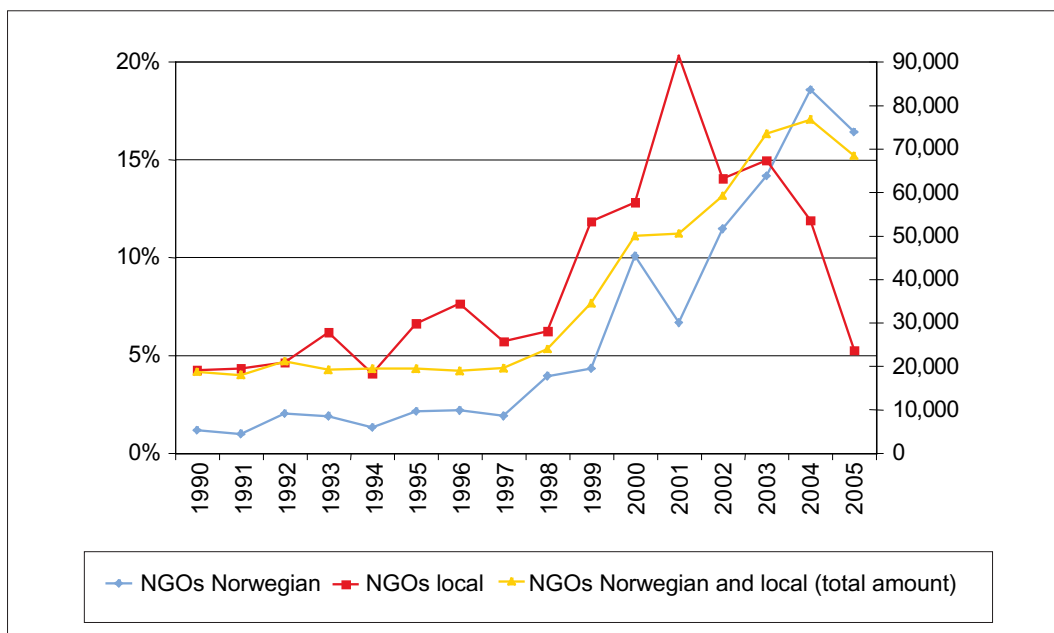
time, flows through local NGOs fell significantly, and in 2005 only NOK16 millions (5%) went through local NGOs. Subsequently, flows through Norwegian NGOs increased, which in 2005 amounted to NOK51 millions (16%). Hence, during the period 2002 – 2005 there was an increase in development assistance through both the government – to – government channel and Norwegian NGOs, while assistance through local NGOs fell significantly.

Figure 5.4 Channels of assistance 1990-2005 as % of total ODA



Source: AMOR/Norad/STN 110507

Figure 5.5 ODA through Norwegian and local NGOs as % of total ODA (%) and total amount (NOK 1000)



Source: AMOR/Norad/STN 110507

Main sector areas of support during the period 1999-2005 were education, health (mainly HIV/Aids-related), and other social sectors while support to transport, energy, natural resources, agriculture, environment and wildlife decreased compared to the previous years. Support to financial management and good governance increased during the period as well as support through general budget support which is a more recent phenomenon.

5.2 The Domestic Context

Development cooperation to Zambia is given within the framework of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU). This is agreed between the Norwegian Government and GRZ at ministerial level. During the period of the evaluation there have been two MoUs, in 1993 and 2000. The MoUs are active until replaced by a new MoU.

Within the framework set out by the MoU, the Norwegian government develops a 3-4 year country programme. This is discussed with GRZ, and is the operational basis for the annual country plan of activities and disbursement. Annual Review meetings between Norway and GRZ were conducted regularly through the '90s but were discontinued after 2000 in the light of the donor harmonisation process.

Norwegian development assistance is allocated within the annual budget, at the level of specific country allocations. These must be disbursed within the year, or the funds are returned to the Ministry of Finance. These can be reallocated to the country if application is made but this is time-consuming and the outcome is by no means certain, so there is pressure to disburse within the year.

Disbursement is according to specific project or programme agreements, which set out commitments and proposed disbursement schedules.

Within the overall period of the evaluation there have been a number of changes in the Norwegian government's approach to development cooperation worldwide. The first of these is reflected in the document, 'Strategies for Development Cooperation. Norad in the Nineties', published in 1990, and developed into guidelines in 1992. In this document, Norway started to outline what it expected not just from itself as an aid donor, but also from the recipient, the beginning of what is commonly referred to in Norway as recipient responsibility. "The full responsibility of the partner countries for their own development will be a guiding principle." Aid activities are no longer undertaken in the recipient country, but undertaken with the recipient country government.

The 1992 guidelines identify key areas for Norwegian development cooperation: sustainable development, democracy and human rights, productive activities and employment, environment, population, gender issues and institutional development. It also identifies twelve programme countries, of which Zambia is one. It also sets out how Norad will work with a 'partner in cooperation'⁴¹. The guidelines also set out the basis for institutional cooperation, agreements between organisations in Norway and in the developing country, which could include public institutions, NGOs and commercial enterprises.

The strategy for bilateral cooperation was replaced by 'Norad invests in the future', a strategy for 2000-2005, which reaffirms combating poverty as the ultimate goal of Norwegian assistance. Six broad areas are identified: social development, economic development, peace, democracy and human rights, environment and natural resource management, humanitarian assistance, and women and gender equality. The document emphasises the importance of human rights, sustainability and recipient responsibility, and the need to work with not just the public sector but also civil society and the private sector.

After a review in 2001, the Storting decided to reduce the number of main partner countries to seven: Bangladesh, Malawi, Mozambique, Nepal, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia.

In 2004 a report was submitted to the Storting setting out a comprehensive development policy, Fighting Poverty Together. This sets out the evolving international aid architecture around the MDGs, poverty reduction strategies and improved donor coordination. The report also reinforces the importance Norway places on support to the private sector and civil society as important partners in achieving a stable and pro-poor society in partner countries.

In 2004, responsibility for implementation of the Norwegian development cooperation programme was shifted from Norad to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a move which has led to greater autonomy to country embassies, and also reflects an understanding that

⁴¹ The guidelines suggest that "partner in cooperation" should be used in preference to recipient. However, throughout interviews with Norwegian staff, the term recipient responsibility was used frequently.

development cooperation is as much a political as a technical issue. Aid policy is also very much influenced by issues of aid effectiveness and harmonisation around the Paris Declaration. It is gradually reducing the number of sectors it is involved in, in each country to two or three plus GBS. This will take time, as there is a need to honour existing agreements. It will take time to pull out of a sector completely. In deciding which sectors to remain active in, Norway will be guided by its comparative advantage, which is seen as peace building, environment, energy and petroleum, gender and governance.

Development policy and approach⁴² is influenced by the domestic constituencies and interests. The Norwegian population in general has strong support for development cooperation, but there is also a strong demand for showing results.

There are more specific domestic interests in development cooperation and with Zambia in particular. Noragric has had important links with Zambia going back to the 1970s, and many Norwegian agriculturalists have worked or trained in Zambia, particularly in Northern Province. This link came to an end in the late 1990s, but there remains an intellectual interest.

Norwegian Assistance through Norwegian NGOs, Unions, and Other

As mentioned above, a significant share of Norwegian development assistance to Zambia has been channelled through Norwegian NGOs. The two largest Norwegian agreement partners during the period 1999 - 2005 have been Norwegian Church Aid (NOK69 millions) and Save the Children Norway (NOK40 millions). Norwegian Church Aid has mainly focused on basic education, but also areas such as human rights, good governance and civil society, and HIV/AIDS. Both organisations have Zambia as a focus country, and have set up country offices.

Norwegian Church Aid works mainly with Church Based Organisation (CBOs) and Faith Based Organisations (FBOs), and the main implementing partner has been the Council of Churches in Zambia (CCZ). Save the Children Norway has mainly been engaged within the area of basic education in the Southern Province, with the Ministry of Education as the implementing partner. Both organisations were approached by Norad in 1997/1998 when education became a top priority area for Norway in Zambia, and a 'division of labour' appears to have been set up between the two organisations.

Caritas Norway (NOK12 million) is the third largest agreement partner, and mainly engaged within the areas of democracy, gender, and HIV/AIDS, and food aid. The main implementing partner is the Catholic Centre for Justice Development and Peace (CCJDP). LO Norway is the agreement partner that has had the engagement in Zambia since the 1980s together with the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU). LO's support has mainly focused on training and organisational development.

Table 5.1 Top Ten Norwegian Agreement Partners 1999 – 2005

(NOK 1000)	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	Total
Norwegian Church Aid	6,487	7,640	6,911	8,596	11,200	13,041	15,245	69,120
%	3.0%	3.5%	3.7%	3.7%	4.4%	5.2%	4.8%	4.1%
Save the Children Norway	700	5,934	2,876	6,008	9,000	8,316	7,560	40,394
%	0.3%	2.7%	1.5%	2.6%	3.6%	3.3%	2.4%	2.4%
Caritas Norway	0	0	0	1,500	1,050	2,915	7,096	12,561
%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%	0.4%	1.2%	2.2%	0.8%
Fredskorpset Norway	0	0	158	3,305	1,886	2,740	3,733	11,821
%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	1.4%	0.7%	1.1%	1.2%	0.7%

⁴² This section is heavily based on interviews with staff and former staff of MFA and Norad in Oslo.

(NOK 1000)	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	Total
Doctors without Borders	0	0	0	2,000	3,600	4,300	1,750	11,650
%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.9%	1.4%	1.7%	0.6%	0.7%
Norwegian Nurses Organisation	0	0	455	1,969	2,722	3,305	3,110	11,561
%	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%	0.8%	1.1%	1.3%	1.0%	0.7%
LO Norway	910	1,413	1,204	1,201	1,152	878	890	7,648
%	0.4%	0.6%	0.6%	0.5%	0.5%	0.3%	0.3%	0.5%
Plan Norway	0	0	0	0	0	3,381	3,626	7,006
%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.3%	1.1%	0.4%
SOS Children's Villages'	0	0	0	760	1,013	3,200	1,960	6,933
%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%	0.4%	1.3%	0.6%	0.4%
Total bilateral assistance	213,241	218,038	187,113	231,970	252,006	251,801	315,427	1,669,595

Source: AMOR/Norad/STN 110507

The Zambian implementing partners are often considered to be 'natural partners'. For instance, Norwegian Church Aid works with the CCZ, Caritas Norway works with CCJDP and Dioceses, LO Norway works with the ZCTU etc. Nevertheless, Save the Children Norway may to some extent be different in the sense that the organisation works directly with the Ministry of Education, which may not be viewed as a 'natural partner'.

The Norwegian agreement partners rely on their own sources of funding, such as membership fees and fund raising activities. Nevertheless, funding by the Norwegian government often amounts to a significant share of the organisation's total budget for Zambia (in many cases up to 50% to 80%). This makes the organisations quite dependent on funding from the Norwegian government. The Norwegian agreement partners are contracted through either a four or five year global framework contract with Norad and/or contracts directly with the Norwegian Embassy. Contracts are awarded without an open tender procedure, but the organisation needs to show it possesses the required competence, experience, and networks. The organisations report back annually. Reporting requirements to Norad and the Embassy are considered to be a 'fairly light exercise', without much details required about the project/programme being implemented. Nevertheless, Norad and the Embassy have different reporting procedures, time schedules, and formats that are not streamlined. This can sometimes create 'unnecessary' or 'overlapping' reporting requirements for the agreement partners.

5.3 Norwegian Engagement with the Zambian Government

As indicated above, the main instruments guiding Norway's engagement with GRZ are the MoU the country programme and the country strategy.

In 1992 the first country strategy for Zambia was developed. The overarching goal for Norwegian assistance was to contribute to economic growth and social development; sound management of natural resources; and improve women's living conditions. Democracy development was added as a new central goal.

Priority areas in the 1992 country strategy included: import and debt support; economic growth and private sector development; democracy and civil society; environment and natural resource management; water and sanitation; and women and children.

The 1992 strategy also emphasised the need for improved coordination between Norwegian channels of assistance, as well as routines and information sharing between Norad and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

This was, in turn, reflected in the 1992 MoU, which sets out the goals for cooperation as given in the country strategy (see above) and prioritises, under economic development, BoP support and debt relief, as long as the Adjustment Programme is fully implemented, industrial development, in particular private sector development, support to the road sector and district development. Democratic development, and in particular support to improve women's participation, social development (water and sanitation), environmental development and women's issues are also priorities. In short, the MoU reflects the country programme, and there is little indication in the cover note that this was developed in collaboration with GRZ.

Both the 1992 and 1994–1997 country strategy suggested that government-to-government support should continue to be the main channel of assistance, but that Norwegian private organisation and NGOs should be encouraged to play a larger role in Zambia. It was also suggested that a larger share of Norwegian assistance should be focused on the private sector in Zambia. Increased cooperation with Norwegian business should also be encouraged.

The country strategies also highlight that results have been positive at the project micro level, but that weak administrative capacity and deteriorating economic conditions have reduced the overall effectiveness of aid. It is also noted that agricultural support to Northern Province has been too ambitious and focused on too many areas.

The 1991–1994 country programme for the first time mentions increased support to social sectors as part of the Zambia structural reform program. It is noted that the decision on which sector to support should be based on Zambia's priorities as well as competence and capacity in Norad. Consideration should also be given to other donors' contributions within the social sectors. It is however also noted that the education sector in particular has been given priority, and that Norway should indicate to the Zambian government an interest in increasing assistance within this area.

The 2000 MoU is much shorter, and links future strategies to the development of the PRSP. It sets out four priority areas in the programme: strengthening human rights and democratisation; improving basic education; strengthening the roads sector; and enhancing environmental management. There appears to have been greater consultation with Zambia in the development of this MoU.

How did these agreements and strategies work in practice? We have taken two ways of approaching this – an analysis of some of the meetings and reviews, including CG meetings, and an examination of a number of projects that were implemented during the period.

5.4 Norwegian Approaches to Economic and Political Reform in Zambia in the 1990s Structural Adjustment, Good Governance and Corruption

“It was agreed that Norway will co-finance the Harvard International Institute of Development team that will assist the Ministry of Finance in implementing the structural reform programme” (AM⁴³, 1990: 15).

This so-called ‘Harvard Team’ “camped at the Ministry of Finance for several years to ‘help’ the Government take and implement appropriate policies” (Saasa, 2006: 7). Thus, Norway was deeply involved, from a very early stage, at the heart of 1990s ‘structural adjustment’ efforts in Zambia.⁴⁴ The centrality of economic reform to Norwegian cooperation with Zambia was confirmed in, for example, discussions with the new MMD government in 1992:

“The Norwegian delegation noted with appreciation that the good relation with the World Bank and the IMF had been re-established. The level and direction of the Norwegian assistance would, in general, be based on the assumption that the cooperation between the Government of the Republic of Zambia and these institutions would continue and that the restructuring programme will be carried through” (AM, 1992: 4).

43 Agreed minutes of consultation meeting between Norway and Zambia.

44 This present paper is not centrally concerned with the merits and impacts of these economic policies – for assessments of this sort, see Saasa (2006) and Mculloch *et al* (2000).

In particular, within the general field of Norwegian support to private sector development, “Priority will be given to assistance concerned with promoting and facilitating competition, privatization and investment” (AM, 1992: 10).

Of course Norway was also committed to various political (as well as economic) objectives from a very early stage of the period under review (and before), not least “democratization, respect for human rights and good governance” (AM, 1992: 5). The extent to which economic and political considerations were intertwined was acknowledged by Norwegian representatives:

“Norway sees people’s participation in the political process, human rights together with transparent and responsible governance as crucial in fostering social and economic development” (AM, 1992: 5).

What may have been less acknowledged (or perhaps even recognised) were the intimate chains of causation running not so much from politics to economics as *from* economics *to* politics (both personal and public). The extent to which new economic policies – such as liberalization and privatization – have opened up new channels for personal accumulation of wealth, and thereby political influence, is by now well attested, in Zambia and elsewhere.

Neoliberal economic reform is typically seen as a means of reducing inefficient state intervention in the economy, but is also often seen as a route to the reduction of corruption – by virtue of its closing off opportunities for state-based elites to corner markets and extract economic ‘rents’. This type of reduction in state economic power might certainly be expected to pose challenges to African (and other) rulers whose power has typically rested on the distribution of state patronage (Chabal and Daloz, 1999). But rather than fully resist the implementation of all aspects of adjustment, certain elites have been able to appropriate it and turn it to their own advantage, as is most obviously the case with privatization programmes where state enterprises have been sold to the elites themselves or to their allies (Carmody, 1998). That adjustment can create new opportunities for elite enrichment is also argued by Hibou (1999: 74-5), who points to the role played by weakened regulatory mechanisms, abolition of exchange controls, emergence of new financial institutions, and other such characteristics of adjustment in facilitating a wide variety of new forms of fraud and corruption (see also Hall, 1999).

For Zambia’s privatization programme, the case of the Roan Antelope Mining Corporation (with sale proceeds unaccounted for) is but one example of this phenomenon (Donor Working Group on Corruption, 2002: 14). Writing in 1998, the Executive Director of Transparency International stated that “Zambia’s privatization was a looting exercise... Government ministers simply grabbed the assets” (in Craig, 2000: 361). Specifically discussing Zambia, Sfetzel echoes Hibou in noting that

“If anything, liberalization may have increased rather than decreased the scope for corruption. Clientelism has proved difficult to eradicate, liberalization has in some instances weakened the regulatory capacity of state, deregulation has created opportunities for fraud (notably in the banking sector), privatization has afforded opportunities for the political elite to acquire public assets cheaply, and market forces have not measurably reduced the charging of gatekeeping rents” (Sfetzel, 2000: 221).

But these types of actions served not merely the purposes of personal enrichment, they also played a crucial role in mobilising political support within and beyond elite circles, and as weapons to be deployed in factional struggles between different cabals of the ruling (from 1991) MMD party (Sfetzel, 2000). Again, this mirrors experiences of adjustment elsewhere and reflects the neopatrimonial nature of the state.

In summary, economic liberalisation operates within a complex political economy framework that may generate surprising (to outsiders at least) outcomes. In Zambia, two central themes of donor discourse – the promotion of economic liberalization and privatization, and the battle against corruption – may, at times at least, have been at loggerheads. As we shall see, this was not acknowledged in the available Norwegian documentation, which instead tended to assume (by implication at least) a convenient synergy between the economic and political

agendas being pursued. Thus, there is an argument that by misunderstanding the political economy of governance, liberalization and corruption in Zambia, aid donors, including Norway, ignored some of the sources of certain problems (including corruption) and pursued contradictory, perhaps even self-defeating, agendas.⁴⁵

The following section reviews some Norwegian discourse on the general theme of economic reform, with particular reference to support for privatization during the 1990s. The discourse is mostly drawn from the agreed minutes (AM) of bilateral consultations between Norway and Zambia, and from Norwegian inputs to Consultative Group (CG) meetings. The data presented is by no means exhaustive, but it is typical and illustrative of important themes that will be elucidated further below.

Norwegian Support for Liberalisation and Privatization

“The declared and firm commitment of the Zambian authorities to continue to implement the adjustment programme is appreciated. There is indeed no alternative... It is the firm belief of my government that both economic and political reforms should be based on public support and implemented under full accountability to the people. This can only be achieved if the people are brought into the decision-making process as true partners with rights and responsibilities” (Norwegian representative at CG meeting, July 1990).⁴⁶

“It should... be made clear to the Government of Zambia that future support from Norway to the programme depends on the fact that free and fair elections will be held in 1991 and that any regime in charge after the elections will still be committed to the SAP” (Norwegian pledging statement, donors’ meeting, December 1990).

“the Norwegian side undertook to finance technical assistance to the privatization process” (AM, 1992: 13).

“the Norwegian delegation mentioned that continued implementation by Zambia of its Economic Recovery Programme, in cooperation with the IMF and World Bank, constituted an important determinant of the development cooperation relationship between Zambia and Norway” (AM, 1993: 7).

“The Norwegian delegation expressed willingness to continued [sic] Norwegian support of privatisation studies provided they are used as basis for implementation” (AM, 1993: 9).

“Norway supports the efforts which are taking place in Zambia for economic liberalization within the framework of the Adjustment Programme. We regard the privatization of parastatals as a tool to increase productivity and the private sector as the potential force to restore economic growth” (Memorandum, 1993: 3).⁴⁷

“Excessive and unproductive spending by parastatals still seems to be an important part of the government’s economic problems. The privatization process is reportedly slow...” (Norwegian representative at CG meeting, December 1993).

“I would also like to recall the concern raised at the last CG-meeting on the slow progress of the privatization programme. This still seems to be the case... Zambia cannot much longer afford the budgetary drain of the subsidised parastatal companies” (Norwegian representative at CG meeting, March 1994).

45 The political environment within which policies such as privatisation operated was, however, probably well understood by most ordinary Zambians: “The fact that the significant enterprises in the private sector... were in the hands of non-indigenous Zambians did not endear the concept of privatisation to the public. Zambians were apprehensive that foreigners and non-Zambians would again dominate and control the economy, as had been the case prior to independence. Furthermore, the general public was sceptical about the transparency of the privatisation transactions. There was concern that enterprises would be sold corruptly to those with connections in government and business” (Afrodad, 2007: 16). These concerns persist, not least antipathy to foreign ownership: in September 2006, every parliamentary seat in the urban areas of the Copperbelt was won by a Patriotic Front (PF) candidate – a party whose programme included the deportation of exploitative foreign investors and the limitation of foreign ownership of mines (Fraser and Lungu, 2007: 1).

46 This intervention also underscored the importance of social ‘compensation’ and safety-net programmes.

47 *Memorandum on Development Cooperation Between the Republic of Zambia and the Kingdom of Norway in the Period 1994-97 – Basic Strategy and Selected Priorities* (1993).

The head of the Norwegian delegation “mentioned parastatal reform and an acceleration of the privatization process as important components” of needed structural, economic reform (AM, 1994: 3).⁴⁸

“The Norwegian delegation expressed willingness to continued [sic] Norwegian support of privatisation studies provided they are used as a basis for implementation” (AM, 1994: 6).

“The total level of support to Zambia will depend on future development with regard to both democracy, human rights and good governance, and a continuation of the economic reform programme” (AM, 1997: 4).

The head of the Norwegian delegation “expressed serious concern about the present state of the Zambian economy and the increasing negative effects of the delay in the privatisation of ZCCM” (AM, 1998: 3).⁴⁹

“1998 turned out to be an exceptionally difficult year for the Zambian economy due to various reasons. We are therefore pleased that the government, in spite of last year’s hardships, managed to stick to the economic reform programme, including its debt service obligations” (opening statement by the head of the Norwegian delegation, annual consultations, 1999).

Several aspects of the above quotes are noteworthy. Structural adjustment *had* to be implemented – there was no alternative. It was desirable that people should be involved in the decision-making around this but, in broad terms at least, the essential components of adjustment were non-negotiable so consultation could only be on matters of implementation. This ‘technocratic’, depoliticised approach to economic reform is evident in the insistence that the post-1991 government would only receive Norwegian assistance if it continued to implement the SAP i.e., political competition was precluded (or at least discouraged) when it came to matters of economic policy, reinforcing the tendency for competition to be channelled in other directions, clientelistic and personalistic, for example. Policies such as privatisation were seen as largely technical matters (the stuff of expert studies), not as part and parcel of politics. There was, however, acknowledgement in the MoU between Norway and Zambia that privatization is a ‘difficult process’ and that policy and institutional frameworks are important.

This tendency toward the ‘depoliticisation’ of economic policy was by no means absolute. A background document prepared by the Norwegian embassy for the CG meeting in 1995 noted the threats posed by programmes of decentralisation and liberalisation to the government’s grip of a centralised state apparatus. The ‘Nordic position’ of 1999 (see footnote 7) made extensive reference to the political sensitivities around the privatisation of the mines e.g., how it would be represented in the then forthcoming elections of 2001. Crucially, however, the idea of a potential incompatibility between economic reform and political reform in the short term, at least, (due to the inherent, if rarely analysed, political nature of economic policy) was nowhere countenanced.

Depoliticising Economics

It is unnecessary to here review the very extensive dialogue between Norway and Zambia on corruption issues that took place throughout the 1990s. Suffice it to say that it was a major subject of debate and that allegations of corruption were frequently at the heart of tensions between the partners – both at the project level (e.g., the LIRD) and in terms of broader government policy (including, for example, allegations of state agents being involved in drug smuggling). But corruption was not, on the surface at least, analysed within the context of the liberalisation and privatisation programme (see the quotes in the previous section). And yet, by 2000, an academic commentator could note that, in the case of smaller enterprises in particular:

“The privatisation of these assets has generally been subject to local imperatives of class formation and clientelism, a process which frequently involves the political elite seeking to

48 The Ministry of Foreign Affairs’ instructions to the delegation at this meeting referred to vested interests blocking the implementation of privatization.

49 As well as the general commitment to privatisation, there were also specific concerns about unsustainable government liabilities in the event of the state not divesting itself of ZCCM. These concerns came to a head in 1999 when a proposal for a Nordic position on Zambia was drafted in Lusaka (dated 24 September) by the embassies of Norway, Finland, Denmark and Sweden reflected a sense of alarm that non-privatisation of ZCCM would lead to massive unrest and instability.

use its political power to gain direct ownership of productive assets or to use their control of the state machinery to control the access of others to these resources... there have been a number of accusations of MMD ministers seeking to use their political influence within the privatisation process... [and] it may be questioned whether the funds which politicians and others have used to purchase privatised assets have always been legitimately acquired” (Craig, 2000: 364).

Donors – including Norway – appear to have little difficulty understanding how ‘old’ economic policies served political purposes e.g., how state companies were used as vehicles for patronage. This was evident in 1991 when Kaunda’s decision to freeze the price of the staple food mealie meal was widely interpreted as a political ploy in the run-up to elections.⁵⁰ However, there is not the same understanding apparent regarding the deployment of ‘new’ economic policies for purposes of personal and political gain. Instead, this discourse analysis reveals a recurrent emphasis on the believed technical correctness of such policies and, insofar as problems are identified, these are located within the realm of tardy implementation. This tardiness *might* be attributed to political considerations, but the *embrace* of privatisation was not so attributed.

The political objectives of Norwegian cooperation to Zambia – including the fight against corruption – are treated separately from the economic objectives, eliding the extent to which, for the period under review, the Zambian government’s appropriation of (and sometime partial resistance to) these ‘new’ policies followed essentially political logics based around the continued centrality of the post-colonial state to the prospects for (personal and political) accumulation.

It is important to emphasise what is *not* being said here: Norway’s support for structural adjustment was not blind to societal impacts, and there was pressure exerted for accompanying debt relief (including for multilateral debt), for flexibility to take account of factors such as drought, and for attention to the social dimensions of adjustment. But there was at least a measure of blindness to *political* impacts, thus resulting in a probable incoherence between economic and political policy objectives and creating gaps through which skilful political operators could advance their agendas whilst professing nominal adherence to the dictates of orthodox structural adjustment.

5.5 Modalities of Assistance

We looked at twelve projects supported by Norway over the evaluation period. These were chosen to reflect different modalities (government to government bilateral assistance, multi-bi assistance through the UN, support to local and Norwegian NGOs, delegated support through other bilaterals, and pooled support) and time periods. A number of projects in agriculture and education were chosen to allow for comparisons within the sector. Notes on these projects can be found in Annex D. In addition we undertook three case studies, the executive summaries of which appear in Annex E. Here we try to extract more general lessons.

Support to Agriculture

In the beginning of the evaluation period agriculture comprised almost a fifth of Norwegian assistance to Zambia. Over the period, this fell to around 6%, reflecting changes in Norwegian policy and also changes in donor perspectives on agricultural assistance, which was perceived to be a difficult sector to support. Three agriculture projects were examined, one from the 1990s and two from the last five years.

Support to agriculture in Northern Province shows the failings of a project which has evolved over more than ten years, with a number of components, both agricultural and non-agricultural, but without a serious reassessment of its overall purpose. The project has provided training and helped develop a cadre of agriculture researchers, but has neither succeeded in wide-scale adoption of technologies, nor developing an approach to research which is either effective or affordable within the ministry. A series of related projects in Northern Province is the subject of one of the case studies. Deeper examination through field visits and more numerous interviews indicated that project design and focus had not been sufficiently targeted on the end beneficiaries, the rural farmer. This had been, to some extent,

⁵⁰ See the exchange of correspondence on the issue between Kaunda and Norwegian premier Brundtland in 2001.

the result of Zambian agricultural policy and the management of the agricultural sector. However, Norway had stood back too much from the projects and, though raising issues in project meetings had not followed up to ensure changes.

The other two projects are aimed at providing support to the private sector, rather than through government, both in terms of technologies and training. The two are linked through the changing modalities arising from the harmonisation process. An apparently successful programme for encouraging contract farming in a number of export crops failed to get an extension because of disagreements as to where it could or should fit into the new donor's portfolio. Similarly another project included in the delegated cooperation has also been substantially funded outside the delegated cooperation, despite Norway being a silent partner in agriculture. Here the lesson emerging is not so much about potential impact, but the difficulty in harmonising activities with other donors, particularly where one donor feels it has better information or a better assessment of project potential. This is perhaps a particular problem in agriculture where it can make sense to work directly with the private sector rather than government, but where there are a considerable number of stakeholders to choose amongst. It may be difficult to set aside long standing ties, particularly with partner organisations seen as effective.

Support to Education

Three projects in the education sector were examined, using different modalities. One was support to the government basket funding programme in basic education, BESSIP, one was funding to UNICEF to upscale an apparently successful pilot scheme to promote girls' education, and the third was funding a Norwegian NGO, Norwegian Church Aid, to fund the Council of Churches in Zambia (CCZ) in a programme of rehabilitation of schools. All these projects took place in the late 1990s, through to 2004.

Certain key issues emerge. Firstly, the two projects which were outside of the government basket funding had important issues of integration and sustainability because of lack of recognition by government or integration into government plans and funding. This meant that ultimately they were not sustainable. This was probably less of a problem for the CCZ rehabilitation programme than for the UNICEF pilot on girls' education, which had the potential for introducing effective gender programmes into the state system, but failed to have its approach adopted by government.

An important issue for the MoE BESSIP has been the multiplicity of funding mechanisms used by donors, from project mode, through multilateral loans requiring dedicated accounts, to fairly unencumbered basket funding. This continues to be a problem with the new sector programme, despite harmonisation. Norway had been considering sector budget support, but had come to the conclusion that this would simply further increase the number of modalities in play. Instead they will provide general budget support and build the capacity of the ministry to fight its case for funding with the Ministry of Finance.

Support to the Wildlife Sector

Norway has supported the wildlife sector, and in particular South Luangwa National Park, over a twenty-five year period. Since the early project phases, the management of SLNP has improved progressively and in the most recent year, it achieved financial self-sufficiency, which is a considerable achievement compared to other protected areas in Zambia and indeed the Southern Africa region. Wildlife conservation has improved, a success that can be attributed to improved enforcement by government authorities, an encouraging environment for private sector investment bringing development to the area, and improved cooperation with local communities.

However, there have been significant changes over the period to the level of local control, both by chiefs and by local communities. This has resulted from increased central control of South Luangwa, and a reduction in the percentage of hunting revenues being locally retained. This has led to a reduction in local ownership, and less emphasis on poverty impact. Those closest to the centres of power, power (Chiefs, entrepreneurs, and presidents) have been the most successful in advancing their interests (ministers, conservationists, companies, etc). Those closest to the resources, the villagers, are the weakest politically and have had to depend on others to protect

their interests. Norad and its technical consultants took this role in the earlier days of the project, but have stepped back from direct involvement in the later years.

Support to Transparency in Financial Management

Three projects were examined in this case study: first, support for public financial management improvements under the Public Expenditure Management and Financial Accountability (PEMFA) programme from 2005; second support for the Office of the Auditor General (OAG) from 1997; and third, support for a variety of Anti-Corruption activities including financing of the Task Force on Corruption (TFC) and the Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC) since 2000.

The case study finds mixed outcomes from these projects: one important factor in the most successful project, support to the Auditor General's Office is a high level of ownership within the OAG. Ownership of the other projects has been less clear. The projects do not prove anything conclusively about the neopatrimonial hypothesis although the outcomes are not inconsistent with it. However, there are reformers in government who seek change and greater self-reliance for Zambia, and there is a genuine interest in reducing corruption at the highest level.

All projects have merit and are broadly consistent with the stated goals of Zambia and Norway. Not all are fully compliant with Paris principles but have been implemented in awareness of them, and with that direction of travel in mind.

Non-government Funding

A general issue with funding for CSO, NGOs and the private sector is the sustainability of the activities. Many of these activities are not commercially viable and some are not intended to be. None of the projects examined show indications of sustainability, and indeed only would do if they were implemented by revenue raising organisations, or adopted by government. In the projects we looked at, support to non-government partners seemed to be particularly susceptible to being cut off for external factors, in particular changes in government approach in particular sectors. Norway has therefore to assess what can be achieved in what has often proved to be fairly short-term support, whether through capacity building, funding one-off activities such as a survey, or piloting with a view to integration into government systems.

Harmonisation

Donor harmonisation has caused problems with a number of small projects, and also with support to the Auditor General's Office. There have been complaints about the additional coordination costs for donors, but there may also be costs in terms of the smooth running of projects while harmonisation issues are resolved.

An analysis of these eleven projects leads to the possibility that harmonisation is leading to a concentration on the two big players, government and donors, at the expense of CSOs and NGOs. The place for third parties at the development cooperation table is becoming smaller, and more contested. The effect on the space for pro-poor development cooperation is difficult to assess, but may end up with more importance on policy dialogue, a rather depressing conclusion in the Zambian context given the limited emphasis that has been placed on poverty reduction in policy dialogue in the past.

Ownership

Norway places particular emphasis on recipient responsibility, but it can be difficult to assess the degree of ownership to projects and project objectives that exists, in particular with the implementing agency. The most effective of the projects examined had high levels of ownership in implementation, though that was not always sufficient to guarantee a supporting external environment. Changes in policy, or as a result of the harmonisation process, have led to promising projects not being fully achieved.

5.6 Conclusions

Norway has placed considerable emphasis on recipient responsibility and has been a 'good' donor in terms of respecting Zambian government policy at sectoral level. In macroeconomic terms it supported structural adjustment, but pressed for attention to the social dimensions. However, at sectoral level, promising projects have often not achieved poverty impact, either because of institutional issues in the way that the projects were structured, or because the Zambian policy context did not have a strong poverty focus.

6 Development Assistance, Power Structures and Poverty Reduction

This section builds on the analysis in the previous sections to explore the relationship between power relations and poverty reduction in Zambia. Norwegian documents, including the Norwegian strategy for Development Cooperation with Zambia, are examined to understand the stance that Norway took to poverty reduction. The contribution of projects to achieving poverty impact is discussed.

6.1 Poverty in Zambia

The most widely used indicators in Zambia show that poverty has consistently remained high since 1991 (see Table 6.1). In 2004, 68 percent of Zambians lived below the national poverty line and 53 percent were extremely poor. This was a slight drop from the 73 and 58 percent respectively that lived in this situation in 1998. Although slightly lower than the incidence of poverty recorded in 1991, these figures show that poverty in Zambia is unacceptably high.

Table 6.1 Trends in the Incidence of Poverty, 1991 – 2004

		1991	1993	1996	1998	2004
Zambia	Overall Poverty	70	74	69	73	68
	Extreme Poverty	58	61	53	58	53
Rural	Overall Poverty	88	92	82	83	78
	Extreme Poverty	81	84	68	71	53
Urban	Overall Poverty	49	45	46	56	53
	Extreme Poverty	32	24	27	36	34

Source: Central Statistical Office, December 2005: LCMS 2004, Tables 12.7 and 12.8

Although poverty is wide spread, it is predominantly rural. Overall poverty in rural areas was 78 percent in 2004 compared to 53 percent in urban areas, a difference of 25 percent. It had peaked for rural areas at 92 percent in 1993 while for urban areas, the highest level reached was 56 percent in 1998. However urban poverty has risen during the period, which changes the potential dynamic and support for poverty reduction activities.

In addition, the Human Development Indicator (HDI), which includes measures of health and education, has fallen for Zambia over the period, with some recovery since 2000. The fall in HDI was sharper for Zambia between 1985 and 1994 than for any other country in the world. In 1975 (the year that HDI was first calculated) Zambia, uniquely amongst all countries, experienced a fall in the HDI to below its initial point.

6.2 Power Relations and Poverty

The question underlying this evaluation is why poverty in Zambia has been so high and widespread given the huge amounts of aid inflows the country has received over the years. This situation is viewed as paradoxical because Zambia entered its post-independence era in 1964 among the wealthier Sub-Sahara African countries and, given its vast natural resources, had great potential for sustainable economic development. Furthermore, Zambia has enjoyed political stability and has had no serious conflict since independence⁵¹.

Added to this is that in the 1990s, Zambia carried out wide-ranging economic reforms meant to bring back the economy to a sustainable growth path. Economic reforms were preceded by

⁵¹ This question, about the link between ODA and poverty reduction, in itself indicates a rather naïve, techno-centred view on the process of poverty reduction; the actual approach suggested to answering it in the ToR for the evaluation indicates an awareness that potential wealth is, in itself, insufficient to provide an answer to the problem.

political reforms in 1991 that made Zambia a leading democracy on the African continent. The reforms made Zambia at one time a favoured African country for development cooperation. It could be argued, therefore, that aid in this context should have augmented well national efforts and helped lift the country out of its economic meltdown and improve the social conditions of Zambians.

It is beyond the scope of the evaluation to undertake a comprehensive analysis of the causes of poverty in Zambia. The focus here is on the relationship between aid, poverty and power structures, and the extent to which the relationship between donors and power structures in Zambia has supported the conditions for poverty reduction, or has rather reinforced the dominant power relations.

The analysis of the power relations in Section 3 indicates that there have been no obvious champions of the poor in national government, at least since the Kaunda period. Donors have had two major formal channels with government for influencing this: through policy dialogue and through direct funding of projects with poverty alleviation as a major objective.

Policy dialogue was focused on the macro-economy for much of the 1990s, and very much at a technical level, though with concerns arising towards the end of the period about governance. The development of the PRSP as a policy instrument by the IFIs created an opportunity for civil society to engage more directly with government and also with donors, but the line ministries did not, in general engage with or 'own' the process⁵². When Zambia moved to the FNDP, as opposed to the PRSP as a planning framework, the involvement of the line ministries increased considerably but the process caused frustration at the provincial and district level⁵³.

The evaluation team found that Norway, in line with the approach taken by other donors, has tended to focus on technical issues in its formal dialogue with government. It has been cautious in addressing issues which could be seen as overtly political, where the legitimacy of its engagement could be challenged. Rather it has focused more on building capacity for Zambian organisations, both within government (as with the ACC and AGO) or with civil society partners, in the expectation, or perhaps the hope, that this will both build challenges within the system to abuse and will develop champions for the poor. [This concept of civil society holding the state to account is rooted in liberal political theory (e.g., Robert Putnam), which informs much of the aid policy debate. Citizen's voice is assumed to result from civil society 'strengthening' almost automatically, a course of action supported by donor funds in the 1980s-90s. But this is not likely to happen where clientelist politics undermines state effectiveness and where citizens' efforts for improving service delivery are aimed at their patrons rather than government]. An analysis of some of the experience and documentation on this shows the weakness in this approach.

6.3 Civil Society, Poverty Reduction and the Discursive Construction of a 'Depoliticised' Economic Sphere

“...a substantial proportion of present Norwegian development assistance is channelled through NGOs. This is seen as a contribution towards increased pluralism and democracy as well as being a supplement to public institutions in the delivery of social services. It is a long-term vision to achieve closer cooperation between government and civil society, resulting in decreased dependence on foreign assistance on the part of both”.⁵⁴

This quote illustrates some important themes regarding Norad's approach to civil society, its interpretation of civil society's relationship with government, and its understanding of poverty reduction. The primary goal of civil society support is the promotion of pluralism and democracy, implicitly endorsing a view of civil society as a political 'check and balance' vis-à-vis government. However, the interests of government are ultimately seen as compatible with those of civil society, or at least 'closer cooperation' between the two is envisaged as

52 It is difficult to generalise across all ministries. Health and Education were more direct beneficiaries of the process, but for other ministries the PRSP was seen as irrelevant to their day to day planning processes.

53 The evaluation team was told that MoFPD officials had encouraged districts to undertake grass roots planning, as part of the FNDP process, but that there has been no sign of their plans in the final product. Considerable discontent had been expressed at the national workshop to discuss the FNDP.

54 Norad (2001) 'Strategy for the Norwegian Development cooperation with Zambia, 2001-2005', pp. 8-9.

feasible and desirable. Thus, civil society is seen as playing a supportive and non-confrontational role within a harmonious and cohesive vision of *national* development. This is confirmed by the reference to the *supplementary* role to be played by civil society in the delivery of social services for poverty reduction. In summary, the overall development strategy is envisaged as determined by government (implicitly, probably, by central government, and the Ministry of Finance in particular), with civil society seen as essentially a monitoring and implementation vehicle within that strategy.

This is not to say that the conceptualization of civil society is a clear and unambiguous one – there are tensions and potential contradictions. Thus, the same document from which the opening quote is drawn (the 2001 Norad strategy paper) notes that “Support for advocacy groups could continue to represent a significant aspect of the programme, based on the importance of such groups in a pluralistic society”.⁵⁵ Civil society might well be supported to challenge government in specific areas, especially regarding democratization and ‘good governance’; civil society is being encouraged to play its historic role in a capitalist society of holding the state to account. Thus, the political realm is, in part, seen as one of contestation and disagreement (though within limits short of open conflict), whereas the economic realm – the agreed strategy for poverty reduction – is seen as largely fixed and predetermined and as one in which civil society supports and supplements, but does not challenge, government.

A similar and very clear statement of the differing conceptualizations of political and economic development is contained in the Norwegian statement to the Consultative Group meeting for Zambia (Paris, 12-13 May 1998): “The challenge of the Zambian government in this respect is therefore to restore the confidence of the bilateral partners in its democratization and governance agenda. A confidence that can match the confidence we have in Zambia’s economic reform agenda”.⁵⁶ Again, political governance is seen as a site of potential struggle and contest, but economic strategy is seen as a relatively straightforward matter of implementing agreed and widely understood nostrums.

In part at least, it is probable that this approach reflects the priorities and preferences of the Zambian government itself, with powerful central actors therein keen to maintain control of the broad thrust of economic policy direction. For example, the annual consultations on development cooperation between Zambia and Norway in March 2003 included the following observation:

“The Zambian side had no objections to the development whereby a substantial share of Norwegian development assistance is channelled through NGOs as long as the support is multi-sectoral and in line with the priorities in the PRSP/TNDP”.⁵⁷

In theory of course, this statement might be seen in the context of the PRSP itself being the outcome of a consensual and participatory exercise through which government and civil society (and donors to some extent) had already agreed the economic policy priorities. However, in view of the indications that economic policy is, in practice, largely determined by the Ministry of Finance and/or international financial institutions,⁵⁸ what the quote implies is a vision of civil society as, again, a supportive and supplementary agent within a centralized and relatively rigid approach to economic policy.

However, this is not just a matter of power politics within Zambia itself – between central government and civil society in this case – but is also reflective of a wider pattern within development discourse whereby economic policy is understood to be a technical matter of ‘soundness’ and ‘correctness’ and through which space for debate about *alternative* economic policies is closed off. An example of this in the Norwegian-Zambian context is a report from the Dag Aarnes Nordic Consulting Group, which talks of “the challenge of implementing sound economic policy”, implicitly (and very strongly) stating that there is *only one* such type of policy.⁵⁹ This understanding largely reflects the widely held view within the development

55 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

56 p. 5.

57 Minutes of the agreed minutes of the annual consultations on development cooperation between Zambia and Norway, Lusaka, 7 March 2003.

58 For example, “Several civil society representatives argued that their meaningful participation during the preparation of the PRSP was checked by a host of factors that included capacity challenges that exist both on the government and civil society sides... they argued that their ‘superficial consultation’ through the invitation from IMF Teams may serve to rubber-stamp and legitimize strategies which they have not really had any influence over” (Saaasa, O.S. ‘Use of Conditionality by International Financial Institutions to Encourage Privatization and Liberalization: the Case of Zambia’, report commissioned by the Royal Norwegian Embassat, Lusaka, November 2006, p. 30).

59 Dag Aarnes Nordic Consulting Group (2001), ‘Economic Developments and the Policy Challenges in Zambia’, Oslo and Lusaka, March 2001, p. 2.

community that poor countries will ‘modernise’ along a path not very different than that followed by Western Europe, and that ‘stages of economic growth’ are linked to certain political patterns. Capitalist development and democratic politics are thought to go hand-in-hand, and to be the goal that donors are helping poor countries reach. For donors it was just a matter of implementing western-inspired reforms in a technical, apolitical way. This assumption underlies the policy advice given by the Washington Consensus – largely ignoring the local socio-political context and instead, imposing western institutions – and is often held by aid policy designers today.

The Norwegian approach to poverty reduction, civil society and overall economic policy has thus tended to subscribe to a general tendency within development discourse to see economic issues as almost apolitical in the sense of being technical matters, rather than themselves the subjects of intense struggles over distribution and redistribution of gains and losses. The possible limitations of such an approach can be illustrated by two discursive examples from the period under review.

6.3.1 Privatization in the Copperbelt

The first is the crisis of 1999 around the possible bankruptcy and closure of the ZCCM mines. This threat was sufficiently severe to prompt a proposal from Norwegian, Finnish, Danish and Swedish diplomatic representatives for an agreed Nordic position on Zambia in view of potential “uncontrollable social and political unrest”.⁶⁰ Disturbances arising from the mass redundancies of miners were especially feared, in view of “The history of the miners in the Copperbelt as being prone to use violent measures in order to achieve their interests”.⁶¹ In particular, the representatives noted:

“The lack of any organization that can serve as a vehicle for transforming the potential dissatisfaction with the conditions being offered to the employers [sic, presumably employees], into an organized force for change. At present, it seems to be obvious that that neither ZCTU [trade union], nor the political opposition parties, have the strength and enjoy the necessary support of the public, to serve as such a tool. A similar argument can be made in relation to the lack of sufficiently strong leaders, political as well as representatives of civil society”.⁶²

Of course, this is not to suggest that concern about social unrest was at that time unjustified on the part of the diplomatic (including Norwegian) personnel. But what this situation demonstrates is the impossibility of insulating economic from political considerations. A specific economic crisis raised the prospect of a fundamental political crisis, but what is also demonstrated is a persistent tendency to view the articulation of political-economic concerns within a single, agreed view of economic reform. The problem, as the above quote makes clear, was seen as the inability of civil society (and others) to rally support for what was seen as a necessary and unavoidable element of economic reform (a certain form of privatization in this case). *Opposition* to this economic reform – especially as envisaged through militant miner action – is discursively represented as outside the proper realm of civil society. This is a narrow and depoliticized vision of civil society.

The present study cannot enter into a thorough debate about the actual merits and demerits of mine privatization, but what is decisively established is the impossibility of seeking to separate the economic and political spheres, a finding reinforced by more recent developments on the Copperbelt:

“in September 2006 Copperbelt voters roundly rejected current policies, electing to every urban seat in the region MPs representing the Patriotic Front (PF), a party that ran on a platform of deporting foreign investors that exploit the workforce, increasing corporate taxes and limiting foreign ownership of mines”.⁶³

The report from which this last quote is drawn acknowledges gains from mine privatization but queries whether their distribution is seen as fair and equitable. The donor approach of

60 Proposal for Nordic Position on Zambia, Lusaka, 24 September 1999, p 1.

61 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

62 *Ibid.*

63 Fraser, A. and J. Lungu ‘For Whom the Windfalls? Winners and Losers in the Privatization of Zambia’s Copper Mines’, p. 1 (available at www.minewatchzambia.com)

representing/portraying political governance as an area in which civil society might challenge the state (and international actors), but economic governance as one in which actors could unite around an agreed strategy for poverty reduction, was seriously flawed. Debates around economic governance (such as proper forms of privatization or the reform of public ownership) should have been acknowledged as proper and appropriate ones for civil society to challenge and critique both government and the donors.

6.3.2 Depoliticising Poverty Reduction

A second example of the limitations of discursively representing economic governance and poverty reduction in essentially apolitical terms is less direct, and arises largely in passing in the statement of the Norwegian delegation at the Zambia Consultative Group meeting of 16-19 July 2000:

“We heard that civil society expressed serious concerns about *poverty* – and urged both the government and the partners to focus more on poverty – about *governance*, about how liberalization and other reforms have affected the Zambian people and about *debt*. While in the governance area we heard a lot of coincidence between concerns raised by civil society and concerns raised by co-operating partners, we also heard that on the effects of liberalization and on debt relief, civil society were concerned about the positions taken by the co-operating partners”.⁶⁴

This, as far as the present study can establish, is the only explicit reference in such Norwegian discourse, to clashes between civil society, government and donors on the issue of economic reform and poverty reduction. It is, therefore, the exception that proves the rule. Elsewhere, as noted, the discursive representation is of civil society potentially clashing with government on issues of political reform, but of being part of an effective consensus when it came to economic reform. The acknowledgement of the potentially political (or contestatory) nature of economic policy debates (or even apparent awareness that there *can* be such debates) is very rare and, in subsequent such discourse, *de facto* suppressed.

For example, in the Norwegian delegation statement to the Zambia Consultative Group meeting of 9-10 July 2002, the following observation occurs:

“The PRSP rightly states that without diversification and revival of Zambian economy, the possibility to succeed in the fight against poverty is indeed small. In this regard, the importance of private sector development should be emphasized and I would like to mention that the Norwegian government recently has adopted a strategy for private sector development in all our main partner countries”.⁶⁵

Economic policy is here again discursively constructed as a matter of agreed, technical solutions – in this case, private sector development. While much of Zambian civil society might not have opposed such development (and indeed would probably have been largely supportive of it), it would not have necessarily *reduced* poverty, as the last quotation intimates is possible.⁶⁶ However, one of the consequences of PRSP processes – in Zambia and elsewhere – has been to draw NGOs and other civil society representatives into (often well funded) work monitoring and evaluating PRSP implementation, rather than challenging the basic precepts that underpin such programmes, thus reducing the incidence and intensity of public critique around economic policy (including poverty reduction).⁶⁷

Insofar as international donor personnel analyze the political element of economic reform, they tend to do so from the perspective of ‘strengthening the domestic constituency for reform’, promoting ‘country ownership’ of reform programmes, and creating the conditions through which governments can ‘build consensus’ for reform.⁶⁸ The actual content of reform – based as it is on assumptions of a single, ‘correct’ approach – is often assumed to be beyond argument, and the task of politics is simply to persuade people of the merits of implementing

64 P. 8.

65 P. 2.

66 See, for example, ‘The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP): Implementation and Priorities: a Civil Society Perspective’, prepared for the Consultative Group meeting, 7 July 2002.

67 For a thorough example of such ‘co-option’ processes at work in the case of Tanzania, see Mercer, C. (2003) ‘Performing Partnership: Civil Society and the Illusions of Good Governance in Tanzania’, *Political Geography* (22).

68 The phrases in quotation marks are taken from a talk by Paul Collier, a senior economist at the World Bank, at a conference on Poverty in Africa – a Dialogue on Causes and Solutions held at the Centre for the Study of African Economies, Oxford, 16 April 1999.

reform. As Mkandawire notes, ‘many believe that free debate will ineluctably lead to a political consensus in favour of’ (neoliberal) economic reform.⁶⁹

The argument advanced here is that Norwegian discourse on Zambia largely endorsed this limited approach, tending to portray economic issues as technical matters in which civil society could play a supportive and facilitative role but not as political issues to be debated and contested. This resulted in part because of the underlying assumption held by donors generally, that there is a single development path leading to ‘modernity’, and relatedly, because of the donors’ lack of understanding that the local, deeply rooted socio-political context is the driving force of economic change, not imported institutions. An important consequence of this is that economic policy tends to become the preserve of institutes/sites of technical expertise (national and international), to some extent removed from political influence and pressure. Thus, poverty reduction may lose political momentum as a policy objective if the means through which it is to be achieved (themselves conceived in excessively narrow terms) are portrayed as outside or beyond the realm of political debate. There is some evidence that poverty reduction did indeed lack such national and international political prioritization in Zambia.

6.4 Contribution of Projects to Poverty Reduction

As indicated in section 5, the evaluation looked at a number of projects largely based on documentation and also undertook three case studies. The evidence from this indicates that none of the projects really had a lasting impact on the livelihoods of the poor, for a number of reasons.

In many cases, the link between the project activities and the poor was quite attenuated. This is not to say that a successful project which builds the capacity of the AGO, for example, in a sustainable manner, will not contribute to a change in political culture which will ultimately lead to an improvement in governance which will affect all Zambians, including the poor, beneficially. However, this has to be seen as part of a long-term process. Successful achievement of immediate outputs and even outcomes may not lead to an impact on poverty levels, because some of the links between, for example, a more effective Auditor General’s Office and more public resources reaching the poor may be weak and need careful monitoring and support.

In other cases, the objective of the project may be far more directly linked to poverty reduction, but the actual design and/or implementation of the project has been captured by other interests. Project monitoring has not been of sufficient quality to turn the project around so that it achieves the original objective. This is very much the case with Norwegian support to agriculture in Northern Province. Here a project which had the objective of improving farmers’ livelihoods, ended up with a focus on scientific research and capacity building for civil servants, again with some positive impacts, but certainly not those initially intended.

Other projects, particularly in education, have fallen into an uncomfortable position between trying innovative approaches, and achieving limited results, but ultimately the project approach being unable to be incorporated within the state system, usually because the timing was inappropriate or the advocacy necessary had not been undertaken.

In recent years, the project approach has also become restricted by the harmonisation process in Zambia, whereby many donors have pulled out of certain sectors, in the best cases handing over promising projects to other donors, in other cases, simply cutting support.

It is understandable given this history why donor focus has in many cases moved away from projects, except with stand-alone initiatives with the private sector and capacity building, with both government and civil society. This move does increase the importance of the analysis donors undertake to assess the links between their support and poverty reduction, whether directly or through a process of national development. As the analysis above indicates, unless there is greater preparedness to acknowledge not just the political context, but the innate

69 Mkandawire, T. (1999) ‘Crisis Management and the Making of “Choiceless Democracies”’, in R. Joseph (ed.) *State, Conflict and Democracy in Africa* (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner), p. 125.

political nature of government to government engagement on issues of poverty reduction, then development assistance will have limited impact.

6.5 Conclusions

Poverty levels in Zambia are still unacceptably high, though they have fallen from their highest levels in recent years. Most donors, including Norway, have not sufficiently linked their technical support to issues of political governance. Poverty reduction has been seen as a rather technical issue, and support to civil society could play a complementary role in challenging government in areas such as good governance. In some sense this could be seen as a depoliticisation of poverty reduction, which ignored considerable areas of contestation.

At the level of projects, where there could be a clearer link between immediate project outputs and poverty reduction, poor monitoring and insufficient linkages between individual projects and national strategies have limited the impact of projects. Harmonisation and greater emphasis on budget support in recent years reinforce the importance of a more politically aware approach to policy dialogue around poverty reduction.

7 Assessment of Norwegian Assistance

The evaluation team were asked to undertake a perception survey as part of the evaluation process. The results are presented here. An overall assessment of Norwegian assistance in terms of the DAC criteria is also undertaken.

7.1 How Norway is Perceived as a Donor

As part of the evaluation process, the team asked a series of questions to all interviewees about their perceptions of how Norway had functioned as a donor. These covered how Norway was regarded as a donor, particularly in comparison with other donors, how much Zambian input and ownership there was felt to be of projects and how successful Norwegian projects were felt to have been. These questions were included in both phases of the evaluation, in Phase 1 of the study of Norwegian interaction with power structures, and in Phase 2 as part of the case studies.

As might be anticipated, the overall perceptions of Norway as a donor vary according to who was asked. For many higher-ranking officials, in both the public and private sector, who were not direct recipients of Norwegian assistance, there was not a clear perception of Norway as a donor, but in general there was a positive perception of Scandinavian donors, which included Norway. With older respondents at national level there were memories of the Scandinavian support to Zambia as a frontline state, and positive feelings about the political support that was given in those days.

For the present, there was much less knowledge about the precise nature of the Norwegian support. For example, one MP said that “Only 10% of Parliament knows about Norway’s aid – you won’t find 10 MPs who know that Norway supported the Governance Development Unit”. In some cases this may reflect the greater level of coordination of assistance amongst different donors, making it more difficult to single out a particular donor’s approach.

Perceptions are far more specific at project level and in particular with those involved in implementing projects. Here Norway has a good reputation as being a flexible and generous donor. In fact, when undertaking interviews for the case study on agricultural support to Northern Province, the word flexible was used more immediately and more often than any other to describe Norway’s approach. However, on further probing, this had a less positive connotation. In some cases it reflected a perception that Norway was not as rigorous in its approach as other donors. They were seen to be less focused on results, and focused on process rather than substance and impacts. One interviewee indicated that he felt that Norway had stood away from its agricultural projects, compared to other donors. Importance was placed on ensuring regular flows of money, and strong accounting procedures, but less on the technical elements. The lack of oversight in ASNP could be typified by the length of time before an evaluation or assessment was undertaken. An impact assessment was eventually commissioned, in part called for as a result of internal tensions within the programme, but this was thirteen years after the project had started.

As for aid to wildlife management in Luangwa valley, people living there are aware of support that has reached them from Norwegians in various forms over two decades. They tend to feel that project aid was better, as funding and benefits reached them directly, while aid to central government structures is more distant and less obvious. Thus, recipients are less aware now of the role that Norwegian aid plays than in the past. Of course, staff of ZAWA are fully cognisant of the central part that Norway has in wildlife management in Luangwa Valley.

Perceptions of how well Norway has supported national and provincial approaches, and thereby has encouraged greater ownership of projects, are mixed. Views have been expressed that projects started in the 1980s and early 1990s were very much seen to be designed by

expatriate organisations and consultants with very limited input from Zambians themselves. This perception has changed as Norway's projects have both become more aligned to national approaches and support has moved more towards either sector approaches, or larger multi-donor projects.

The issue of ownership is more difficult to disentangle, largely because for many of the larger projects the relevant question is not is there national ownership, but *whose* ownership within Zambia. For some projects, this is an issue of layers within the hierarchy – there may be ownership at national level, but much less at the level of implementation, and even less at the level of the ultimate intended beneficiaries. This pattern can be found for both the large projects/ programmes examined as case studies, support to Northern Province and support to South Luangwa wildlife management. In the former case, as the project became more aligned with national policy, the sense of ownership at provincial and district level seemed to fade. However, with the third case study, the ownership issue is more difficult to pin down in these terms. Rather the various projects are seen as supporting reformers within government, who have a vision of a more self-reliant Zambia, free from corruption, and are therefore promoting a joint agenda with donors and these reforming elements.

7.2 Relevance of Norwegian Support

Analysis of policy documents, including MoUs, indicates that Norwegian development support to Zambia has become more aligned to Zambian policies and strategies over the years. There is evidence of greater consultation with central government within Zambia⁷⁰ on areas of mutual concern, and over the years there has been more assistance given in the form of sector and budget support. The recent process of alignment has taken this a step further, with Norway delegating support in some areas through other development partners.

This move started with the adoption of 'recipient responsibility' in the Norwegian policy of 1992. Projects and their funding came more directly under the control of the relevant line ministries, and the use of Norwegian TA was significantly reduced. Recent country strategies have responded to both donor harmonisation processes and changes in emphasis from the MFA in Oslo. However, they have also been consistent with the Zambian PRSP and FNDP.

One proviso has to be made. Both Norwegian development policy documents and Zambian planning documents are permissive rather than directive in nature. In other words, they can be consistent with a number of possible approaches. An absence, until recently, of quantifiable targets and milestones has added to the lack of rigour in the policy and planning frameworks. Even so, Zambia has, in recent years, deviated from its stated intent in a number of areas, most notably agriculture, where expenditure on the fertilizer subsidy programme and the Food Reserve Agency has overrun budget guidelines for agriculture. There is little evidence that Norway formally monitors the continuing relevance of its programmes to its stated objectives, though this happens at the embassy in an informal basis.

Did power structures undermine any formal commitment to mutually agreed objectives for Norwegian development cooperation? There is little evidence of systematic diversion of funds during the period of the evaluation, or of distortion of individual projects. However, as analysed earlier in the report, during most of the period of the evaluation, government was heavily dependent on donor assistance, and its own commitment to development and poverty reduction was very weak. There was commitment to improved economic management, but not for the benefit of the majority of the Zambian people, who were unable to make their own priorities heard.

7.3 Effectiveness of Norwegian Support

Effectiveness can be assessed in terms of the overall structure of support in achieving objectives, but also at the level of individual projects and programmes.

As alignment and direct support to sector/central budgets become the focus of aid policy, increasingly effectiveness is dependent on the effectiveness of government activities supported by Norway. Here the evidence is mixed. Recent support to improved transparency

⁷⁰ The case studies on wildlife and agriculture indicate that this may have been at the expense of engagement with local communities and district authorities.

in financial management has had some success in achieving objectives, particularly in terms of anti-corruption activities and support to the Auditor General. However, in other areas, such as support to education and agriculture, the record is much more mixed. The reasons for this vary. Some are to do with poor capacity within government departments, others to do with inappropriate strategies adopted by government (for example, the T&V⁷¹ approach to agriculture extension).

However a common factor in many of the projects examined here is the relatively poor level of project monitoring, particularly in the early part of the evaluation period. Norway has appeared to focus on appointing good consultants, and empowering them to engage with government at project level, without taking a sufficiently active supervisory role to ensure that the project is keeping on track. Norwegian support seems to have been most effective in delivering intermediate outcomes, such as capacity development and institutional strengthening. This has been most effective when projects have been aligned to both the objectives of project implementers and to sector/ unit strategies. In the 1990s, in particular with the larger projects the evaluation examined, there was sometimes tension between implementers and the centrally determined strategies, which undermined effectiveness.

The move towards increased basket funding and sector support has changed this to a certain extent, in that there is much more dialogue with government ministries at central level. Focus has moved towards improving ministry effectiveness, rather than project effectiveness, and over time this may improve both monitoring and resulting effectiveness. However, most line ministries in Zambia have a long way to go before they could be said to operate on a results-based management approach.

7.4 Impact and Sustainability of Norwegian Support

Impact is a long-term outcome, and even with a fifteen year evaluation period, it may not be possible to assess impact in a definitive fashion. Much of Norwegian support has been delivered through government channels, and its impact on the ultimate beneficiaries has been dependent on how effective those government channels have been. Where much of the impact comes through government channels, the sustainability of such initiatives depends on the robustness of these channels, and the extent to which the approaches have been taken on board and adopted by government.

The case studies reflect this. There has been positive impact from support to wildlife, in terms of improved wildlife conservation and creation of community structures to handle decentralised revenue, but this has been diluted by a move to increased centralisation of decision-making and revenue allocation. This shift has reduced the impact on local people's livelihoods and their ownership of the project.

In agriculture support to Northern Province, impact on farmers was deemed to be negligible in 1997, a result of insufficient understanding of the political economy of the agricultural system there, and inappropriate extension practices. However, as the local economic environment has changed, there are indications of adoption and impact, to a large extent dependent on market and farmer activity, rather than government action. It is possible that these technologies will continue to be included in farmer options, to be used when economic conditions are appropriate.

Short term impact of support to the Auditor General's Office appears to be positive, in terms of improved reporting and greater public awareness of the auditing process. It is too early to comment on sustainability, but there are still constraints on overall capacity and on follow-up of reports.

7.5 Conclusion

Over the period of the evaluation, the visibility of Norwegian assistance has declined, as there has been a move away from large-scale projects. Norway is seen as a generous donor, but one that has not been as rigorous and focused on results as other donors.

71 Training and Visit

In some respects, Norwegian aid has performed well, particularly if one takes into account the Paris Declaration principles of alignment and harmonisation. However that has come at a cost of impact on poverty and sustainability. Given the nature of power structures and the relative lack of overt commitment to poverty reduction of the Zambian government during much of this period, this is perhaps not surprising, and certainly consistent with other donor experience.

8 Conclusions and Future Directions

8.1 Conclusions

The evaluation team were asked to answer three main questions:

- How do power relations within Zambia and amongst the donor community affect the scope for achieving pro-poor outcomes through development cooperation?
- How do power structures at different levels of Zambian society influence the potential of aid to reduce poverty?
- How do domestic and international power relations in Zambia affect the outputs of Norwegian-financed pro-poor interventions?

In summary, our analysis indicates that the neopatrimonial nature of the Zambian state, particularly pronounced in the earlier part of the period covered by the evaluation, has limited the attention paid to the poor by the state. As donors have aligned more with the government's own policies, this has appeared to reduce scope for achieving pro-poor outcomes; donors themselves have focused more on issues of macroeconomic stability and governance rather than directly on poverty outcomes.

Where the poor have been able to access goods and services, this has largely been through vertical links, often through the chiefs. Donor-funded projects have increasingly been managed from national, rather than district, offices. This has limited the ability of the poor (and non-poor at local level) to influence project processes. Top-down power structures within the civil service have meant that decisions are often made by those who have least contact with beneficiaries.

The main findings are given in more detail below, with relevance for future engagement in Zambia and recommendations as to possible future directions for Norwegian assistance.

A first general point to make is that Norwegian aid to Zambia shows a similar pattern to that of other donors, in that it went through the same processes of emphasis on firstly macroeconomic stability and structural adjustment in the 1990s, followed by a focus on governance, but in an apolitical manner, emphasising reform of state institutions. There have been some occasions where Norway has stood out, for example by supporting preparations for the 2001 elections at a time when other donors were trying to impose preconditions, but for the most part bilateral donors have moved in the same direction, though at times at different speeds. Recent initiatives on harmonisation are reinforcing this tendency and also now bringing in the multilateral donors and IFIs into one process with the bilaterals.

Donors as a whole began waking up to the underlying, deeply rooted, local factors driving or inhibiting reform in Africa in the 1990s, with the advent of political economy studies (SIDA's Power Analysis and DFID's Drivers of Change leading the field). Before that donors generally envisioned that African transformations would be following a path similar to that of Western nations (or if possible, the 'East Asian Tigers') and introduced western-inspired institutional reforms and pursued goals that would help Zambia get on, and stay on that path. Normative political, rights-based, and economic frameworks were imposed with relatively little regard for the underlying context. Naturally, some of these have benefited Zambia, but many proposed reforms were shunned. Increasingly this older model of development has been superseded as more donors have recognised that they must begin with 'what is', and build on that. To find out how the Zambian political economy really works, studies at various levels are required depending on the type of programme being designed. At sector level, central policy-making level, at village or district levels – wherever aid is to be used – an analysis is needed that highlights the incentive structures and interests of decision-makers, explores clientelist (and corrupt) relations, explains the political economy of poverty, and unpacks power structures and importantly, how aid will change any and all of them.

The underlying model of donor engagement from the 1990s onwards has placed importance on macroeconomic stability as a means to achieving the preconditions for sustainable development and poverty reduction. This had some success, in that GNI per capita has increased dramatically since 2001, and donor assistance as a proportion of GNI has fallen. However, this has more to do with commodity price movements and their impact on the mining sector than with reform processes. It could, however, be argued that the moderate reform which has taken place has allowed these price movements to be translated into increased GNI. Once there was some success on the macroeconomic front, the focus of dialogue has moved to governance issues, again with some success. There appears to be some Zambian support for improved governance, not just in civil society organisations but also at technical and political levels within government. Such reform as has taken place has been within the constraints arising from the strongly centralised and personalised nature of power in Zambia, and as such they are rather fragile in nature. However they are an important step in the direction of developing a technical-rational modern state, rather than a neopatrimonial one, although it is not clear that such moves will have an impact on poverty in the near future.

In this, policy dialogue reflects some of the problems that have arisen in projects. Most Norwegian projects are justified in terms of the impact they will have on the poor, either in terms of service received or in terms of livelihoods opportunities. However the immediate outcomes of these projects are often only loosely linked to poverty reduction. Documentation of these projects, in terms of annual reports and minutes of annual reviews shows that there is often too little reflection on how the projects are actually addressing the higher-level objectives of poverty reduction. At best, analysis is purely technocratic and depoliticised, and the highly political environment is ignored. At worst, monitoring of achievement is weak and focus is on inputs and outputs rather than outcomes. There is insufficient attention paid to how immediate objectives link to poverty reduction, and the political forces which will support or undermine these links.

Harmonisation processes are changing the possibilities for donor engagement, not always in a positive way. One informant told the team that donors who want to do good work in political governance are being dragged down by those who do not want to work proactively in this area. In some ways, the process is also reinforcing centralising tendencies. This raises the question of ownership. In many sectors, the harmonisation process is focused on engagement with central government, but the needs and vision at lower levels are edged out, a move away from decentralisation. It is difficult to prove that poverty reduction would be improved if there were to be greater decentralisation in Zambian political and governance processes, and it would be naïve to discount the possibility of capture by local elites. However, the evaluation found evidence of a greater understanding at local level of why initiatives were not achieving their objectives, but frustration that there were no obvious ways to get these messages across to central decision-making bodies, or, if transmitted, to change the decision-making process. The concept of national ownership has to be unpacked carefully, particularly in regard to poverty reduction.

Donors have to choose the areas they support and the partners they work with carefully if they are to achieve their overall objectives. It appears to the evaluation team that so far donors have worked with government to achieve some of the preconditions for poverty reduction, but with little direct impact. It may be that they are playing a long game which will pay off in the next decade, but the weak potential for change in Zambian political processes makes this a risky process. Treating poverty reduction as a technical issue has not shown major results so far.

Donors have achieved some results working with reforming elements in the governance area. However, there have been few obvious champions for the poor that donors can support, though this may be changing. There is little intellectual debate in Zambia in the media or within academic circles, such as the university⁷². A number of donors have worked with CSOs but much of the support has gone to service delivery, bypassing non-performing government services. Relatively little has gone to generate demand for government accountability, and delivery on poverty reduction. As indicated above, it seems that much of the activity generated by the PRSP has focused on monitoring government outputs, rather than engaging

⁷² We met a number of consultants who had exited the university sector, on the basis that most of their time was spent doing consultancy work, and they might as well do it on their own behalf.

in more fundamental analysis of the political economy of poverty and possible approaches to poverty reduction.

Donors should try to take advantage of the current favourable macroeconomic conditions to revitalise a debate on how best to distribute some of the benefits towards the poor. In the past, reforming tendencies have tended to lose focus when the economy is performing well, and the government has not been under pressure to receive donor assistance. One suggestion made is that donors should look for ways to stimulate intellectual debate, for example within the university; another might be to engage more directly with Parliament on issues of outcomes as well as processes.

Recognising that poverty is a political challenge, not just a technical problem, is an important first step in working with Zambians, in both the public and private sector, to improve the living conditions of the majority of the population.

8.2 Recommendations

Are there specific actions that Norway can undertake to improve the effectiveness of its future programme of support to Zambia? We would suggest that there are, but that they will not necessarily have an impact on poverty in the short to medium term. Rather they may help Zambians build a more developmental state, and bolster the movements away from a neopatrimonial state identified in this evaluation. This would go some way to helping create sustainable and confident Zambia which identifies its own priorities and addresses poverty accordingly.

- *Improving Norway's understanding the political context of Zambia.* This evaluation was, by its nature, backward looking, and had limited time to spend on the current and forward analysis. However, the Norwegian development cooperation programme would benefit from employing more political economy approaches in its assessment of proposed support at all levels. In the spirit of harmonisation this could be undertaken jointly by a number of donors. Alternatively, the Norwegian embassy might wish to establish its own political economy unit – consisting of a local political scientist or well-informed journalist, working with the governance advisor – that draws up and continually maintains a map of power relations, interests and incentive structures that impinge on pro-poor policy making and political and economic development processes. This knowledge could be used whenever designing, monitoring or assessing aid programmes at any level.
- *Supporting the further development of formal checks and balances in political life.* Norway is already active in this area, in particular with its support to the OAG. In addition to maintaining its existing support to this office, Norway should consider extending support to the post-audit process, and other institutions that hold political leaders to account (e.g., asset declaration processes or electoral institutions). This could include capacity building with parliamentarians to help them interpret and monitor government responses to OAG recommendations, though remembering that parliament (and other institutions) is enmeshed in the larger neopatrimonial system, and that any aid programme must first assess the constraints that keep it from acting independently and as a watch-dog organisation. The aim here is to build up *horizontal* accountability mechanisms, which are important in ensuring democratic governance.
- *Funding capacity building in support of decentralisation.* One of the explanations given as to why the pace of the decentralisation process has been so slow is the lack of capacity at provincial and more particularly at district level. Norway has a good track record on supporting capacity building in Zambia, including at provincial level as part of its support to Northern Province. It should consider ways of providing support to capacity building as part of the decentralisation process, if necessary as delegated support. That said, capacity building will be insufficient if the political will to empower decentralised institutions is lacking and that can only be assessed through a political economy analysis.
- *Including civil society in the harmonisation process.* Concerns have been raised by civil society organisations about their potential marginalisation as a result of the harmonisation process. Norway, along with other donors, should look for ways of including the more effective and committed CSOs in donor-government consultations, as well as the public consultations which they already attend. This is crucial because donors ought to foster *vertical* accountability mechanisms, which are key to democratic processes. Rather than the Zambian government being accountable to donors (as in the past), it needs to become open and accountable to its citizens; donors are in a prime position to foster this process.

- *Increasing support to local NGOs.* The data show that Norwegian support to NGOs has increasingly been administered through Norwegian NGOs, rather than local NGOs. It has been difficult to identify exactly why this has taken place so markedly in the past few years, but it would be better to help build greater capacity in the Zambian NGO sector to manage their own funds to give greater genuine voice to the poor. Working with the media to raise awareness of the link between politics and poverty might be considered. Furthermore, it is important to support not just service-providing NGOs, but to provide assistance to civil society organisations that seek to empower the citizenry, and have political and human rights agendas. Capacity building that teaches organisational skills, management, and campaigning techniques to NGO staff would help foster vertical accountability too.
- *Encouraging intellectual and public debate on political issues and on poverty reduction.* It was noted above that Zambia appears to lack a critical mass of champions for the poor and poverty reduction, both in government and also amongst the intelligentsia. Other neighbouring countries have internationally acknowledged think-tanks, which engage with government and with donors on substantive policy issues. Norway could consider, with other donors, funding an independent body to undertake policy analysis that challenges government, donors and civil society and increases their awareness. Here again the media has an important role to play.

Bibliography

- Afrodad (2007) 'The Impact of Wrong Policy Advice on Zambia: A Case Study', Zimbabwe (www.afrodad.org).
- Article 19 (2006) 'Zambia: Freedom of Expression and Elections', London.
- Bayart, J.-F. (1993) *The State in Africa: the Politics of the Belly*, London: Longman.
- Booth, D., *et al*, Jan (2006) 'Drivers of Change and Development in Malawi', London: Overseas Development Institute.
- Booth, V. & E. Whist (2005) Appraisal of Project Proposal. Institutional capacity development of the Zambia Wildlife Authority Project Document – 2005 to 2007, Lusaka: Scanteam.
- Booth, V., D. Mulolani, E. Whist & Tadg Wixted (2004) Appraisal of Project Document for continuing Norwegian support to South Luangwa Area Management Unit (SLAMU) Phase V, Lusaka: Scanteam.
- Braathen, E., 2002, *Developing District Democracy: the mixed Zambian experience*, NIBR Report, 6.
- Bratton, M and van de Walle, N (1997) *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, T. (2004) 'The Political Economy of Policy Making in Zambia', Bristol: IDL Group.
- Burnell, P (2002) Zambia's 2001 Elections: the tyranny of small decisions, 'non-decisions' and 'not decisions', *Third World Quarterly*, 23, 6: 1103-1120.
- Cammack, D (Sept 2007) 'The Logic of African Neopatrimonialism: What Role for Donors?', *Development Policy Review*, 25, 5: 599-614.
- Cammack, D and O'Neil, T. (2007) 'Decentralisation in Malawi and Uganda, 2006', Irish Aid (Forthcoming).
- Carmody, P. (1998) 'Constructing Alternatives to Structural Adjustment in Africa', *Review of African Political Economy* 75: 25-46.
- Chabal, P and Daloz, J-P. (1999) *Africa Works: Disorder as a Political Instrument*, London: James Currey.
- Child, B., ed., (2004) *Parks in Transition: Biodiversity, rural development and the bottom line*, London: Earthscan.
- Chinene, V.R.N, November (1997) Impact Assessment of Agricultural Support to the Northern Province of Zambia, 1981 – 1996, Lusaka: Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Fisheries.
- Corella, B.S, Mutesa, F, Hamabuyu, I.M and Mpepo, B. (2006) 'Institutional Analysis of Non-State Actors in Zambia. Final Report', Lusaka: European Union and Ministry of Finance, Government of the Republic of Zambia.
- Craig, J. (2000) 'Evaluating Privatisation in Zambia: A Tale of Two Processes', *Review of African Political Economy* 85: 357-66.
- Dalal-Clayton, B. & B. Child (2003) *Lessons from Luangwa. The Story of the Luangwa Integrated Resource Development Project*, Zambia. Wildlife and Development Series No. 13, London: International Institute for Environment and Development.
- Donor Working Group on Corruption (2002) 'A Common Donor Strategy on the Fight Against Corruption', Lusaka.

- Duncan, A, Macmillan, H and Simutanyi, N (2003) 'Zambia: Drivers of pro-poor change. An overview', Oxford: Oxford Policy Management.
- Eberlei, W, Meyns, P., and Mutesa, F. (eds) (c. 2005) *Poverty Reduction in a Political Trap? The PRS Process and Neopatrimonialism in Zambia*, Lusaka: UNZA Press.
- Erdmann, G and Engel, U. (2002) 'Neopatrimonialism Reconsidered – Critical review and elaboration of an elusive concept'. Paper to the 45th annual meeting of the African Studies Association, Washington, D.C, December 4-8.
- Erdmann, G and Simutanyi, N. (2003) *Transition in Zambia: Hybridization of the Third Republic*, Lilongwe: Konrad Adenauer Foundation.
- Erdmann, G. (2007) 'Party Research: Western European Bias and the 'African Labyrinth'', in Baseadu, M, Erdmann, G and Mehler, A (eds.) *Votes, Money and Violence: Political Parties and Elections in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Uppsala and Scottsville: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet and University of KwaZulu-Natal.
- Farrington, J and Saasa, O. (2002) 'Drivers of Change in Zambian Agriculture: Defining What Shapes the Policy Environment', Lusaka.: DFID.
- Fraser, A. and J. Lungu (2007) 'For Whom the Windfalls? Winners and Losers in the Privatisation of Zambia's Copper Mines', Lusaka: Civil Society Trade Network of Zambia and the Catholic Centre for Justice, Development and Peace.
- Galtung, F. (2006) 'Measuring the Immeasurable: Boundaries and the Functions of (macro) Corruption indices', in Sampford, C et. al., (eds) *Measuring Corruption*, London: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.
- Gender Newsletter*; July-Sept 2006, Lusaka.
- German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, (2003) Evaluation of German bilateral participation in PRSP processes, Berlin.
- Gertzel, C. (1984) 'Dissent and Authority in the Zambian One-Party State 1973-80', in Gertzel, C (ed.) *The Dynamics of the One-Party State in Zambia*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Gibson, C. (1999) *Politicians and Poachers: The Political Economy of Wildlife Policy in Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Goetz, Anne Marie (2005) *Managing Successful Governance Reforms: Lessons of Design and Implementation: Conceptual Framework*, IDS Working Paper, Brighton: IDS.
- Gould, J., 24 June (2004) 'Chiefs, politics and state formation in Zambia's Third Republic', Lusaka: (n.p.).
- Hall, D. (1999) 'Privatisation, Multinationals and Corruption', *Development in Practice* 9 (5): 539-56.
- Hamilton, K., G. Tembo, G. Sinyenga, S. Bandyopadhyay, A. Pope, B. Guillon, B. Muwele, P. Simasiku & J.-M. Pavy (2007) Economic and sector work. Economic and poverty impact of nature-based tourism. Report to World Bank, Draft, Lusaka.
- Hanlon, Joseph (1986) *Beggar Your Neighbours: Apartheid Power in Southern Africa*, Oxford: James Currey.
- Hibou, B. (1999) 'The "Social Capital" of the State as an Agent of Deception: or the Ruses of Economic Intelligence', in J.-F. Bayart, S. Ellis and B. Hibou (eds.) *The Criminalisation of the State in Africa*, Oxford: James Currey.
- Hill, C. B. and M. McPherson (2004) Promoting and Sustaining Economic Reform in Zambia, Cambridge: Harvard University.
- Hulterstrom, K. et al, (2007) 'Political Opposition in African Countries', Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

- IRIN, (2005) 'Zambia: Media freedom under threat says watchdog', 4 July.
- IUCN (1991). Third Review Mission – Luangwa Integrated Resource Development Project, Lusaka.
- JCTR Policy Brief*, Lusaka: Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection.
- Kasanga, J.M. (2001) Report of the appraisal of Phase IV project performance (2000/2001) and Proposals for improving monitoring and reporting systems, Lusaka: Independent Management Consulting Services Limited.
- Kjaer, A.M. (2004) 'Neo-patrimonialism, Aid and Elite Strategies: How do they Affect State Capacity? Evidence from Seven African Countries'. Paper for the American Political Science Association.
- KS (2003) 'Final Report on institutional cooperation between KS and the Local Government Association of Zambia', Lusaka.
- Larsen, L., N. Mjoberg, and L. Torres (1998) 'Evaluation of project co-operation between the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions and LO Norway', Oslo.
- Lifuka, Rueben, (2007) "Why our Corruption Fight is a Mirage" in Zambia Analysis, Issue No. 02, Lusaka.
- LIRD (1998) A brief assessment of the revised Project Submission for Phase IV, 1999-2002, dated November 1998, Lusaka: Luangwa Integrated Resource Development Project.
- Lubinda, F.S. (1988) Evaluation of NORAD Funded Agricultural Research and Extension Projects in Northern Province; Lusaka.
- Lungu, G. (1986) 'The Church, labour and the Press in Zambia: The Role of Critical Observers in a One-Party State', *African Affairs*, 85, 340: 385-410.
- Mattes, R, Bratton, M and Gyimah-Boadi, E. (2005) *Public Opinion, Democracy and Market Reform in Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McCullough, N., B. Baulch and M. Cherel-Robson (2000) 'Globalisation, Poverty and Inequality in Zambia during the 1990s', paper presented at OECD-IEA conference *Poverty and Income Inequality in Developing Countries: a Policy Dialogue on the Effects of Globalisation*, Paris.
- Mercer, C. (2003) 'Performing Partnership: Civil Society and the Illusions of Good Governance in Tanzania', *Political Geography* 22: 741-763.
- Meynes, P (2005) 'The Creation of an Enabling Environment for Poverty Reduction – Can Zambian Political System Deliver the Goods?', Paper to the Conference on 'Political Dimensions of Poverty Reduction – The case of Zambia, Lusaka, March 9-11
- Mkandawire, T. (1999) 'Crisis Management and the Making of "Choiceless Democracies"', in R. Joseph (ed.) *State, Conflict and Democracy in Africa*, Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner.
- Moore, Henrietta L. & Megan Vaughan (1994) *Cutting Down Trees, Gender, Nutrition and Agricultural Change in the Northern Province of Zambia, 1890 – 1990*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Moore, Henrietta L. (1995) Introduction to Audrey I. Richards, (1939) *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia, An Economic Study of the Bemba Tribe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (1995 reprint).
- Muyoya, T. (2006) 'Evaluation report of the Education Programme of the Council of Churches 1998 - 2005', Lusaka.
- Mwima, H.K. (2007) Synthesis of Completed Management Effectiveness Tracking Tool for Protected Areas Managed by the Zambia Wildlife Authority for the Year 2007. Consultancy Report for MTENR. UNDP/GEF, Lusaka.

- Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Effectiveness and Quality Department, 2006, *External audit – role and quality of the Supreme Audit Institution*, Thematic Study 2: Synthesis Report, the Hague.
- O’Neil, T. (2006) ‘Neopatrimonialism: Literature Review’, London: ODI.
- Oxford Policy Management (2005) Evaluation of Development Cooperation Ireland’s Country Strategy Paper for Zambia, DCI, Dublin.
- Rakner, L. (2003) *Political and Economic Liberalisation in Zambia, 1991-2001*, Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
- Roberts, J. (2004) ‘Review of Rakner’s book’, *Development Policy Review*, 22, 3: 357-360.
- Saasa S. Oliver, Vernon R.N. Chinene, Monica Munachonga and Arne Sandness, (1998) Sector Programme for Norwegian Support to Agriculture in Zambia: Appraisal of Submitted Requests, Lusaka.
- Saasa, O with J. Carlsson (2002) Aid and Poverty Reduction in Zambia Mission Unaccomplished, Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
- Saasa, O.S. (2006) ‘Use of Conditionality by International Financial Institutions to Encourage Privatization and Liberalization: the Case of Zambia’, report commissioned by the Royal Norwegian Embassy, Lusaka.
- SARDC (2005) *Beyond Inequalities, 2005: Women in Zambia*, Lusaka and Harare: SARDC and ZARD.
- Scanteam International AS (1993) Luangwa Integrated Resource Development Project (LIRDP). Project Appraisal.
- Scanteam International AS (1998) Luangwa Integrated Resource Development Project. Project Review Phase III; Project Appraisal Phase IV.
- Scanteam International AS (1999) Luangwa Integrated Resource Development Project (LIRDP). A brief assessment of the revised Project Submission for Phase IV, 1999-2002.
- Scanteam International, AS (1990) Norwegian Assistance to Agricultural and Rural Development in Northern Province, Zambia, Programme Review May – June 1990.
- Serlemitsos, John, (2003) ‘Zambia: Post-privatization study’, Washington D.C.: World Bank.
- Sfeftel, M. (2000) ‘“Eat With Us”: Managing Corruption and Patronage Under Zambia’s Three Republics, 1964-1999’, *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 18, 2: 207-224.
- Sharpe B., (n.d.) Agricultural commercialisation, nutrition and health in Northern Zambia: a review of recent research and policy options.
- SIDA (2006) Power Analysis – Experiences and Challenges, Department for Democracy and Social Development, Stockholm.
- Simonsen, J., C. Mulenga, and F. Zulu (2003) ‘Review of the Christian Council of Zambia School Programme supported by Norwegian Church Aid’, Lusaka.
- Simutanyi, N (2005)a, ‘Political Parties and Party System in Zambia’, Background Paper prepared for Friedrich Ebert Stiftung-Zambia, Lusaka.
- Simutanyi, N (2005)b ‘Funding of Political Parties in Zambia: Challenges and Opportunities,’ Paper presented to the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy Regional Conference on Rules of Engagement Between Ruling and Opposition Parties and Funding of Political Parties, Fairmount Hotel, Livingstone, 17-18 September.
- Smith, R. (2003) ‘Review of the KS/GTZ/LGAZ Training Programme for Local Government in Zambia’, Lusaka.
- Svensson J.(2005) Eight Questions on Corruption, *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol.19 No. 3: 19-42.

- Transparency International (2005) *Zambia: A Case Study*, Bonn: Transparency International.
- United Nations Development Programme (2007) *Zambia Human Development Report*, Lusaka: UNDP.
- van de Walle, N. (2003) 'Presidentialism and Clientelism in Africa's Emerging party Systems', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 41, 2; 297-321.
- Van der Heijden, H. (2001) 'Zambian Policy-making and the Donor Community in the 1990s', *WIDER Discussion Paper* No. 2001/87, Helsinki: WIDER.
- von Soest, C. (2006) 'How Does Neopatrimonialism Affect the African State? The case of tax collection in Zambia', Hamburg: GIGA Institute for African Affairs.
- White, H. (1999) *Dollars, Dialogue and Development, An Evaluation of Swedish Programme Aid*, Stockholm: SIDA.
- White, H., (1999) *A Black Sheep among Reformers, Programme Aid to Zambia*, Stockholm: SIDA.
- World Bank (2007) *Development and the Next Generation: World Development Report 2007*, Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- World Bank, (1997) Operations Evaluation Department, *Zambia Country Assistance Review, Turning a Country Around*, Washington D.C.: World Bank.
- World Bank, (2002) Operations Evaluation Department, *Zambia Country Assistance Evaluation*, Washington D.C.: World Bank.
- WWF – SARPO (2001). *ZAWA-CBNRM Programme: Luangwa Valley (2002 – 2006)*, Harare.
- Government of Norway, Official Documents**
- Norad, (1992) *Strategies for Bilateral Development Cooperation, part II Basic Principles*, Oslo.
- Norad, (1999) *Norad invests in the future - Strategy for 2000-2005*, Oslo.
- Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, (2003-2004) *Fighting Poverty Together, A Comprehensive Development Policy*, Report no. 35 to the Storting.
- Norad (2005) *Development Cooperation Manual*. Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- Zambia Country Strategy 1992.
- Zambia Country Strategy 1994-1997.
- Country Programme 1991 – 1994.
- Country Programme 1992 – 1995.
- Country Programme 1994 – 1997.
- Country Programme 1995 – 1998.
- Memorandum on Development Cooperation between the Republic of Zambia and the Kingdom of Norway in the Period 1994-997- *Basic Strategy and Selected Priorities*.
- Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of the Kingdom of Norway and the Government of the Republic of Zambia concerning Development Cooperation, 2000.
- Norad (1995) Agreement between the Government of the Kingdom of Norway and the Government of the Republic of Zambia regarding Support to Integrated Resource Development of the Luangwa Valley in Zambia, Phase III. Signed 7th December 1995.
- Government of Zambia documents**
- Anti-Corruption Commission (2007) *Final report on the NORAD Institutional Support to the Anti-Corruption Commission 2000-2007*, March 2007.
- Government of the Republic of Zambia (GRZ) (2002) *Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper*, Lusaka: Ministry of Finance and National Planning.

- GRZ (2002) *The National Decentralisation Policy*, Lusaka: Cabinet Office.
- GRZ (1996) *Constitution of Zambia*.
- GRZ (2000) Governance Development Unit, *Action Plan for the Governance Development Unit* (August 2000 to December 2003).
- GRZ (2004) *Memorandum of Understanding concerning the Public Expenditure Management and Financial Accountability (PEMFA) Programme*, December 2004.
- GRZ (2004) *Public Finance Act*.
- GRZ (2005) Zambia, Public Financial Management Performance Report and Performance Indicators: PEMFA Performance Evaluation, December 2005.
- GRZ (2006) Financial Regulations.
- GRZ, Ministry of Finance and National Planning (2006) *Fifth National Development Plan 2006-2010*.
- GRZ/ Government of the Kingdom of Norway, 2000, *Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of the Republic of Zambia and the Government of the Kingdom of Norway concerning Development Cooperation*.
- GRZ/Various Cooperating Partners, 2007, *Joint Assistance Strategy for Zambia (JASZ) 2007-2010*, April 2007.
- MTENR (2005) *National Environmental Policy*. Revised 5 January 2005. Ministry of Tourism, Environment and Natural Resources.
- NPWS (1993) *Policy for Wildlife in Zambia*. Approved by the Cabinet 25th August 1993, Ministry of Tourism, Department of National Parks and Wildlife Service.
- NPWS (1998) *Policy for National Parks and Wildlife in Zambia*. Ministry of Tourism, Department of National Parks and Wildlife Service.

Annex A: Terms of Reference

Country evaluation: Zambia

1. Description of the Evaluation Object

1.1 Introduction

This evaluation focuses on Norwegian development cooperation in Zambia during the period 1991 to 2005. It differs from more traditional country evaluations by assessing the results of Norwegian assistance in a broader context of domestic and international power structures. Thus, the evaluation can create useful knowledge about how Norway interacts with Zambian and international partners on different levels. Given the historical perspective, it will also provide useful information about long-term effects of development interventions.

1.2 Power Structures and Development Cooperation in Zambia

1.2.1 Poverty, Economic Reforms and International Aid

Why is poverty in Zambia still so prevalent? Why has the economic situation actually deteriorated since the first decade after Independence?

At independence in 1964, Zambia was among the wealthier nations in Sub-Saharan Africa. However, excessive dependence on copper left the economy vulnerable, and the economy contracted beginning in the mid-1970s, when copper prices began to fall and fuel prices rose. The agricultural development remained slow and did not compensate for the reduction of income from the mining sector.

Zambia's transition to multi-party democracy in 1991 infused optimism. President Chiluba's government started to lay the foundation for a market-based economy by introducing liberalisation of marketing and trade, privatisation of parastatals, modernisation of public services delivery system and rehabilitation and development of infrastructure with the view to creating an enabling environment for private sector participation, initiatives in line with the fourth Structural Adjustment Programme. A more stable macroeconomic environment was achieved, bringing inflation down from 127% to 25%. Liberalisation of agricultural markets resulting in higher food prices contributing to some changes in the urban /rural distribution of poverty.

However, the political and economic reforms that were initiated by the new government proved inadequate for broad-based poverty reduction. There is evidence, using national poverty lines, that poverty increased between 1991 and 1996 by 20% among those below a food-only poverty line and by 16% among those below a general poverty line.⁷³ In 1996 an estimated 73% of the population lived on less than a dollar a day.⁷⁴ Between 1996 and 1998, there were some reductions in poverty, although not sufficient to offset the rise between 1991 and 1996. The HDI for Zambia shows a steady decrease throughout the period.

Many of the economic reforms were also severely delayed. This applies in particular to the copper industry where the privatisation took place at a time when the value of the state's assets had been almost eroded. On the other hand, it is fair to say that the liberalisation and deregulation in the 90ies did result in a more open society with more pluralism in media and a larger scope for civil society to participate in public debate and social development.

⁷³ McCulloch et al, 2001

⁷⁴ World Bank 2000

Since 2000 there have been some improvements in terms of poverty reduction and economic growth. Close to 68% of the population (in 2004) is assessed to be under the National poverty line, down from 73 in the late '90ies. Still, Zambia does not compare well even with other countries in the region. Life expectancy, at a top in the late '70ies at 51 years now stands at 37 years. Adult literacy rates have deteriorated and are now down to 55, 3%.⁷⁵ Infant mortality rate moved from 104 in 1990 to 112 at the end of the decade but has improved slightly, the rate in 2004 being 102.

Nevertheless, the draft Fifth National Development Plan (FNDP) states that the country's improved economic performance over recent years has not translated into significant declines in poverty. The majority of the people in Zambia still suffer from weak purchasing power and insufficient access to basic social services and necessities such as education, health, food and clean water and from lack of proper housing.

The international aid flows to Zambia are significant. As a consequence of the far-reaching economic and political reforms in the early 90s, the international donor community responded with pronounced goodwill. All through the '90ies Zambia received approximately \$ 92 per capita, more than twice the average for HIPC countries. International ambivalence over the run-up to the election in 1996 and its outcome resulted in a donor aid freeze that specifically targeted balance of payments support. Nevertheless, at the May 1999 Consultative Group (CG) meeting for Zambia, Zambia's regional role was stressed to justify continued aid to the country, and the influx of balance of payments support from the donors began in March 1999. In 2005 Zambia received extensive debt relief as a consequence of the G8 meeting in Gleneagles and the Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative (MDRI) which has augmented government resources. In 2004 total aid as proportion of GDP was 20%⁷⁶. The aid dependency of the country thus remains high. Still, the donors' intention of radically reducing poverty has as yet met with little success.

The question, therefore, is: What has gone wrong? The colonial legacy of Zambia with a dominant mining sector, relatively high urbanisation and a poorly developed agricultural sector has continued to play an essential part in the economic, political and social development since independence. For many decades the history of underdevelopment in Zambia has been closely related to the role of the copper industry. However, the country is rich in resource and the potential in agriculture as well as the mining sector is substantial. In spite of regional differences Zambia has not seen serious conflicts and the country has not been engaged in any wars in spite of wars and tensions in the region. Many studies have tried to explain the lack of poverty reduction in Zambia. While some theories accuse the donors of inconsistent policies, insufficient aid volume or inadequate modes of assistance, some argue that the problem is more rooted in the system that receive aid, in bad management and corruption.

1.2.2 National and International Power Structures

Rather than focusing on insufficiencies and inadequacies of individual stakeholders, this evaluation will analyse the difficulties and possibilities that emerge from the interplay between them. In the FNDP the Zambian government stress the importance of how the society works together for the achievement of poverty reduction goals: "Governance is all about the whole society working together while exercising political, economic and administrative authority to manage the nation's affairs."⁷⁷ This implies that the potential for pro-poor change in Zambia doesn't rely on individual actors but on 'the whole society', including both domestic and international stakeholders, and on how the actors relate to each other. In line with the FNDP's statement this evaluation will study the importance of power structures in the development work in Zambia. *How do national and international power relations affect the scope of different stakeholders to strengthen the probabilities of pro-poor outcomes? To what extent and how do donors and different stakeholders in Zambia empower and disempower each other in their attempts to achieve poverty reduction goals?*⁷⁸ 'Power' in this context is not conceived as "a position of ascendancy" or as "resources wielded by an

⁷⁵ FNDP says 55, 3%, other sources give higher figures

⁷⁶ Human Development Report 2006

⁷⁷ Fifth National Development Plan 2006-2010

⁷⁸ The evaluation can be viewed within the context of a series of studies assessing power and drivers of change in development cooperation, for an overview see *Lessons learned on the use of power and drivers of change in analyses in development co-operation*, 7th meeting of the DAC network on governance 2005

individual or a group”.⁷⁹ Rather, ‘power’ is here employed in a sociological sense, as “every opportunity/possibility existing within a social relationship.”⁸⁰

According to such a definition one cannot meaningfully say that a particular social actor “has power” without also specifying the role of other parties in the social relationship. As Foucault has pointed out, power is not owned by the state, nor is it specific to any particular organization or individual. It is machinery that no one owns⁸¹. Its application points are multiple, dispersed throughout all social institutions. Power, according to Foucault, must therefore be analyzed as something which circulates, or rather as something which only functions in the form of a chain. It is never localized here or there, never in anybody’s hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth. Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organization...⁸²

Power relations involved in development cooperation are complex. They are part of the dynamics between beneficiaries, development agencies, and the state, they can be found in the hierarchies (both formal and informal) within the recipient country as well as in interagency and donor-client relations, and they include political, economic, social and cultural factors. Development work in Zambia involve a number of stakeholders, politicians and bureaucrats, church leaders and traditional leaders, civil society organisations and trade unions, the media, entrepreneurs and private sector as well as donor agencies, multilateral organisations and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) An underlying assumption of this evaluation is that the potential for pro-poor change highly depends on how these different stakeholders affect, strengthen and weaken each other’s efforts to achieve poverty reduction goals. It is important to note that this interplay doesn’t rely on political interests alone. The power relations between the stakeholders are also highly dependent on cultural, ethnical and geographical factors. Further, these relations are not stable, but constantly changing. Not only political reforms but also changes in macro-economic environment and development activities influence their interaction and the relational balance. The relationship between international aid agencies and these various institutions, groups and organisations varies as does the insight in how development assistance influences this interaction.

Power to reduce poverty is thus a structural phenomenon embedded in the interaction between the stakeholders. All parties are involved in complex and shifting processes that they cannot control absolutely. Instead of asking who is responsible for the lack of poverty reduction, this evaluation will therefore try to identify the political, economic, social and cultural forces that determine the scope for interventions to strengthen the probabilities of pro-poor outcomes.

1.2.3 Norwegian Aid

How does Norwegian assistance to Zambia interact with domestic and international power relations?

Norwegian development support to Zambia is basically built on a government to government cooperation. Funds are also channelled through the multilateral system, through Norwegian and international NGOs and directly to local NGOs. Development cooperation includes mainly interaction with Zambian authorities at various levels but also with other bilateral donors, the UN agencies and the World Bank and to some extent with local organisations and target groups.

In 2005 Norway’s bilateral and multi-bilateral assistance to Zambia amounted to NOK 315, 4 million. The level of disbursements has varied during the period under evaluation. The disbursement in 1990 of NOK 346 mill. reflects the optimism with changes in the Zambian government and policies. It fell by almost 30% by the middle of the decade and the increase did only start after the turn of the century. The 2005 figures comprised approximately 78 per cent in support directly to government, 16 per cent in assistance channelled through Norwegian NGOs, 5.3 per cent through local and 0.2 per cent through international NGOs. Norway has also provided substantial aid through multilateral organizations. This evaluation will focus on the totality of Norwegian assistance including aid channelled through multilateral organisations and NGOs.

79 Webster’s Third New International Dictionary

80 Max Weber: *Basic Concepts in Sociology*

81 Michel Foucault: *Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison*. Paris: Gallimard 1975

82 Michel Foucault: *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977*. New York: Pantheon Books 1980

Norwegian development cooperation with Zambia, began in 1967, and Zambia is today one of Norway's seven main partner countries in development cooperation worldwide.

Since 1991, some of the main areas of Norwegian assistance have been education, roads, good governance, natural resources and wildlife management, agriculture, water supplies, district development and trade. Private sector development has also been part of the cooperation. In line with general development policy the various interventions should give special attention to the gender dimension within all areas of co-operation, together with, environment, and HIV/AIDS as other cross-cutting issues. Institutional capacity building has figured prominently within most programmes.

Regular consultations and Memoranda of Understanding have governed the development co-operation between Norway and Zambia through most of the period. The cooperation is built on the aims and priorities set down in Zambian policy documents like the National Development Plans, the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) and Norwegian development policies as expressed in White Papers to Parliament. Over the years Norway and Zambia have conducted reviews of development co-operation to assess to what extent the programmes are carried out according to plans and to ensure that the assistance is provided in accordance with Zambia's own priorities.

A more recent trend in the development cooperation is the emphasis put on harmonisation of assistance with that of other donors. This is done through joint funding of sector wide programmes (SWAPs), delegated co-operation (silent partnerships), and alignment with Zambian procedures. In this respect, the Harmonisation in Practice (HIP) Initiative is seen as essential; it was a forerunner to the Paris Declaration which codifies Harmonisation and Alignment in development cooperation on a global basis. Norway was one of the original signatories to the HIP agreement with GRZ, and the co-ordinator on the donors' side for the period July 2003-June 2004, together with DFID. In the fields of education, wildlife, anti-corruption measures and, lately, Public Financial management, Norway has played an important role in leading and co-ordinating donor activities. Since 2005, Zambia has also received direct contributions from Norway to its national budget (budget support).

When it comes to the overarching goal of eradication of absolute poverty in development cooperation, internal priorities and power structures in the recipient country are essential for the effectiveness of Norwegian assistance as are the policies and conditionalities of other donors. As a prominent bilateral donor, Norway also has a certain influence on priorities and power relations through programmes and dialogue, an influence which may go beyond the level of actual disbursements.

2. Main Objectives and Users of the Evaluation

The main purpose of the evaluation is to assess the role of Norwegian support to Zambian development including the way in which power relations in Zambia as well as in interagency and donor-client relations, influence the outcome and impact of the cooperation.

The achievements will be evaluated against the overall development objective of poverty reduction in Zambia as formulated in:

- National Development Plans
- National Poverty Reduction Action Plan (NPRAP) of 2000
- PRSP of 2002
- Norwegian Development Strategies (1993 and 2000)
- MoUs between Zambia and Norway.

However, the efforts and achievements should be assessed against the *contemporary* context and standards prevailing at the time, when decisions were made. The focus will be on the quality and results of Norwegian assistance so far and reasons for successes and failures. Focusing on the overall interplay of power structures, the evaluation will provide new and interesting perspectives on the effectiveness of Norwegian supported interventions. Assessing how agents and interventions interact on different levels, the evaluation can reveal unforeseen, long-term effects of development interventions and how they affect people outside the target groups (impact).

This evaluation is to be formative with a strong learning element, by generating knowledge and creating discussions. Rather than making a list of recommendations, the evaluation should discuss possible lessons that can be drawn from the findings and reflect on possible adjustments of Norwegian assistance and policies. The main users of the evaluation will be relevant Norwegian and Zambian authorities as well as the donor community including multilateral organisations and NGOs.

3. Approach and Methodology

This country evaluation will be based on DACs quality standard and cover all of DACs criteria for evaluating development assistance; relevance, impact, effectiveness, efficiency and sustainability. There are two main components of the evaluation:

3.1 Study of Power Structures and Development Cooperation in Zambia

This part of the evaluation shall take on an inductive approach in the assessment of political, social and economic development in Zambia, looking at national as well as international power relations involved in poverty reduction processes in Zambia and only then look at how Norwegian development assistance feature in these processes. The study of power structures is structured under two headings: (1) *General trends* and (2) *Power structures and outputs of Norwegian aid*. This part of the evaluation will mainly be based on desk studies, but it will also include interviews with key stakeholders.

An analytical element will be *discourse analysis* of national and international policy documents, reviews, memoranda, and other relevant documents. Discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of language and communication focusing on the ways social and political domination is reproduced by text and talk. This approach is based on the view that language is “a form of social practice”.⁸³ According to Fairclough “language connects with the social through being the primary domain of ideology, and through being both a site of, and a stake in, struggles for power”.⁸⁴ The evaluation will focus on how or to what extent domestic and international power structures are reproduced in e.g. the PRSP and in other key documents. Through close readings the evaluation should examine how the documents relate to the point of views and voices of different stakeholders. By triangulating the findings with data from interviews, the evaluation can assess to what degree and how the overall interaction between the agents is characterized by the same biases. The study of power structures will also involve analysis of macro-economic figures as well as studies of secondary sources. One outcome of the study of power structures is to define some important problems of investigation or hypothesis to be further interrogated in the case studies.

3.2 Case Studies

This part of the evaluation will use a deductive approach working “outwards” or “upwards” from Norwegian supported interventions focusing on outcome and impact. The main focus is how Norwegian assistance interacts with power structures on different levels of the Zambian society as well as on different international arenas. The case studies shall be built on desk and field studies, and both quantitative and qualitative methods shall be integrated. The hypothesis indicated in the study of power structures shall be discussed in the case studies. The case studies will also include *perception studies* based on interviews of Zambian and other partners. The aim is to investigate how the importance and relevance of Norwegian assistance is experienced by the stakeholders.

4. Evaluation Questions

4.1 Study of Power Structures and Development Cooperation in Zambia

4.1.1 General Trends

The evaluation questions concerning general trends are structured under 2 main headings describing some important arenas of interaction that are involved in the development work in Zambia, at the international as well as domestic level. It is, however, important to note that this list is just a point of departure. The evaluation will not only analyse these arenas and the power relations involved separately, but it will concentrate on the interplay between them. The overall focus of the evaluation is how agents and interventions interact on *different* levels and on *different* arenas of society simultaneously. Since the evaluation treats a time period of

⁸³ Norman Fairclough: *Language and Power*. Harlow: Longman, 2001

⁸⁴ Norman Fairclough: *Language and Power*. Harlow: Longman, 2001

15 years, it is also equally important that the evaluation describes changes and development over time.

The evaluation will focus on the following arenas of interaction:

A The international scene: development cooperation

- Donor and recipient interests
- Multilateral and bilateral donors
- Different bilateral agencies

B The National scene: levels of interaction and influence

- Political and economic interests
- Formal and informal power in the recipient country.
- Public and private sector
- Local and central authorities
- Authorities and civil society

The evaluation should treat the following questions associated with the themes mentioned above:

A. The international scene: development cooperation

The main question is: How do power relations involved in the development cooperation affect the scope for interventions to strengthen the probabilities of pro-poor outcomes?

This analysis should take as its point of departure the various contexts where donors meet with Zambian authorities, either as a group or individually, e.g. CG meetings, Sector Programme meetings, PRSP processes and annual consultations and development of individual programmes.

Donor and recipient interests

- How can the dialogue between donors (multilateral and bilateral) and national authorities be described? In which way has this dialogue developed during the period, and has the dialogue influenced political choices made by Zambia?
- To what degree was development support aligned with national strategies and delivered in partnership with the Government and what are the implications with respect to sustainability of interventions?
- To what degree has donor assistance affected internal power structures in Zambia and to what extent has conditionality influenced the ideological scope of action on national level?
- To what extent does development cooperation influence party policies and relationship between different parties?

Multilateral and bilateral donors

- To what extent have multilateral and bilateral donors had common interests in Zambia and to what extent have they followed the same policy concerning conditionality?
- To what degree have multilateral and bilateral donors coordinated their support?
- What are the main differences between multilateral and bilateral donors in terms of communication with and influence on Government policy?

Different bilateral agencies

- What are the main differences between the major donor agencies during the period in terms of policies, priorities, modes of assistance etc?
- To what extent has their support been harmonized?

B The National scene – levels of interaction and influence

The main question is: To what extent and how do power structures on different levels of Zambian society influence achievements of poverty reduction goals?

This analysis will focus on political and institutional changes during the period affecting distribution of power between social and political groups and structures of government at central and local level. It will include rules and regulations for media and NGOs and also assess the role of consultative processes in policy development (e.g., elections and PRSP processes)

Political and economic interests

- What are the political consequences of economic reforms with respect to changes in power relations? Have gender related issues been affected?
- To what extent has poverty reduction been a part of the political agenda and electoral concerns over the period?
- What role has the donor community played in this process?

Formal and informal power in the recipient country

- How have the relations between the government and traditional leaders been affected by political, economic and institutional changes?
- How may cultural factors and social structures have influenced political initiatives and power relations?
- How are gender related issues represented in the interaction between formal and traditional leaders?
- What is or may be the role of traditional leaders in development cooperation interventions at local level, e.g. with respect to use/protection of natural resources and HIV/Aids?

Public and private sector

- How has the relationship between Government and business changed during the period?
- What has been done to develop legal and regulatory framework for private sector development and what has been the implications for Small and Medium sized Enterprises?
- What has the government done to boost export growth?
- How has the donor community contributed in this respect?
- Has the privatisation process had any influence on poverty?
- To what extent has female entrepreneurship been considered and supported?

Local and central authorities

- To what extent have power relations between different regions influenced national politics?
- To what extent has the government been able to implement formal democratic structures at the local level?
- How has decentralization reforms affected poverty?
- How has the donor community contributed in this respect?

Authorities and civil society

- What has been the role of church leaders in pro poor policy development?
- What has been the political role of trade unions and their influence in urban / rural policies?
- What role has been played by media in the political development?
- How has NGOs influence on government policy developed during the period and has the rights of women and children become more prominent?
- To what extent have the international donor community contributed to their influence?
- Has donor support to NGOs contributed to challenging relations of power, authority and patronage or rather to reconstituting these patterns making the NGOs dependent on outsider agendas (by acknowledging the superiority of modern technology and lifestyles, by aligning themselves with dominant cultural forms etc.)?

4.1.2 Power Structures and Outputs of Norwegian Support

On this background, the evaluation will assess the effectiveness of Norwegian support in terms of output, i.e. the achievement of targets for the production of goods and services. *The main question is: To what extent and how have the outputs of Norwegian financed interventions been affected by domestic and international power relations?*

The assessment will focus on some important areas of Norwegian assistance and build on Memoranda of Understanding and Agrees Minutes of meetings between Zambian and Norwegian authorities on various levels as well as selected Project Documents and Appropriation Documents. It should also consider Norwegian interaction with Multilateral organisations in Zambia and NGOs, including INGOs as well as Norwegian and local ones. Programme and project reviews and former evaluations will be essential. When possible, this part of the evaluation should also provide elements of outcome and impact assessment based on these secondary sources. Triangulation with selected interviewees will be required.

A more in-depth study of how Norwegian financed interventions have affected the situation of the stakeholders positively or negatively is the main objective of the case studies.

The evaluation should take care to cover a good selection of aid channels and modalities assessing i.a. the appropriateness of the selected partners in view of the power relations referred to above. A more narrow scope for this part of the evaluation will be discussed with Zambian authorities and with the evaluation team during the inception phase. Relevant issues could be:

- Governance support: Norwegian support to the Magistrates Courts Complex, Institutional development of the Office of the Auditor General, strengthening journalism development (Media Trust Fund), anti-corruption, programme of public financial management reforms, election funds.
- Education support: Support to the national education programme, assistance for private schools through partnership agreements with Norwegian Church Aid and Save the Children Norway.
- The wild life sector: Support to Wildlife Management through capacity building in ZAWA, development of the South Luangwa National Park and the Kafue national Park,
- Natural resources and agriculture: Agricultural support to the Northern Province, more effective production methods, Water Supply Programme in the Western Province
- The road sector: Support to Zambia's Axle Load Control Programme, assistance for institutions that manage the road sector, cooperation with Norwegian Public Road authorities.
- Gender: Support to Gender Network in Zambia. Sub granting for other gender NGOs functioning. Co-operation with FOKUS in Norway.
- HIV/Aids support: Support to NGOs

4.2 Case Studies

The case studies shall focus on Norwegian assistance in the following fields: *Agriculture, wildlife management and natural resources* and *transparency in financial management*.

4.2.1 Agriculture

Norway has supported agricultural and rural development projects in Zambia since the 70ies. For several years, Norway provided substantial resources in developing agriculture in the Northern Province. Given the long history of Norwegian support to this area, an assessment of the different kinds of Norwegian assistance during the period of investigation will give valuable insight in the long term results. This was also a period characterizes by changes in Zambian agricultural policies. Norwegian support to the Northern Province was evaluated in the late 90ies. The following study will differ from earlier ones focusing more on the long term effects of the interventions and on how they interact with power structures on different levels of society.

The objective of this case study is to assess the long term effect of Norwegian support to the agricultural sector and how it relates to policy changes and other aspects of power relations at central and local level. The case study should consider:

- the long term effects of Norwegian support to this area, especially based on interventions in the Northern Province,
- the role of agricultural development in Northern Province in a national perspective,
- the intended and unintended positive and negative effects of the interventions on people institutions and the physical environment,
- the involvement of various stakeholders, specifying gender,
- efforts made to ensure continuity and sustainability of different activities,
- the relevance to the needs of the target beneficiaries.

The evaluation should relate to the expected goals and purposes as described in Project Documents and appropriation documents.

4.2.2 Wildlife Management and Natural Resources

For over ten years, Norway has supported a local wildlife management programme in the Luangwa Valley around the national park in South Luangwa. One of the goals of the programme is to increase awareness of the importance of conserving and developing wildlife

resources in an ecological as well as financial perspective and to develop an understanding in the local population of how protection of wildlife could create a basis for employment in tourism and further private sector development. Norway has contributed actively to the establishment of the government administrative body, the Zambia Wildlife Authority, which is responsible for managing Zambia's national parks and wildlife resources. Wild life management is also one of the main areas of development cooperation stated in the MoU.

This evaluation will focus on the effects of Norwegian support to National parks during the period of investigation and on how Norwegian financed interventions affect or reproduce dominant power structures. The objectives of this case study is to study the interplay between national and local interests as well as the influence of local power structures in the implementation and long term effects of the program. The case study should consider:

- relevance of Norwegian support from a distribution point of view,
- the effectiveness and efficiency of the interventions,
- the intended and unintended positive and negative effects of the interventions on people, institutions and the physical environment,
- the involvement of various stakeholders,
- the impact on poverty situation in the target areas,
- efforts made to ensure continuity and sustainability of different activities and the long term effects of Norwegian support, especially on tourism and on private sector development.

The evaluation should relate to the expected goals and purposes as described in Project Documents and appropriation documents.

4.2.3 Transparency in Financial Management

Norway has supported several projects to promote transparent financial management in Zambia. Assistance is provided for the Office of the Auditor General, non-governmental organisations working to combat corruption, the Anti-Corruption Commission and other governmental units that specialise in uncovering corruption. The evaluation will focus on the effects of Norwegian assistance in this area and on the significance of formal and informal power relations in this respect.

The objective of this case study is to assess the kind of power relations relevant to the impact of the interventions in this area. The study should consider:

- to what extent these interventions reinforce each other in the promotion of a transparent financial management,
- the long term effects of Norwegian support, especially on anti-corruption,
- the effectiveness and efficiency of the interventions related to institutions,
- the effectiveness and efficiency of interventions related to advocacy and policy development,
- the intended and unintended positive and negative effects of the interventions on people, institutions and the physical environment,
- the involvement of various stakeholders in government as well as civil society,
- efforts made to ensure continuity and sustainability of different activities.

The evaluation should relate to the expected goals and purposes as described in Project Documents and appropriation documents

4.2.4 Evaluation Questions for the Case Studies:

The case studies should consider the following questions:

- What views have Norwegian Governments had on the interaction between political and economic interests in Zambia, and how has this affected Norwegian development policies and the results of Norwegian assistance?
- How can the dialogue between the Norwegian donors and Zambian authorities be described? In which way has this dialogue developed during the period, and has the dialogue influenced political choices made?
- To what degree was the Norwegian support aligned with the national strategies and delivered in partnership with the Government? To what extent has one managed to ensure local ownership to Norwegian financed interventions?
- How has Norwegian supported programs related to interventions from other sources?

- To what extent have Norwegian assistance taken into account the social and cultural structures in the recipient country?
- How have Norwegian supported interventions related to traditional leaders and what ways has this defined the outcome of the intervention?
- What role has Norway played on private sector development in different areas? What has been Norwegian policy and how has Norway influenced decentralization processes?
- In what respect has cooperation with civil society in Zambia and support to civil society organisations enhanced the realisation of the development objectives of Norwegian support to Zambia in the areas under study? Has Norwegian assistance had any impact on the dialogue between local NGOs and Zambian authorities?
- Has Norwegian support followed the general international trends or has it in, certain areas, been a counter-power to other donors?
- How can Norwegian policy towards the major multilateral and bilateral donors be described, and has it changed during the period in question?
- To what degree have initiatives for harmonization with support from other countries and from multilateral donors been successful?

The evaluation team is free to propose more detailed evaluation questions, methodology and scope for the case studies in the tender documents, in the inception report and in the interim report.

5. Reporting

The consultants will present an inception report within 3 weeks after the contract is signed giving a more detailed plan for the work tasks. The inception report should include a detailed description of the methodological design, methods of investigation and data collection, and analytical approach for the study of power structures. A detailed plan and methodology for the case studies will be presented in the interim report. The inception report will be based on desk review of documents and relevant literature. It will be discussed with the team and members of the reference group before approval by EVAL.

An *interim report* should be submitted to EVAL by the 29th of June 2007. The interim report should (1) analyse the results from the study of power structures and (2) present the main hypothesis which the case studies will investigate as well as a detailed plan and methodology for the case studies. The interim report will be commented on by the reference group.

A *draft final report* will be delivered in electronic form before September 10th 2007 for feedback from EVAL, the reference group and other stakeholders involved. The feedback will include comments on facts, conclusions, recommendations and lessons learned. The final report should reflect these comments and acknowledge any substantive disagreements.

The *final evaluation report* is to be submitted to EVAL by October 8th by the Team Leader. It shall be an analytical report written in English not exceeding 60 pages (excluding annexes), detailing the findings and the conclusions. The structure of the report should facilitate assessments of the key evaluation questions. Eventual limitations of methods and findings should be openly discussed in the report. The report should also discuss possible lessons that can be drawn from the findings and reflect on possible adjustments of Norwegian assistance and policies. Annexes should give more detailed information on Norwegian assistance to each case-study project; the assistance, context, results, quality, relationships and methods used in the evaluation (including questionnaire for the perception studies). The final report shall be delivered both in electronic and paper form in accordance with EVAL's guidelines, and the language checked.

The final report will be followed up by meetings/workshops where the consultants will participate in discussions with the parties involved, other stakeholders and with EVAL.

6. The Tender Process and Choice of Evaluation Team

The tender process will be international and in accordance with EU rules. The main competition criteria will be the design and methods proposed, the quality of the team, the availability of team members and price. The organisation of the team's work is the

responsibility of the consultant and should be specified and explained clearly in the proposal. The evaluation team should cover the following competencies:

General qualifications:

- Higher relevant academic degree.
- Experience as team leader for multi disciplinary teams (for the Team Leader).
- Experience as team member in multi disciplinary teams.
- Fluent in English.

Specific qualifications for all team members:

- Methodological competence
- Evaluation of development assistance
- Knowledge of development assistance policies, strategies and aid management
- Country knowledge

Specific qualifications to be covered by at least one of the team members:

- Research competence on PhD-level
- Knowledge of and experience with discourse analysis
- Ability to read Norwegian
- Experience from Zambia

The selection criteria will be defined in the invitation for tender.

7. Evaluation Principles, Management and Support

The basic DAC-evaluation principles of independence of those responsible for the design and implementation of the development intervention, and of utilisation of evaluators external to the donor and implementing organisations will be applied. Responsibility for the content and presentation of the findings of the evaluation rests with the evaluation team. The views and opinions expressed in the report will not necessarily correspond to the views of the Norwegian Government, the Zambian Government, or the implementing organisations.

Three sets of roles are contained in the evaluation process: the Evaluation Management, the Evaluation Team, and the Evaluation Reference Group.

Role of the Evaluation Management:

The Evaluation Management will:

- Evaluate the tenders and select the evaluation team;
- Ensure quality throughout the evaluation process;
- Comment on and approve the draft version of Inception, Interim Report and Evaluation report, including choice of methodologies;
- Provide feedback to the Evaluation Team and the Reference Group;
- Ensure that local offices are aware of the evaluation and fully involved and available to contribute to the evaluation;
- Chair meetings of the Reference Group;
- Organise the presentation of the evaluation results, and assist with necessary follow-up of the evaluation.

Role of the Evaluation Team:

The evaluation is carried out through a contract with a research institution/consulting company by a team composed of external international and Zambian consultants lead by an Evaluation Team leader. The team will:

- Carry out the evaluation as per ToR;
- Be responsible for the findings and conclusions of the evaluation;
- Report to the Evaluation Management, be in regular contact, coordinate mission timing and key events with the Management and seek its advice when needed;
- The Team Leader is responsible for the team's reports, and for the organisation of the work of the team;
- The Team Leader will participate in workshops and Reference Group meetings as required.

Role of the Evaluation Reference Group:

A reference group composed of individual resource persons, researchers, and representatives of relevant offices (both Norwegian and Zambian), will be established. The task of the members of the reference groups are:

- Advise on factual and methodological issues and provide input to the draft evaluation approach (Inception Report);
- Provide comments to the draft versions of reports;
- Support the implementation and the follow-up of the evaluation.

8. Organisation and Budget

8.1 Tentative Timetable

Feb 2007	Invitation to tender
April 2007	Signing of contract
May 2007	Inception report
June 2007	Interim report
Sept 2007	Draft report
Oct 2007	Final report
Oct 2007	Printed report, distribution and dissemination

8.2 Budget

The overall budget for the evaluation shall not exceed NOK 2 700 000.

Annex B: Persons Interviewed⁸⁵

Oslo

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Henrik Harboe, Deputy Director General, Multilateral Bank and Finance Sector
Halvand Lesterberg, Director, Department for Human Resources and Administration, Norwegian Ambassador to Zambia, 2000-2004
Kare Stormark, Deputy Director General, Section for Southern and Western Africa
Berit Fladby, Senior Advisor, Section for International Development Policy,
Aud Lise Norheim, Deputy Director General, Secretariat of the Minister of International Development,
Steinar Skjaeveland, 1999 - 2003, Political Counsellor, Good Governance. Norwegian Embassy
Per Grimstad, Executive Chairman, Semco AS, former Director General Norad
Dag Aarnes, *Assist Consulting*, formerly Country Economist, Zambia

Save the Children Norway

Anne Pedersen, Regional Coordinator Southern Africa
Tove Nagel, Education Adviser
Eivind Aalborg, Head of Division Latin America, West and Southern Africa, *Norwegian Church Aid*
Nina Mjoberg, Head of International Trade Union Solidarity International Department, LO Norway
May Endresen, Adviser, KS – the *Norwegian Association of Local and Regional Authorities*
Dag Albert Bårnes, Programme Coordinator, *Caritas Norway*

Zambia

Peter Henriot, Director, *Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection*

Women for Change

Emily Sikazwe, Executive Director
Rumba Sianga, Programme Officer
Zakariah Malasha, Programme Officer
Edmund Kangamungazi, *CCJDP, Economic justice Programme*
Mulima Kufekisa-Akapelwa, Executive Director, Civil Society for Poverty Reduction
Lucy Muyoyeta, Executive Director, *Action Aid* and former chairperson, *NGOCC*

Wildlife Conservation Society

Dr. Dale Lewis, Country Director
Monica Wrobel, Program Manager, Africa Program

World Bank

Ohene Owusu Nyanin, Resident Representative
Patricia Palale Public Sector Management Specialist
Nuala O'Brien, Development Specialist, *Embassy of Ireland*
Mr Wateya, Governance and Democracy Officer, *USAID*

Royal Norwegian Embassy

Terje Vigtel, Ambassador
Gunnar Bøe, Deputy Head of Mission, Head of Development Assistance
Olav Lundstol, First Secretary, Country economist
Anne Glad Fredriksen, First Secretary, Education/ HIV/AIDS

⁸⁵ This list covers persons interviewed in the course of the main evaluation and during the case studies. Separate lists are also available for case study stakeholders in the specific case study report.

Jan Erik Studsrød, First Secretary, Agriculture and Wildlife
Lena Hasle, First Secretary, Political Governance
Moosho L. Imakando, Programme Officer, Environment, Natural Resources & Agriculture

Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands

Judith Makulu Kumwenda, Policy Officer, Private Sector Development and Governance
Robert J. van den Dool Deputy Head of Mission and Head of Development Cooperation,
Royal Netherlands Embassy
Vincent Snijders First Secretary (Education), Royal Netherlands Embassy

Embassy of Sweden

Lars Ronnas, Ambassador
Pedro de Figueiredo, First Secretary, Agriculture and Rural Development

Eiji Inui, Resident Representative *JICA*

Bruce Lawson-McDowall, Governance Advisor, *DFID*

Jacob K Jepsen, Senior Programme Officer, *Royal Danish Embassy*

United Nations Development Programme

Aeneas Chuma, Resident Representative
Amos Muchanga, Programme Analyst / Environment
Lewis Bangwe, Assistant Resident Representative, *Food and Agriculture Organisation*

UNICEF

Pawan Kucita, Chief Education Advisor
Michael Banda, Education specialist (PAGE project)

Wila Mung'omba, Former chairperson, *Constitution Review Commission* and former
President *Africa Development Bank*

Akashambatwa Mbikusita-Lewanika, *Commissioner, Anti-Corruption Commissioner*

Task Force on Corruption

Maxwell Nkole, Executive Chairman
Mark Choma, Former Executive Chairman

Webster Malido News Editor, *The Post Newspaper*

Amos Chanda News Editor, *Zambia Daily Mail*

Mbita Chitala Former deputy minister (Chiluba and Mwanawasa government) and former
MMD Deputy National Secretary

Transparency International Zambia

Reuben Lifuka, President
Goodwell Lungu, Director
Lennard Hikaumba President, *Zambian Congress of Trade Unions*
Bishop Paul Mususu Executive Director and committee member, *Oasis Forum*

Members of Parliament

Hon Given Lubinda, MP, Chair, Government Assurances Committee, and former Programme
officer, Norwegian Embassy
Hon. Charles Milupi, MP, Chair, Public Accounts Committee
Hon. Batuke Imenda, MP, Member Estimates Committee
Hon Imenda , MP, (Western Province)

Cabinet Office

Villie Lombanya Deputy Director, and former Secretary to the Mung'omba Constitution Review Commission
Likolo Ndalamei, Deputy Secretary to Cabinet

Ministry of Finance and National Planning

Jonathan Shakafuswa, Deputy Minister
Emmanuel Ngulube, Permanent Secretary, Budget and Economic Affairs
James S. Mulungushi, Permanent Secretary, Planning and Economic Management
M. W. Lewanika, Permanent Secretary, Financial Management and Administration
M Goma, Accountant General
David Ndopu Ndopu, Director, Economic and Technical Cooperation Department
Regina M.K. Mulenga, Director, PEMFA Secretariat
The Honourable Felix Mutati, Minister of Commerce and Trade
Situmbeko Musokotwane, Economic Advisor to the President, State House
Maswabi Maimwbolwa, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local Government and Housing
Vincent Malambo, Former Presidential advisor and Minister of Justice
Simon Zukas, Former Minister of Agriculture

Office of the Auditor General

Louis Mwansa, Acting Director (Planning & Information)
H. D. Zulu, Director (Ministerial Audits)
Chembe Mukunsha, Accountant – Banking

Drug Enforcement Commission

Raphael Mungole, former Director
Kamoyo Mwale, former Director

Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives

Julius Shawa, Director, Policy and Planning Department
Chomba, Human Resources Officer
L.J. Mwale, Retired Director of Agriculture
Neiburt Phiri, Budget Analyst, Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives

Mpunt Makulu Research Institute

Sesele Sokotela, Head, Soil Survey Unit/Soil Coordinator
Dr Bunyoro, Head, Region III
Ndiyoyi Mukelebai, Former Head of Farming Systems Research, now independent consultant
Dr. Anthony Mwanaumo, Executive Director, *Food Reserve Agency*

Zambian Wildlife Authority

Dr Lewis Saiwana, Director-General
Dr Victor Siamudaala, Director of Research
Francesca Chisangano, Head of CITES Management Authority
Anna Moola, Head of Licensing
Mr Chengo, former operation manager BESSIP, Ministry of Education
Davies Chitundu, Food Security Advisor, SIDA/NORAD HIV/AIDS Team
Clive Saili Policy Officer, Zambia Chambers of Commerce and Industry (ZACCI)
Christopher Siakokole, Secretary and Chief Executive, Zambia Institute of Chartered Accountants [PEMFA Task Manager]
Jacob M. Mwanza, Chairman, Board of Directors, Citibank
Rashid Randera, Baobab Safaris Ltd (Hunting safari outfitter), Director
Oliver Saasa, Managing Consultant, Premier Consult
Dr Brian A Child, University of Florida, Associate Professor / ex-CBNRM Advisor SLAMU 1996-2002
David Mulolani, Independent consultant

Adam Pope, Independent consultant, Consultant to ZAWA, EU Delegation, World Bank in relation to wildlife and natural resources
Richard Jeffrey, Independent consultant, ex-Head of WWF Zambia Country Office, WWF Wetlands Programme
Dr J.A. Siame, GFA consulting, former director Farming Systems Research Group, Northern Province
Collins Nkatiko, Independent consultant, former Provincial Agriculture Coordinator, Northern Province
David Mulolani, Independent consultant, Zambia CBNRM Specialist
Dr. Munyinda, Lecturer, Agriculture Sciences, University of Zambia
Dr Mwilola Imakando, Director, Livestock Development Trust
Felix, Chizhuka, Secretary, Agribusiness Forum, formerly SFAP director
Mponde Mecha, Agribusiness Facilitator, Agriculture Support Programme, Former District Agriculture Coordinator, Isoka

Northern Province

Gabriel Kaunda, Deputy Permanent Secretary
Limbani Liembani, Provincial Agriculture Coordinator
Thomas Mwape Provincial Agriculture Officer
John Phiri, Senior Economics and Marketing Coordinator
Fackson Nyanga, Advisor, Irish Aid
Humphrey Ngoma, District Agriculture Officer, Kasama

Misamfu Agriculture Research Institute

Dr Sam Phiri, Director
Shaderick Bwembya
Chikambi Msilika
Helen Kasalu
Rachel Msilika
Nelson Siwale, Fisheries Research Officer
Nalupute Mubiana, Hatchery Manager
Ruth Nawakwi, Senior Seed Analyst
Boniface Mwalongo, District Agriculture Coordinator, Mungwi
Michael Chishimba, Field Coordinator, Agriculture Support Programme, Kasama/Mungwi/Mbala
George Chileshe, Former Animal Husbandry Officer, Northern Province
Aonyola Anumunda, Fisheries Officer, Mbala
Peter Kangwa, Acting District Agriculture Coordinator, Mbala
Kennedy Sinkamba, Senior Agriculture Officer, Mbala
Rose Silyato, Nutritionist, Mbala
Odnea Chisela, Former District Agriculture Coordinator, Mbala
Snr Chief Nsokolo, Mbala
Kayula, District Commissioner, Isoka
Chiwele, District Administrative Officer, Isoka
Wilson Katumbi, District Agriculture Coordinator, Isoka
A.P. Changala, Crop Husbandry Officer

South Luangwa

Adrian Coley, Luangwa Safari Operators Association / Flattdogs Camp, Chairman LSA / General Manager, Flattdogs Camp

South Luangwa Area Management Unit

Mathews Mushimbalume, Acting Regional Manager
James Milanzi, Acting Area Officer/ Ecologist
Betty Msimuko-Njovu, Extension Officer
Nyambe Namushanawa, Regional Accountant
Erastus Kancheya, Park Ranger, Operations
Fred Siakabeya, Acting Resident Engineer
Moses Mukumbi, Park Ranger, Tourism & Infrastructure
Jarton Shawa, Research Technician
Chisenga Mukosha, SLAMU, Procurement Officer

Malama Njovu, Community Affairs Assistant

Community Markets for Conservation (COMACO)

Shonga Jashua, CTC Manager

Joel Ng'umayo, Data/ Research Analyst

John Kunda, Kakumbi Chiefdom, Chief Kakumbi

John Chilowa, Mambwe District Administration, District Commissioner

Shadrak Zulu, Mnkhanya Chiefdom, Chief

Annex C: Zambian Economic Development Strategies and Power Relations

All three of Zambia's presidents have tried to develop the country through their own methods and each of the programmes have been quite different. But each programme has been affected to some extent by the political 'logic' characterising the Zambian state.

Kenneth Kaunda's Regime (1964-1991)

Today Zambians are beginning to reassess Kaunda's economic policies. His single-party government and the state bureaucracy are thought to have been more honest, their policies more considered and their programme more immediately concerned with helping the poor and developing the nation than those of subsequent governments⁸⁶(Key informant interviews, 19 & 22 June 2007). In fact, Kaunda's development policy was typical of Africa in the 1960s-70s. He and those around him were not well-educated and they adopted a state-led economic model that was difficult if not impossible to make work, especially when destabilized by war in South Africa, Angola, Mozambique and Rhodesia. (Hanlon, 1986). Kaunda's government sought to promote national economic growth by prioritizing mining, and to raise levels of consumption and health/education. Unfortunately he oversaw the collapse of the global price of copper, a steady decline in the productivity of Zambia's copper mining industry, and a structural adjustment policy (SAP) that the World Bank now admits was 'chaotic' and poorly designed and implemented.

As copper prices and production remained low and other industries suffered, government spending continued until it went broke in 1977. Borrowing was used to meet requirements though IMF conditionalities (to implement liberal economic reforms) were 'weak'. After 1978 IMF demands became more 'strict' though local views about the short-term nature of the crisis, which was seen as externally driven, did not change. As a result, reforms continued to be driven by Zambia's expatriate bankers. Kaunda took closer control of policy direction as in-fighting within UNIP escalated. By the 1980s he had little choice but to adopt SAP policies if he was to secure loans. But eliminating subsidies on food, firing civil servants, etc were unpopular, causing displeasure amongst trade unions, urban workers and civil servants especially. Other reforms hit agriculturalists (more than manufacturers), parastatals and small businesses. Urban and industrial strikes resulted in the mid-80s, eventually causing Kaunda to suspend the SAP in 1987. By this time none of Zambia's key local actors – business people, trade unionists, and bureaucrats – thought of themselves as 'winners' but thought of foreigners as beneficiaries of SAP. Two years of 'home-grown' economic reforms failed to solve Zambia's crisis, and in 1989 the government and IMF signed a new agreement. Price controls were dismantled and maize prices climbed. Chiluba as head of ZCTU opposed the move and called for political reform. Riots in mid-1990 focused on 'the political system' not simply the price of maize. Membership of the movement for change included trade unionists, academics and students, business people and back-bench MPs. (Rakner, 2003: 55- 63)

When SAP proved to be less than successful, it was abandoned (1987), but reinstated (1989) when 'almost all the multilateral agencies and donor countries decided to starve the country of the much sought after external assistance'. (Saasa with Carlsson, 2002: 42-43) Together the government and donors presided over a substantial rise in poverty.

It is now accepted that UNIP's economic policy crowded out business (by nationalising industries and creating parastatals), while trade unions and civil associations became adjuncts of the party and government. Agricultural development stagnated. Therefore, after years of economic decline and single-party rule, a coalition of elite business, industrial, commercial, and agricultural interests; trade unionists and civil society activists; church leaders and

⁸⁶ In fact, informants report that ex-bureaucrats brag about having worked for Kaunda's government while those that worked for Chiluba hide the fact.

disgruntled politicians - supported by donors - led the general population in a campaign for 'change'.

The business community was 'split into various individual entities acquiring profits within a state-controlled economy'. Business people faced 'disruptions, credit uncertainties and a profit squeeze as well as competition from state enterprises subsidised by the state'. Under Kaunda, businessmen related to government largely through personal relationships, for private business was not highly valued and the private sector was relatively weak. Businessmen could, though, use personal relationships to get policies modified on a case-by-case basis. 'Favours' and bribes facilitated this relationship. (Rakner, 2003: 47-8). Meanwhile, those not so favoured were 'blacklisted' – unable to access opportunities – and formed the core of multipartyism. White-owned businesses were undermined by UNIP policies that were meant to foster black entrepreneurs.

Industry had also fared badly. Mining of copper was key to Zambia's economy until the mid-70s when copper's price dropped and oil prices climbed. The mining industry was nationalised in 1969 and production problems worsened. Miners' jobs fell away as demand and production dropped, which affected trade union membership and strength. Unionism was bolstered though, by government policies (including the Industrial Relations Act of 1971) which guaranteed union membership in all sectors and trade union finance. By 1991 ZCTU had a membership of 350,000. This partnership between UNIP and unions worked until government no longer was able to guarantee job opportunities and wage increases due to the worsening economic situation and later, SAP. (Rakner, 2003: 50-51)

Agriculture had been neglected. At independence agriculture was deemed relatively unimportant nationally because mining generated income that was used to extend health and education facilities nationally (though predominantly in the urban areas). Rural poverty grew and generated more urban migration (some 50% of Zambians live in urbanised areas compared to 15% in Malawi). Rural development policy stagnated, though the need for food for urban populations was an overriding political consideration. Direct and indirect subsidies kept the price of maize (the staple) affordable. Policies promoting 'Zambianisation' helped peasant farming (price controls, etc) but did little for commercial farmers who fed the nation. 'Organised [agricultural] interests were marginalised' and white farmers' interests were subordinated. Taken together with the general 'neglect' of agriculture by government, 'farming interests did not constitute a strong lobby' under Kaunda. (Rakner, 2003: 48-9).

As one informant put it, the result in 1991 was that 'anybody who stood against KK would have won' the election! (Key informant, 21 June 2007). Kaunda was forced from office largely because the MMD, led by labour-leader Chiluba, had managed by 1990 to mobilize a wide range of supporters (whose conflicting interests would later emerge and cause splits in the party). Included in the movement were business people, trade unions and civil society groups. They were fed up with Kaunda's economic policies and SAP because they had not worked to offset declines in production and income. People wanted change. The Law Association and the Economic Association of Zambia were active, as were churches. Kaunda had sought to absorb civil society activism into UNIP while criminalising dissent, which weakened civil society organisations generally after independence but had not eliminated them. The trade union movement, which comprised 70% of the formal-sector work force and had a history of political activism, was relatively powerful (compared to those in other African countries). By the late 1980s it was aggrieved by the fallout of Kaunda's SAP, which included maize-price hikes and job losses. Government's refusal to engage in collective bargaining with the ZCTU sparked the demand for political change in 1989. Business interests were also involved in the MMD. Though largely dispersed (amongst a large number of associations), they were united by the Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Association of Manufacturers, which had been negotiating with government for years. (Erdmann and Simutanyi, 2003: 5-10; Rakner, 2003: 19-20). Farmers (National Farm Workers Union and Commercial Farmers Bureau) were represented as well in MMD

The Frederick Chiluba Decade (1991-2001)

When Frederick Chiluba⁸⁷ was leader of the national labour movement he campaigned against SAP, but when he became president he did an about-face, and championed economic liberalisation and structural adjustment. No doubt he took up the cause because the economy was in decline and because he believed he could implement the IFI's policies better than his predecessor. There was also significant donor funding attached to the programme and he tried to 'liberalise very fast' and to 'fully embrace a free market economy'. Initially Chiluba formed a 'technocratic' government, where ministries were run by technically proficient ministers and management teams. But by 1993, as he consolidated his rule, this changed. Key ministers were dismissed without explanation. Soon others left and formed the National Party, which began to win by-elections. In due course many other parties emerged. The influence of economic interest groups waned after the transition and the 'political visibility' of civic groups declined. In part this is because they had achieved their goal – multipartyism – and they were overly tolerant of Chiluba and his government during the 'honeymoon period'.⁸⁸

Under Chiluba poverty reduction was expected to 'trickle out of economic growth spillovers' (rather than the government directly helping the poor as Kaunda proposed). Key reforms targeted inflation, tariffs, government spending, debt, and the civil service and sought to create an environment conducive to business. Policy Framework Papers and, later a PRSP, were written, along with several other economic strategy documents.

While Chiluba campaigned against the SAP and the trade unions formed the 'backbone' of the movement, it was the business community that funded MMD. (Key informant interviews, 20 and 21 June 2007). Soon after coming to power Chiluba adopted a new SAP aimed at restoring macro-economic stability through fiscal and monetary reforms, facilitate private sector growth through price and exchange rate liberalisation and removal of trade restrictions, and denationalising the industrial and agrarian sectors. This had been planned before-hand, and agreed with donors, and rapid progress was expected to be made during the 'honeymoon period'. The fact that people went along with difficult-to-accept reforms appears to be because economic mismanagement and dismal performance were blamed on single party government and Kaunda and UNIP, rather than the economic policy. While liberalisation proceeded apace in the early years, restructuring stagnated: reform of the civil service saw little retrenchment of permanent employees. Agricultural reform fared little better due to poor policy advice and drought. Privatisation was slow and small companies were sold off first. Nonetheless, the programme was deemed a 'key success' by the World Bank in 1996. (Rakner, 2003: 67-81).

After the 1996 election 'reform implementation [became even more] inconsistent and lacked the vigour and determination' shown during the previous five years. Figures showed that budgetary, borrowing, domestic saving and tax collection reforms were poorly implemented. Government intervened in agricultural markets, public sector reform 'came to a complete stop' while privatisation of the mines was delayed. Government consumption levels remained high (through off-budget expenditures – to the tune of 15-18% of GDP in 1995-7). In 1996-2001, Office of the President and defence spending were facilitated by supplementary budgets. Meanwhile government failed to pay its suppliers, which angered business people. In the agricultural sector, some diversification had taken place in the 1990s, though growth was hampered by 'confusing' government policies and practices that defied its stated liberalisation agenda. One assessment in 2002 concluded that agricultural policies had become 'dictated by political considerations (to win the votes of farmers) and by the desire to create opportunities for personal gain for a small elite of politicians and business people who carry out the import trade in agricultural commodities'. Government's decision not to sell the mines until 2000 has been criticised as foolhardy and expensive. In the 1990s per capita income dropped by 4% per annum, formal employment fell, while poverty and infant mortality increased. Agriculture 'failed to rebound' in 1991-2001. The failure to carry through reforms has been blamed on declining 'commitment' displayed by the dismissal of reformers and the advancement of people more committed to 'the MMD President than an economic development strategy' (Rakner, 2003: 73-79 and 86).

87 Two informants who knew Chiluba before he became president said they did not vote for him in 1991 because of his background – he was a 'crook' as he'd been arrested for theft when younger – and secondly, because of the type of people organising and funding his campaign. He was known to be a wily, street-wise trade-union organiser. One pointed out he'd 'ascended to the chair of the MMD through manipulation' while the other noted he took advantage of his position in the movement to push forward his own candidacy rather than multipartyism.

88 Erdmann and Simutanyi, 2003: 40 seems to feel that they became more passive after the transition because they were dependent on donors and unlikely to do anything that would reduce funds or affect their relationship with donors.

With hindsight it now seems clear that these policies were not wholly ‘owned’ by government. The way these reforms were meant to be achieved was poorly articulated and many of them went off-track for lack of follow-through. Yet Chiluba’s capacity to say the right things - even though ‘winners’ were few, rent-seekers prospered, ‘too many thieves were being excused’ and those who criticised him were dismissed – led donors to support the president longer than was wise.⁸⁹ (Saasa with Carlsson, 2002: 44-5; Key informant interviews, 11, 19, 22 and 24 June 2007; Roberts, 2004: 359; and Van der Heijden, 2001: 5).

In the mid-90s bilateral donors began to express concern publicly about the human rights record of the Chiluba government, and about corruption and the lack of poverty alleviation and public service reform. As the reform programme went off-track, the donor response became more stringent. As one analyst put it, by the end of the 1990s any ‘significant modification to Zambia’s macro-economic or sector policies required prior consultation with, if not approval of, the donor community’. But differences within the donor community should not be forgotten: keeping fiscal reforms on track were of more concern to the IFIs and they continued to pump in funds even as some bilateral donors halted aid temporarily on several occasions because of governance problems. But it is fair to say that during Chiluba’s ten years donors demonstrated more concern with economic policy than governance. This was both a reflection of the times (before ‘good governance’ and its link to growth had moved up the donor agenda) and of their belief that once the state was restructured and the economy liberalised, governance reforms – to the judiciary, parliament, etc – could be prioritised and paid for. Put more cynically by a donor employee, ‘we like to believe the best [about government and its motives] because we need to disburse’. (Key informant interview, 22 June 2007; Rakner, 2003: 159-66; Van der Heijden, 2001: 10; and Saasa with Carlsson, 2002: 67).

One senior civil servant noted that the ‘Chiluba government lived off of aid. If the donors had listened to civil society [in the 1990s] it would have been different but government was liked by donors’ so they continued to give him money. (Key informant interview, 15 June 2007). Five lessons at least, emerge from this experience: (i) lack of donor harmonisation contributes to ‘the low effectiveness of the exercise of leverage’; (ii) ‘no amount of aid-supported government policies to promote poverty reduction can be successful if the country’s own development efforts are receding’; (iii) politics do matter and fiscal reform without an eye to governance is ineffective; (iv) Making matters worse donors did not implement their programme in a timely manner or deliver their aid fully. They were also accused of changing the goal posts as economic and political conditionalities were imposed at different times by different donors. (v) As donors took a larger role and financial dependency increased, government officials’ commitment to the design, implementation and evaluation of aid activities declined. (Van der Heijden, 2001: 10-20).

Some people in or near government, using different criteria to judge the success of Chiluba’s policies, now feel that policy mistakes harmed the country and that donors were partly to blame. For instance, one senior politician recalls that little effort was expended to use privatisation to create a middle class, which would have had long-term political (democracy) and economic (poverty) consequences. Another (a lawyer) explained that when parastatals were sold off most African businessmen hadn’t the capital, or skills to buy and run privatised companies. Thus privatisation benefited too narrow a group of politician entrepreneurs⁹⁰. At the same time SAP is blamed for the ‘quality of life’ falling and leaving ‘poverty too high’. (Key informants, 19 and 21 June 2007) It might also be argued that the donors’ patience with Chiluba – some locals say, the donors ignoring the warnings of civil society – gave him and his cronies the opportunity to steal vast amounts of public money and very nearly throw the transition to democracy off-track.

It is also true that NGOs and trade unions waited too long to speak out (even if not as long as donors did) against Chiluba’s policies. At first the trade union movement was willing to accept short-term, widespread pain (caused by food price increases, for instance) because it was in alliance with government and felt the need to reform. The Chiluba government in the meantime largely ignored organised business, having few consultations with them in the early

⁸⁹ It appears donor patience with Chiluba was due in part to the fact that he’d come to power with a large majority of votes and there was no obvious alternative group of politicians with whom to interact

⁹⁰ This point has been disputed though, by other informants who state that the privatization of state enterprises did result in creating a new entrepreneurial class of Zambians; it and restructuring prepared the economy for the current economic ‘take off’ (Key informant interview, 16 July 2007; also see World Bank, Oct 1996 and Serlemitsos, 2003).

years. Business associations were said not to have minded because they supported its policies, though by 1994 manufacturers were complaining that reforms helped commerce more than their sector. The National Farmers Union knew what to expect in the way of reforms, it said, but government did not consult small farmers or explained their policies to the public or extension workers.

The 'honeymoon' was over by late 1993, as SAP reforms began to bite. For instance, joblessness rose and cheaper imports undermined local manufacturing. ZCTU withdrew its support, then the Catholics (concerned for the poor), while farmers were upset by reforms that undermined productivity, prices and trade. The farmers' union argued that the new regime had made things worse. Meanwhile commercial farmers were frustrated by the inconsistent application of agricultural policy. Still Chiluba's administration did not begin consultations or try explicitly to create a supportive 'growth coalition'. The reason, according to Rakner, is because in agriculture at least, no agricultural group was big enough to provide an 'electoral support-base for MMD' and so it was not a particularly 'useful constituency for government'. From 1993 the trade union movement began to speak out publicly about reform and the lack of communication between it and government. Its role (at meetings and giving advice) was discounted as time passed, Privatisation resulted in retrenchment (and anti-union sentiments in privatised companies), which contributed to the view of ZCTU (in 1994) that Chiluba had 'failed the workers more than Kaunda ever did'. A split in the union movement (1994) weakened its influence over government further. (Rakner, 2003: 83-97; Key informant interview, 20 June 2007).

Some civic activists now admit that because he said the 'right things' and 'pushed the liberalisation process' everyone gave him the 'benefit of the doubt'. As they were being sidelined and knew they were being marginalised and even when Chiluba advocated actions he once opposed, they continued to believe – from as early as 1992, and for as long as 3-4 years – that they should 'give him a chance' (Key informant interviews, 20, 21, 22 June 2007; also see Larsen, 1998).

Agriculturalists, business groups, and unionised workers were sidelined both by the economic reforms undertaken by the government and IFI, which hurt their memberships and interests, and secondly, when the regime dropped them as political allies within a couple years of gaining office. 'Executive dominance, coupled to the organisational proliferation, and a weakly institutionalised party system, ... meant that in Zambia in the 1990s the electoral channel [did] not functioned as a credible threat to the incumbent government' Thus it was able to 'ignore the voices of business, agriculture and labour'. (Rakner, 2003: 103).

On the other hand entrepreneurs were happy because 'government was finally getting out of business'. Especially pleased were those who had been 'blacklisted' earlier – denied opportunities after falling out with the UNIP government. Many of these bankrolled Chiluba's candidature (Key informant, 21 June 2007) and took advantage later of liberalisation. Eventually, though, many of them also became disillusioned.⁹¹

Rakner says that Chiluba played a 'two-level game' – responding to the needs of locals, who were experiencing the negative shocks of liberalisation (higher food prices, fewer jobs, deterioration in incomes and living standards, etc) while placating donors. But he also played a second 'game', whereby he kept many of his former colleagues at a distance, but not so far away that they became openly hostile or began to organise against him. By and large he was able to do this until the mid-90s.

Before the 1996 election the government's 'logic' had become clear even to the most ardent supporter: the 'constitution was being vandalised', corruption was being 'excused' and Chiluba was beginning to act the part of the 'big man'⁹². After Chiluba's second election, which he won with 73% percent of the vote – perhaps because Kaunda was barred from

91 Business interests withdrew their support in the late 90s, though the government continued to pursue an 'open trade regime' until the end. Privatisation apparently benefited black Zambia businessmen relatively little (due to their lack of capacity and entrepreneurial skills), which generated open criticism of MMD policy. Further, government was no more ready to consult with business than with other sector leaders. Thus as it 'consolidated its political power-base, it increasingly disregarded domestic business views and interests.' As the private sector was weak, it 'did not constitute either an electoral threat or a useful political ally for MMD'. The Chamber of Commerce and Industry was completely marginalised by the late 1990s. (Rakner, 2003: 91-4).

92 One informant tells of a private meeting where a man knelt before Chiluba praising him and afterwards the President boasted about the adoration shown. Key informant interview, 19 June 2007.

standing, UNIP boycotted the election and because his ‘incumbency gave him [an] overwhelming advantage’ – NGOs, church groups, the media and trade unions became more outspoken. Donors continued to send mixed signals: he remained for some the ‘donors darling’ because privatisation was ‘the key’ and the ‘rest didn’t matter’.⁹³ But there was no ambiguity about Chiluba’s third-term bid and at the end of the decade donors provided significant support to Zambian groups that opposed it⁹⁴ (Key Informant interviews, 19, 21 and 22 June 2007).

The continuity of two governance trends across the period 1991-2005 is worth highlighting: though Zambia underwent a democratic transition in 1991 there was a steady concentration of power in the executive during Chiluba’s ten years in office, as parliament, the courts and other ‘institutions of constraint’ were marginalised. As a result his former civil-society allies and their agendas were sidelined and corruption with impunity blossomed. And secondly, though the context in which Chiluba operated was much different than that of Kaunda, because he had to win elections – but could not do so on the back of successfully delivering public goods through SAP – he had to turn to a more traditional set of tools to gain support: he used patronage politics and clientelist practices, and according to some informants, he began to instrumentalise tribalism.

Levy Mwanawasa’s Administration (2001-)

Mwanawasa came to power in 2001 when Chiluba could not manoeuvre himself a third term in office and handpicked his successor instead. Donors apparently preferred a different winner, and the public was not convinced Mwanawasa had fought a clean election or had really won the election. Both domestic and international election monitors cited serious irregularities in the campaign and elections, including vote rigging, flawed voter registration, unequal and biased media coverage, and the MMD’s improper use of state resources⁹⁵. As a result politics became ‘messy’ – there were three legal challenges to the election result and he was perceived to lack legitimacy (Key informant 22 June 2007). There was little break in economic policy, though: like his predecessor he said he intended to fight poverty by stimulating the growth of the private sector, tackling corruption, keeping public expenditure low, promoting decentralisation and creating an environment conducive to private sector growth and investment. The IFI set ‘benchmarks’, and fiscal-reform tools were introduced. Since then Mwanawasa has managed to keep the economy on-track much better than Chiluba did.⁹⁶ It has been easier in part because mining has been revitalized, and because some structural reforms and debt relief were instituted previously (Key informant interviews, 19 June and 16 July 2007; IMF, March 2005). The economy is more vibrant generally, and businessmen and trade unionists, who have better access to Mwanawasa, are pleased.

Businessmen seem to feel their interests have largely been addressed, partly because Mwanawasa is a businessman (he owns a law firm) with attachments to people in business, either as associates or clients. Informants believe that the business environment has changed significantly since Mwanawasa was elected as he has been more willing to give concessions that promote investment, while his predecessor turned a blind-eye (or supported) practices that facilitated rent-seeking within the bureaucracy and kickbacks from privatisation. This is not to say, though, that corruption at lower levels has been eliminated, only that corruption is no longer driven by example from the top. One civil servant for instance, noted that fraud in government procurement is rampant, as is tax evasion by businessmen. (Key informant interviews, 12, 19, 20 and 25 June 2007).

His lack of legitimacy in the beginning meant he needed a policy that would win him public and donor support and so he ‘picked a low hanging fruit’ – corruption. (Key informant interview, 22 June 2007). He went after Chiluba and those close to the previous president, using a specially appointed Task Force to do so. He also continued the privatisation of the mines in 2001 and introduced decentralisation reforms (2002). Analysts argue though, that while some good policies have been written they are not all being institutionalised or well-

⁹³ Using a neo-imperialist analysis, more than one informant questioned whether donors’ economic interests don’t guide their aid policies, citing western interests in uranium mining and oil and gas exploration currently and instances of tied-aid in previous years.

⁹⁴ One NGO activist said ‘you didn’t even have to write proposals’, the money was so easy to obtain.

⁹⁵ Freedom House, Country Report Zambia 2007.

⁹⁶ There have been questions about some programme priorities (using funds to support the purchase of cars, study tours etc) and donors have asked government to re-do their work plans. Also, there are reports that some problems at the design-stage of the public expenditure programme were not adequately addressed, apparently because some donors were then ‘under pressure to disburse’ and now these problems affect implementation of the Public Expenditure Management. Key informant interview, 22 June 2007.

implemented (OPM, 2005: 5-9). This is especially the case with decentralisation (see above) and anti-corruption (see case study).

Furthermore, locals are concerned about the type of patronage politics pursued by Mwanawasa. In mid-2004 a church activist put together what has become known as the 'family tree', which demonstrates the extent to which nepotism has informed Mwanawasa's appointments since 2001. Though details of the 'tree' are in dispute, it shows that over one-half of senior appointments were given to family members. (Africa Confidential, 27 Aug 2004) Today it is said that family members have an eye on the presidency in 2011. On the other hand, Mwanawasa, unlike Chiluba, is widely believed to be personally honest; there has been no 'proper allegation' or 'evidence' of his being corrupt. That said, people in his family, the cabinet and public service have continued to misuse government resources.

The choice of development models used by Kaunda, Chiluba and Mwanawasa has been influenced by donors, contemporary economic theories and African-nationalist agendas, and by each man's desire to stay in office, leading to their use of public resources and the advantages of incumbency. In due course all three adopted economic liberalisation and structural reform as national policy, but each regime demonstrated a reluctance to implement some of their key provisions. In general this is because implementing – as opposed to writing – policies can actually undermine the imperatives or 'logic' of clientelist politics. This is not to say that the failure to reduce poverty or consolidate democracy can be blamed solely on Zambian politics, for international economic factors, vacillating donor demands,⁹⁷ and regional politics also have an impact. But domestic political systems and structures are key in affecting the way national resources are allocated, including how meritorious and incorruptible the civil service is, whether capacity building is prioritised, how strong the media and watch-dog agencies are, if the public is allowed to make decisions, etc.

97 Since Mwanawasa came to power donors have moved towards a more harmonised approach of delivering aid. One Zambian close to the harmonisation process has expressed concern that the JASZ process may undermine those like-minded donors who, 'act[ing] from conviction', have taken strong stances on governance previously. 'Managing by consensus' rather than by 'conviction' will reduce donor willingness to intervene on sensitive issues to the 'lowest common denominator'. The constitutional crisis may in fact test the harmonisation process if donors are called upon to help civil society negotiate a new constitution that undermines 'presidentialism' (Key Informant interview, 22 June 2007).

Annex D: Phase 1 Projects

We have identified projects which can be taken together to look at different approaches within a sector, which cover a number of different modalities, and which also cover different time periods.

For each project the most important documents will be the appropriation document, annual monitoring meetings, mid/end-term review, evaluation (if undertaken), and completion document.

Education

1. Norwegian NGO

GLO-95/041-10 'CCZ, School Project' – Agreement Partner, Norwegian Church Aid; Implementing Institution, CCZ - Christian Council of Zambia, NOK 5,300,000, 1997-2000

2. Government of Zambia

ZAM-99/309 BESSIP - Basic Education Sub-Sector SSP, Zambia Ministry of Education, NOK 140,000,000, 1999-2002 and 2002-2003 (ZAM-02/326)

3. Multilateral organisation / UNICEF

ZAM-97/082; Development policies to promote girl education, UNICEF, 21,000,000, 1997-1999

Agriculture

4. Zambian Union

ZAM-99/396 'Capacity in Farmers Associations' – Agreement Partner and Implementing Institution, Zambia National Farmers Union (ZNFU), NOK 22,400,00, 1999-2002

5. Norwegian Union

GLO-94/053-31 'Organisational Development', Agreement Partner, LO - Landsorganisasjonen i Norge (the Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions), Implementing Institution, Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, NOK 1,172,000, 1993-2002

6. Government of Zambia (decentralised)

ZAM-070 Agriculture Development and Research Northern Province, NOK 51,668,000, 1995-1998

7. Delegated Co-operation / the Netherlands

ZAM-03/143 'Norway – Netherlands', Norwegian assistance to agricultural sector development in Zambia, channelled through the Netherlands Embassy, NOK 70,000,000, 2004-2008

Other Sectors

8. Gender/ Local NGO

ZAM-99/145 'Enhancing the Women Movement', Agreement Partner and Implementing Institution, NGOCC - Non-Governmental Organisation Coord Council (ZAM), NOK 2,400,000 1999-2002

9. Governance / Co-financing with the Netherlands

ZAM-99/303 'Office of the Auditor General' - Agreement Partner, Zambia Ministry of Finance and National Planning, Implementing Institutions, Auditor General, NOK 15,000,000, 2003-2006

10. HIV/AIDS/ Multilateral Organisation/ UNICEF

ZAM-00/338, HIV and AIDS Programme, UNICEF, 5,700,000, 2000-2002

11. Natural Resources/ Government of Zambia

ZAM-044 Luangwa Valley Integrated Resource Development Project (LIRDP), NOK 104,771,000, 1990 - 1997

Cooperation between the Council of Churches in Zambia (CCZ) and Norwegian Church Aid (NCA)

Background

The Council of Churches in Zambia (CCZ) is an umbrella ecumenical body for Christian churches that was established in 1945. The CCZ has a membership of 21 churches and 14 affiliate organisations that cover 52 districts. CCZ's member churches own and manage around 79 education institutions in six out of the nine provinces in Zambia. CCZ has an education department that is responsible for managing and implementing the education programmes.

Cooperation between the CCZ and Norwegian Church Aid (NCA) dates back to 1987. Norad's total committed funding to the cooperation between NCA (agreement partner) and CCZ (implementing partner) during the period 1990-2005 amounted to approximately NOK11 millions.

Funding from NCA to CCS has largely been in the form of institutional support and grants to school projects. The overall objective of the education programme was to improve the quality of education at the target institutions (schools and colleges). The main components were: (i) rehabilitation of infrastructure; (ii) provision of education materials; (iii) provisions of school furniture; (iv) capacity building for teachers to the Malcom Moffat and David Livingstone Teacher Training Colleges.

During the period 1998 – 2002 support was focused on rehabilitation of schools, but since 2003 funds were provided to the provision of furniture and learning materials.

The Zambian Context

The education system in Zambia has been confronted with many challenges: stagnant enrolment rates and poor learning outcomes, poor recruitment to the teaching profession, lack of adequate teaching material, and inadequate programmes to help disadvantaged children.

After independence, the Zambian government made education a priority and considerable investments went to the building of schools; the expansion and rehabilitation of existing schools; and recruitment of teachers. The increased government spending on education was mainly supported by revenues from exports of copper. At the same time, the management of schools were taken over by the government from the churches, which had historically provided for education in Zambia prior to the independence.

In the 1970s, economic conditions in Zambia deteriorated, largely due to falling world copper prices, and Zambia's external debt and related payments increased dramatically. The Structural Adjustment Programmes prescribed by the World Bank and the IMF resulted in reduced public sector spending on social services, and by the beginning of the 1980s the quality of education in Zambia had deteriorated significantly.

By mid 1990s, the government could no longer provide the necessary investments to the education sector and therefore adopted a more liberal approach by transferring (back) the responsibility for management of schools to the churches, which also allowed for a greater role for civil society and private sector in service delivery. While growth in private schools has increased during recent years, churches remain as one of the largest providers of education in Zambia.

Impact and Sustainability

In 2003 NCA and CCZ commissioned a 'Review of the Christian Council of Zambia School Programme supported by Norwegian Church Aid' (Simonsen et al, 2003). In 2006, this was followed up by the 'Evaluation report of the Education Programme of the Council of

Churches 1998 - 2005' (Muyoya, 2006).⁹⁸ While the 2003 review focused on the capacity building programme and infrastructure rehabilitation of schools, the 2006 evaluation assessed the overall impact of the education programme.

- CCZ was heavily dependent on donor funding. The capacity building programme was largely made possible by funding received from NCA. Nevertheless, payments from NCA to CCZ were delayed, which in turn delayed the start up of the programme. Moreover, the capacity building programme did not have official recognition by the government, and it therefore could not offer a recognised qualification for the teacher trainees. As the programme was heavily dependent on donor funding, the teacher trainees offered to do cost sharing, but only if the programme was recognised by the government. It was concluded that no more resources should be allocated to the capacity building programme, and no new teacher trainees should be admitted until the programme is recognised by the government.
- The rehabilitation of school infrastructure had been identified as a priority need in the Basic Education Sub-Sector Investment Programme (BESSIP). It was also a priority for the CCZ Secretariat as certain standards of the schools needed to be ensured prior to the establishment of new programmes. Nevertheless, during implementation of the rehabilitation project several delays were reported; mainly caused by late payments to the construction companies. This was in turn caused by the late payments of funds from NCA to CCZ. It was therefore concluded that since late payments from NCA to CCZ had occurred in both the capacity building programme and the rehabilitation of schools both partners should examine the causes for these delays in order to become more efficient in future cooperation.

As a result of the review of the first phase of the programme, it was decided to focus more on provision of furniture, equipment, and learning material. In 2006, a comprehensive evaluation of the programme was undertaken.

One finding was that while NCA funding to rehabilitation of schools was terminated in 2003, the need for rehabilitation remained a priority for schools and colleges. Alternative sources have therefore been sought, one of which is the Sector Pool Funding programme of the Ministry of Education.

It was also noted that the records of the assistance received, and benchmark indicators were lacking from the beginning of the programme. There were no clear link between the assistance and the motivation and performance of students. Moreover, no measurable indicators were negotiated either at the start or the duration of the programme.

Basic Education Sub-Sector Programme (BESSIP)

ZAM 2367 - ZAM 99/309 (1999-2002)

Background

The Basic Education sub-Sector Programme resulted from a review of the education SWAp in 1997, which in turn had been a response to donor fragmentation and lack of sustainability in the project approach. The education SWAp had not been a success, in part because it did not give sufficient weight to the cross-ministry nature of education. A Secretariat was set up in education, but the other ministries wanted a stake in the process. As a result, both the funding and the Secretariat only lasted about six months. It was decided to divide it into two sub-sector programmes – on vocational training and on basic education. The MoE had its own Investment Plan, and the World Bank took the lead amongst the donors.

Norad signed an agreement committing to an appropriation 140 million NOK over a three year period. This was followed by a bridging allocation of NOK 60 million, for 2002-2003.

Approach

BESSIP objectives: to increase enrolment levels and improve quality of education.

Components: Overall management; infrastructure; teacher development; deployment and compensation; education materials; equity and gender; school health and nutrition; basic school curriculum; capacity building and decentralisation; HIV/AIDS.

⁹⁸ Due to lack of detailed project documentation on the cooperation between NCA and CCZ, the case study largely builds on the evaluation by Simonsen et al (2003) and Muyoya (2006).

In order to accommodate a wide variety of donor modalities, BESSIP incorporated a number of different funding options. Some donors, notably Japan and USAID, maintained project funding. The World Bank and AfDB continued to provide loans for specific activities. Others, such as Norway provided pooled funding to the subsector pool, along with the Netherlands, Denmark, Irish Aid, and DFID. For the pooled funding, an annual workplan was produced. There was a common reporting mechanism and donors agreed to reduce the number of missions that were sent.

Key Observations

Perhaps the most problematic issue with BESSIP was that it was initially supposed to use MoE structures and staff. BESSIP should have decentralised at the same time as the ministry restructured. Slow restructuring meant that BESSIP filled the vacuum with its own management structures and this led to a perception that it was a big project rather than a programme.

Another issue which has arisen in retrospect is the wisdom of focusing on basic education. BESSIP focused on expanding and increasing access to education, aiming for higher net enrolments and retention of pupils. Classroom construction was an important element in this, as was teacher training. However, the programme did not build in a mechanism for progression from grade 9 to grade 10. As a result, there was an excess of teachers at basic education level, but not at higher levels.

Final Review

A review in 2004 of BESSIP identified a number of achievements of the programme. There were some important elements of decentralisation. District level education boards were implemented by December 2002. However, it seems that in this area, as in other areas of policy in Zambia, there was a push to develop a policy and plan without any real capacity to translate that into an operational strategy. 4,662 Basic schools (up to grade 9) were running in parallel with previous system. However, there was also an increase in community schools (which was presented as positive, but could also be seen as a response to poor state provision).

During the period of BESSIP, classrooms were constructed, and there was an increase in the number of pupils enrolled. Interactive Radio Initiative Centres were set up, teaching through radio programmes.

The targets of the programme were not met, but in retrospect these were unrealistic. School infrastructure plans didn't reach targets because of a decline in GRZ counterpart funding. Disbursement to district levels were not always according to plan.

Teacher deployment was seen to have failed, mainly because of delays in appointment of newly qualified teachers. Provision of textbooks was been problematic. There was a lengthy tender process through the National Tender Board and the WB. Then there were problems in distribution once the textbooks were procured.

There has been acceptance by both government and donors to link BESSIP to the achievement of desired outcomes, rather than inputs. Monitoring is seen as politically sensitive. However, BESSIP processes have improved coordination and harmonisation of donor activities, and the Ministry has benefited from "exploiting the competition among donors for disbursement opportunities and local visibility". Discourse at annual reviews has moved from inquest to dialogue, and joint planning means that donors are no longer imposing conditions on their support.

However, some donors are still funding projects outside this framework. These are not just the usual suspects. Even Norway was funding education projects through Red Barna and through UNICEF during the BESSIP period.

The deficiencies of BESSIP, as shown by the completion report, have resulted in the development of an overall Education Sector Programme, to which Norway contributes.

Programme for the Advancement of Girls Education (PAGE), 1997-1999

Background

The Programme for the Advancement of Girls Education (PAGE) was initially funded by CIDA in 1995, to look at ways of addressing of addressing poor enrolment of girls, and even poorer retention. Funding was provided to UNICEF to set up a pilot approach to address this. NORAD agreed to provide funding to UNICEF in 1997 to upscale the initial pilots, and to this end committed 21 Million NOK over the period. Representatives of NORAD would participate in quarterly Steering committee meetings

Approach

The purpose of the project was to:

- Develop policies and approaches which promote increased primary enrolment, progression and achievement, especially of girls.
- Develop and produce gender sensitive, relevant and appropriate learning and teaching material
- Undertake teacher training to upgrade pedagogical skill with particular emphasis on mathematics, science, life skills and motivations of girls
- At the school level, create an environment more supportive of girls education and improve the quality and relevance of classroom learning.

The project introduced a number of innovative approaches. There was advocacy at senior political levels, strengthening skills of staff to assess the situation of girl child education, PRA on why children are not going to school. Efforts were made to ensure that the project strategy was reflected within ESIP strategy

Issues of Impact and Sustainability

A review in 1998, when BESSIP was introduced, assessed how PAGE should be moved ahead in the context of BESSIP. It was felt that PAGE had been successful in gaining commitment from communities and traditional leaders. However, it had been poor in terms of addressing HIV/AIDS and its implications. Also there was need to establish better indicators. The role of UNICEF in launching and piloting of PAGE was seen as important. The introduction of single sex classes was seen as good for achievement as was the Involvement of families through FamilyPac (creating shared responsibility for girls education⁹⁹).

Further funding was requested for PAGE for 2000-2001. UNICEF's proposal stressed the project's success in advocacy and capacity building and introduction of gender studies in teacher training colleges. However the project was also seen to have problems: lack of systematic implementation and guidelines, and inadequate coverage of key stakeholders.

At this point, discussions started about how the lessons of PAGE could be mainstreamed through BESSIP which would be the major programme for external donor funding. UNICEF requested that Norway and others should continue funding through UNICEF for a period of 2-3 years. However the issue of the relationship with MoE continued to be of concern, as was UNICEF's capacity to implement the project. Concerns were raised by donors that UNICEF's logistic capacity has not matched MoE's ambitions for PAGE. The project was too top down and had insufficient involvement at field level.

Norway was concerned that MoE had to be seen to be in the driving seat. Nonetheless, the expiry date of agreement was extended from 31/12/99 to 30/06/2000. This was followed up by a second agreement, for 29,000,000 NOK, agreement number ZAM 00/375 in 2000.

CIDA undertook an independent assessment of PAGE in 2000. This found that at the end of 2000, a completely satisfactory programme of work had not been realised, nor had all the budget been spent.

The project had not really been owned by schools and communities. Only PAGE teachers were really engaged, rather than the whole school. The evaluators were in agreement that it is important to have family and communities engaged, but the project had not managed this.

⁹⁹ However, later assessments pointed out that FamilyPac excluded illiterate families.

The decision to work through UNICEF was not inappropriate in principle. However, the project was inadequately monitored in practice. There had been limited and changing capacities within UNICEF. Systems were set up, but despite the issue being raised by donors, there was no monitoring or real implementation.

In response to this report, a subcommittee recommended that rather than scaling up PAGE, it should rather be institutionalised within the MoE. The Project Steering Committee was merged into the Equity and Gender subcommittee of BESSIP in April 2000.

Only a few elements of PAGE were incorporated into BESSIP and later the sector investment plan. The move to a basket approach in the Ministry meant that funding was dependent on government priorities, and although HRZ had been supportive of the approach, when it came to the crunch, the funding was not there, for example for single sex classrooms. UNICEF now feels that they did not do enough advocacy at an early stage to create ownership of the approach in government. UNICEF now has a place at the table in the education SWAp, and realises that it has to market its approaches, for example on the child friendly school, to MoE and to its SWAp partners, as there is only one plan and one framework. In contrast PAGE had a parallel system with an account at the MoE and their own accountant.

Support to Capacity Building in Farmers Association in Zambia ZAM-001 – ZAM 99/396, 03/325

Background

This project arose out of discussions at an annual review of the ASIP, attended by outgrower companies. The Agribusiness Forum developed the project, but Norway suggested that the ZNFU be brought in as a broker/ administrator organisation. A joint project document was developed, and the project ran for four years, 2001-2004. Norway committed 22.4 mill NOK to the project, plus an additional 3 mill NOK to compensate for exchange rate variation.

The objective of the project was to help establish viable farmer associations which are engaged in market oriented agriculture.

Approach There were a number of activities included in the project:

- Establishment of an electronic database of agricultural farmer associations
- Training of farmer organisations, in management, crop production, gender analysis
- Farmer group capacity building
- Establishment of farmer associations involved in contract farming
- Encouragement of government extension staff moving into private sector agriculture

The project set as targets an increase in ZNFU membership and 30% increased yields per ha on farmer association members' land.

A Project Steering Committee was set up with 2 members of ABF, and one each from MAFF, ZNFU, and farmers associations. There were twice yearly meetings with Norad, an annual review and annual meeting.

The project worked through existing outgrower contractors, in particular in paprika, chilli, and honey, and encouraged them to take on ministry extension staff part-time to train farmers.

Key Observations

A mid-term review was carried out by IESR, University of Zambia, funded by the project. It made the following observations and recommendations:

- Linking organised small holder groups to existing export market opportunities through specialist companies has in most cases proved successful,
- There have been some issues with contracts, side-selling.
- Often seconded staff from MAFF have not been of good quality.

One major constraint on farmers has been lack of access to low cost credit. At present outgrower companies were the main source of credit, and farmers were heavily dependent on them. Farmers still needed more skills enhancement and encouragement to treat farming as a business, rather than as a subsistence activity.

There was also a need for independent grading systems, to build up farmer trust in the market process. Extension systems needed to become more farmer driven.

The project itself needed better M&E and greater clarity in its management structures.

Overall, the review felt that the project was making good progress in achieving its objectives. Certain elements were working well. The database was being used by a number of stakeholders, including NGOs.

Norway appeared to be happy with the project, and discussed the possibility of an extension. However, then Norway decided to delegate its support to agriculture. SFAP requested that Norad should not delegate this project to another donor, as was happening with other agricultural projects. The project felt that the interaction it had with Norad management was important. However, in 2004, it was proposed that the extension should be managed through the delegated cooperation with the Netherlands. However, the Dutch rejected the follow-on project¹⁰⁰. An intervention by the Norwegian ambassador ensured a year phase-out for the project, and key elements of it have been taken over by USAID, who still operate in project mode.

Impact

The mid-term review also identified a number of successful interventions through the project. The project improved price information, and introduced a trade financing facility which improved promptness of payment to farmers, thus reducing side-selling in paprika. It became clear, looking at the figures, that reliability depended on irrigation. Export vegetables were almost all irrigated, and had better loan repayments and higher yields. Paprika was more volatile and not irrigated.

Although women were targeted by paprika outgrowing, men dominated after the profitability of the activity was proved. There were low levels of training of women; they were unable to attend demonstrations because of household responsibilities. There were also very few female extension staff/ distributors – 2 out of 31 extension staff and 3 out of 167 farmer distributors.

Cooperation between the Local Government Association of Zambia (LGAZ) and the Norwegian Association of Local and Regional Authorities (KS)

Background

The Local Government Association of Zambia (LGAZ) has been in operation since 1947. It is funded by city councils, municipal councils, and district councils. 72 local authorities in Zambia are represented in LGAZ.

Cooperation between the Norwegian Association of Local and Regional Authorities (KS) and LGAZ started in 2002 after LGAZ adopted its Strategic Plan 2000-2005. LGAZ identified KS as a strategic partner to finance some of the activities in the plan. Consultations between KS, LGAZ, and the Ministry of Local Government and Housing were commenced in 2000. The project was supposed to commence in January 2002, however due to delays in financing, the project commenced in May 2002. Funding from the Norwegian Embassy to KS (agreement partner and implementing partner) during the period 2000-2005 amounted to NOK1.7 millions.

The main goal of the project was to strengthen local democracy in Zambia by supporting LGAZ through institutional cooperation with KS. The project involved support to LGAZ in terms of capacity building for the Association and councillors' Orientation Workshops. Project activities included support to process of establishing an efficient local LGAZ office; support to the annual LGAZ congress; training of councillors; regional cooperation with the Malawi Local Government Association.

In 2003, an external review of the KS-LGAZ cooperation was conducted 'Review of the KS/GTZ/LGAZ Training Programme for Local Government in Zambia' (Smith, 2003).

¹⁰⁰ Different reasons were given for this, but it appears that a difference with one contract grower may have influenced the Dutch against the project.

The Zambian Context

Up until the early 1970s local government enjoyed a stable environment. The revenue base was sound, particularly as utilities such as water and electricity were paid for through local government. In the 1980s various changes to Rent Acts, the withdrawal of grants and the commercialization of the electricity supply were major blows to the financial viability of local government. The withdrawal of capital funding to finance roads, housing estates, water reticulation and sewage treatment further undermined local government's capacity to deliver services. Changes in economic policies in the 1980s led to huge losses by councils which had been encouraged to engage in business ventures for which they were neither trained nor suited. Finally, changes to local government pension schemes and the sale of council housing stock at low prices led to severe financial difficulties for local councils.

The Mwanakatwe Constitutional Review Commission of the early 1990s proposed a number of measures to set up local government on a more sound basis, but these were rejected by the government. Decentralisation did not achieve serious attention until 2002 when the government declared a new decentralisation policy.

The need for a better organised national orientation and training programme for local government public servants and elected councillors was recognised in the early 1980s. Local authorities lacked resources to build capacity and the work of local councils went through a very difficult period. Eventually, the Ministry of Local Government and Housing, in conjunction with the LGAZ, began to seek the help of the donor community.

Impact and Sustainability

The 2003 review (Smith, 2003) of the cooperation between KS and LGAZ concluded that the process of decentralisation in Zambia has been neglected in the past. There are significant signs that the government is committed to the strengthening of local government. In particular, the policy document '*Towards Empowering the People*' gives a clear commitment to decentralisation and a prominent role for local government in Zambia's continuing development. It was also concluded that:

'it would not be too great an exaggeration to state that the Local Government Association of Zambia is a 'born again' organisation. It has a long way to go but it has the potential to play a critical and unique role in ensuring that decentralisation of local government is successfully accomplished. The Norwegian inputs to the Association have certainly 'added value' to LGAZ by bringing in experience from outside, especially South Africa, by supporting the Annual Conference and by encouraging regional networking. The development of a code of conduct for local government is a direct result of experience gathered in Uganda. It is clear from the documents and from interviews with key figures that the Norwegian inputs have been the 'right' ones. Of particular importance has been the use of local expertise rather than outside technical assistance and the feeling reported from many councils that they are getting good support from 'their' organisation. LGAZ is coming up with its own ideas for the future. Its resolutions from the 2003 Annual Conference point to a real concern for effective local governance and development, for a five-year time scale for implementation of the Decentralisation Policy and the re-establishment of sound financial and revenue collecting practices for local councils. Ethical concerns are voiced in the resolutions and a comprehensive and well-argued submission has been prepared for the GRZ Constitutional Review Commission. All these are signs of a healthy and effective organisation which deserves continuing and increased support' (Smith, 2003).

The review recommended continued donor support to LGAZ on a long term basis. It argued that decentralisation is a key feature of a number of reforms in Zambia, notably in education and health, and that LGAZ had a key role to play in this process. Nevertheless, the Norwegian Embassy decided to terminate the funding.

KS and LGAZ regretted that the cooperation was closed down at a time they were seeing positive results regarding the development for LGAZ, the political environment in Zambia, the regional cooperation, and donor coordination and harmonisation. KS and LGAZ have nevertheless continued their cooperation, by seeking to include LGAZ in projects whenever

possible (for instance, participation at HIV/AIDS seminar in 2005, workshop on Africities 2006, and cooperation with the Malawi Local Government Association).

ZAM-070 Agriculture Development and Research Northern Province, NOK 51,668,000, 1995-1998

Background and Objectives ZAM-070 was the last in a series of projects funded by Norway in Northern Province, starting back as far as the 1970s, and ongoing until 1998. Initially there were a series of stand alone projects which were gradually integrated. In the 1980s ZAM-020 was established incorporating seven individual projects and covering areas such as road construction, urban water supply and hospital repair as well as core agriculture and aquaculture research and extension activities. Five of these projects were then incorporated into ZAM-070, and the remaining two, which were not directly connected with agricultural development, were to be subsumed in a institution building project.

The purpose of ZAM-070 was to develop new technology and improved methodology in agriculture and aquaculture through research and on farm trials. It also aimed to make these services available to peasant farmers in Northern Province through a well functioning extension service. There were three main elements of the project:

- Agricultural Research Support (this is a continuation of the Soil Productivity Research Project, and the Farming Systems research under ZAM-020)
- Extension and Information Support (previously the Extension and Training Support Programme)
- Fish Culture Support (previously fish culture support in Northern Province)

A fourth component on marketing and trade was suggested as a possibility in the programme document, and appears to have been implemented.

Approach/ Strategy The project document for ZAM-070 built on the perceived successes of ZAM-020. These were identified by GRZ in terms of staff development and Zambianisation of the research institutes. At the review meeting at the end of ZAM-020, the Norwegian delegation was concerned about the degree of alignment of the project with government policies, and in particular the ASIP which was being introduced.

These areas were a very significant element of Norway's development cooperation with Zambia. For example, in 1990 36% of total Norwegian support to Zambia (61 mill NOK) went to Northern Province. The large scale of funding seemed to work against the collaboration, in that Zambian funding to the project fell over the period, and at no point did GRZ live up to its resource commitments. The government argued that the project was important as there were insufficient resources in the government budget to fund research properly.

Key Observations

Throughout the documentation and annual reviews, there are two recurring concerns. One is the alignment of the programme with the Ministry of Agriculture. By the mid-1990s, project staff are MAFF staff, but Norad expresses concerns that the project has become detached from regular ministry activities. This appears to be a consequence of the origins of the project, in a number of vertical programmes, funded by donors, initially with a considerable number of expatriate staff. There was considerable training of Zambian staff, and gradually they take over positions of responsibility, but this also appears to have created tensions, over the conditions of employment. In the mid-1990s MAFF underwent considerable restructuring, and staff who were being trained abroad returned to find that there were only lower level positions for them (Key informant interview, June 14th). This process caused considerable frustration amongst staff, and a number resigned or took voluntary redundancy.

There are also concerns about the adoption and up-scaling of the technologies developed by the programme. Earlier evaluations¹⁰¹ and reviews acknowledge good levels of technical achievement in research, but indicate problems with adoption. In some cases, such as agro-

101 An impact assessment of support to agriculture in the North was undertaken after the programme had closed, but it has not, as yet, been possible to trace a copy of the report. The team is trying to contact one of the authors. The official copy in Oslo was checked out of the archive and not returned. The assessment above is based on a report in 1995, in preparation for ZAM070, and interviews.

forestry, the technologies were not profitable. In other cases, it seemed that insufficient attention was given to taste and cooking characteristics.

The programme shows many of the failings of research programmes of that period: insufficient attention to extension support, and understanding of the cultural elements which affected adoption. Sociologists were recruited to carry out studies, and the results were incorporated into research programmes. However, the overall impression is that the main achievements of the project over the long period of time that it was in operation under its different forms was the training of a Zambian cadre of high quality researchers, many of whom moved on when the ministry was restructured. This element was clearly highly regarded by GRZ staff. When exchange rate volatility reduced the effective budget in the mid-1990s, GRZ wanted to ensure that the cuts did not fall on staff training abroad.

The farming research systems targeted female headed households for demonstrations and training. It was apparently difficult to target the women farmers who worked in male-headed households, who perform about 80-90% of the labour in the agriculture sector. Norad undertook gender sensitisation as part of the programme in the early 1990s. In the later years, Norad also expressed concern that there was no representation of the private sector at the annual reviews, which were very much between government and the embassy staff.

Support to agriculture in Northern Province came to an end in 1998. A project document was prepared for another phase, which very much continued the previous approach. However, as a result of the impact assessment (which this evaluation has not yet seen), Norway indicated that it would prefer an approach which focused more on food security approaches. There is no indication that GRZ submitted a revised proposal and the support came to an end.

ZAM-3002 Norad Netherlands Delegated cooperation in the Agricultural Sector in Zambia.

Background As part of the harmonisation process, Norway agreed to step back from direct support to agriculture. However, a mid-term review of the MoU with the Zambian government concluded that agriculture should remain a significant sector. It was decided to continue to fund the sector through delegated cooperation, with a like-minded bilateral who was still active in the sector. The Netherlands and Sweden were both options, and in the event, Norway signed delegated cooperation agreements with both. However, the Netherlands agreement was much easier to negotiate, and started before the one with Sweden. The agreement is for 70 million NOK over a period of four years.

Norway had a number of ongoing projects which were included in the cooperation agreement. These were mainly private sector projects, as by now the ASIP was generally seen as a failure, and there was little enthusiasm for further support to the Ministry.

The elements included in the package were support to:

- The Agriculture Consultative Forum
- GART (Golden Valley Agricultural Research Trust), and in particular to Conservation Farming
- Livestock Development Trust
- The NZTT Training Trust for Horticultural export industry
- Commercial outgrower programmes
- Zambian Agricultural Commodity Agency, and
- ZNFU.

Many of these were continuations of existing programmes that Norway had set up. For example, prior to this agreement, a previous agreement with Conservation farming had amounted to 14.4 mill NOK.

There was full acceptance of the existing procedures of the Netherlands for purposes of delegating Norwegian support to agric sector. There was no specific reporting to Norway, and both countries made a roughly even contribution to the programmes.

Approach

The Netherlands managed the funding from Norway under their own processes, including the need for a capacity assessment of local organisations before accepting them for funding. The advisor from the Norwegian embassy attended six monthly reviews of the programmes. The agreement was to run until 2008. However there have been recent discussions over switching funding to SIDA, as the Netherlands are also leaving the agriculture sector.

Key Observations

Throughout the annual reviews there appears to be a continuous issue of the sustainability of the projects funded. The project with the Livestock Development Trust makes insufficient revenue through its commercial activities to achieve financial sustainability. The story is similar for the Training Trust for the Horticultural export industry.

The process of delegation has not always worked smoothly. Although the Dutch were seen to be like-minded in many respects, they did not always rate organisations in quite the same way as the Norwegians. For example, Norway has provided considerable support to Conservation Farming over the years, and they see it as an approach which has shown merit and proved itself. Neither the Dutch nor the Swedes seem to rate it so highly. Norway has decided to provide support to the CFU separately, justifying it as support to environmental management and food security. This amounts to almost eight times as much as the funding through delegated cooperation. However, this view is not shared by its bilateral partners, some of whom see this as undermining their position as sector leads.

The programme of support to capacity building in farmers' associations has also been terminated as a result of delegated cooperation with the Dutch (see separate project note). Here the issue seemed to be competing projects with different favoured organisations.

The Norwegian natural resources advisor sees the agricultural sector as particularly difficult to have joint approaches, because of the number of stakeholders. He sees any tension between donors as minor, however, compared to the tension between government and the private sector.

ZAM-99/145 - Non-Governmental Organisation Coordinating Committee Background

NORAD support to the Non-Governmental Organisation Coordinating Committee (NGOCC) from 1999 to 2001 was intended to strengthen an organisation it considered a focal point for the women's movement in Zambia. Support was justified by an In-depth Evaluation commissioned by NORAD in 1998 following previous support to programmes of NGOCC. The Evaluation found that NGOCC activities targeted at networking women organisations, lobbying and advocacy and sensitisation of the public on gender issues were having positive impact on the organisation's affiliates spread throughout the country. The NGOCC needed support because it could not fund operations solely from the subscriptions of its affiliates. Many were small and struggling. Provincial and district level structures likely to have the greatest impact on the wellbeing of women at the grassroots were also weak.

Approach/Strategy

A total of NOK 2,400 was to be disaggregated as follows: (i) General support (NOK 1,500,000); (ii) Setting up financial and administrative systems (NOK 300,000); and (iii) Strengthening provincial/district activities (NOK 600,000). In this period the NGOCC was receiving support from other organisations as well including Sweden, Cordaid, MS Zambia, DANIDA, Kepa Zambia and UNDP. NGOCC prepared one semi-annual report for all its supporters including NORAD. Therefore, Norwegian support operated on minimal reporting requirements. This reflected the small size of the support as well as the need not to tax the administrative capacity of the organisation.

Support to the NGOCC thus mixed dedicated funding and general support. General support indicated NORAD's view that activities of the NGOCC were already sound and effective. This was confirmed by the 1998 Evaluation. NGOCC only needed to be helped to continue carrying these activities. Dedicated support picked on the two areas of weakness pointed out in the Evaluation. By helping to establish the financial and administrative systems and

strengthening the sub-national structures of NGOCC, dedicated support would augment general support to NGOCC operations.

Impact and Sustainability

Both the contract between NORAD and NGOCC and the Decision Document do not specify the objectives of the support although this can be inferred from the three areas that were funded. No review or evaluation was required. NORAD relied on the semi-annual reports from NGOCC which also included a financial report. This was a general report covering many other areas not funded by NORAD.

There is therefore no objective basis for assessing the impact and sustainability of this support. Nevertheless, from the number of activities that NGOCC continued to undertake and the very high profile that the organisation assumed on critical matters of the country since then, there are good indications that this support, together with that from other funding agencies, has left an enduring impact on the organisation. NGOCC is playing an important facilitatory role for the women movement at all levels. It has also been central to the fight for a better constitution in Zambia which is pivotal to good governance and the creation of an environment in which gender equality can be more reasonably tackled.

Key Observations

Although the NGOCC support was small in the light of the overall size of Norway's aid to Zambia, there are nevertheless some insights this cooperation helps to inform the evolution of Norway's development cooperation with Zambia.

Funding the NGOCC was a strategic entry point for supporting the empowerment of women in Zambia, a key principle of Norwegian development cooperation. By helping to strengthen an umbrella organisation with 56 affiliates at the time, the outreach of Norwegian aid was more far reaching than could be achieved with the level of funding actually provided.

Beyond women empowerment, Norway funded an organisation that had started to take centre stage in the civil society movement and its fight against factors that threatened to undermine Zambia's young democracy. The NGOCC played a clear leadership role in 2001, the last year of Norway's support, in opposing attempts by the Chiluba government to change the constitution on the tenure of the presidency from two to three terms. The NGOCC represented civil society in the Oasis Forum which coordinated opposition to amendments to the constitution. The other members of the Oasis Forum were the Law Association of Zambia and a representative of the three mother church bodies. From the power relations view point, the choice of the NGOCC was also strategic.

Although small in size, support to the NGOCC had already showed marks of principles that were to be emphasised after March 2004 with the signing of the Harmonisation in Practice among the like-minded donors and later contained in the Paris Declaration in March 2005. It has been pointed out above that the NGOCC received support from other sources at the time Norway was also funding it. The principle of basket funding was apparent in the general support Norway extended. Norway also accepted the principle of using common formats, content and frequency for periodic reporting. In helping the NGOCC establish its financial and administrative systems, Norway helped to improve the NGOCC's capacity to meet the challenge of reporting to many donors at the same time.

ZAM-99/303 – Institutional Development Project II In the Office of the Auditor General

Background and Objectives

The main objective of RIDP was to build the capacity of the Office of the Auditor General (OAG Zambia) to "conduct independent, timely and cost effective audits in order to ensure optimal utilisation of resources". It dates back to 1997 with four-year support amounting to NOK 13 million following three studies between 1994 and 1996 into ways of strengthening the OAG. At the end of phase one, appraisal of progress showed good progress in meeting the stated goal. RIDP II was therefore supposed to consolidate achievements made in the first phase. It was to be co-financed by Norway and the Netherlands at the cost of US\$3.4 million with Norway contributing NOK 15 million. It covered four areas: (i) Enhancing the

independence of the OAG; (ii) Improving the capacity of the OAG through training and improved information technology, audit quality methodology and performance audit; and, (iv) Organisational restructuring and revising the legal framework.

Approach/Strategy

The OAG Zambia was the main implementing agency of the Agreement. The Office of the Auditor General Norway (OAG Norway) was to advise the OAG Zambia on audit issues. Therefore, the OAG Norway played a mentoring role. The two Supreme Audit Institutions undertook joint audits as a way of transferring knowledge to work stations. At the same time, OAG Norway supported OAG Zambia to develop audit standard working papers and reviewing project activities.

While the first phase of RIDP was underway, the Zambian Government also started to implement the Public Sector Capacity Building Project (PSCAP) aimed at improving public service delivery. The first phase of PSCAP ran from 1999 to 2001 and was funded by the World Bank, DFID and NORAD. Funding to the OAG Zambia under RIDP II was thus expected to be under PSCAP as part of its Financial Management, Accountability and Transparency component. However, the OAG Zambia indicated that it was uncomfortable with this arrangement and asked to be funded directly instead because it needed to retain its independence. Direct funding was agreed to but it was suggested that the project needed to be aligned to PSCAP.

In November 2003 the GRZ with the help of the World Bank completed the Public Expenditure Management and Financial Accountability Review (PEMFAR). It identified six key priority actions for improving public expenditure management. One of these was the need to “ensure independence of the Office of the Auditor General by creating an oversight body that reports to Parliament” (Zambia Donor Harmonisation Group, July 2004, p.8). Therefore, when it was finally adopted, Component 9 of PEMFA Reform Programme was Strengthened External Audit Reform. Activities were to be financed under basket funding arrangements. However, it was suggested that direct funding for the OAG be retained in order to entrench its independence.¹⁰² This made sense given that one of the requirements PEMFA was pushing was the need to secure full protection of OAG budgetary funding so that the office assumes independence. Nevertheless, it posed some difficulties in terms of aligning the support to the OAG so that it is truly a part of PEMFA. The issue was constantly raised in meetings between the OAG and Norway and the Netherlands. Of concern to the two bilateral agencies was that they had signed up to the Harmonisation in Practice and PEMFA was a principal model of how it was to work. Support to the OAG seemed to contradict the HIP spirit.

Capacity of the AOG to Implement the Project

The AOG, the Royal Norwegian Embassy and the Royal Netherlands Embassy held a semi-annual and annual meeting to discuss progress in implementing the project. The two funding partners generally commended the OAG on how it implemented the project. In particular, reports were found to be of acceptable standard although it was pointed out that these needed to be more focused on outputs rather than activities. One issue of concern was when the OAG overspent on some activities without the approval of Norway. This was subsequently rectified to the satisfaction of Norway and the Netherlands.

Sustainability of Achievements

According to the appraisal of RIDP III, the first two phases of RIDP strengthened the capacity of the AOG Zambia (Chifwanakeni, et al July 2006). A Public Expenditure and Financial Accountability (PEFA) review undertaken in 2005 gave very high scores to the OAG Zambia counting it one of the best Supreme Audit Institutions in the region. With greater public interest in the proceedings of the Public Accounts Committee of Parliament, the OAG has continued to get high esteem in the public’s eyes. The media is beginning to put a lot of pressure on the Executive to take the findings in the Auditor General’s Report very seriously.

Key Observations

A document review on Norway’s support to the OAG throws light on a number of aspects regarding the evolution of Norway’s development cooperation:

¹⁰²Some activities dealing with the de-concentration, i.e. establishing provincial offices in the remaining five provinces where these had not been in existence, of the OAG have actually been funded directly under PEMFA.

Aligning on giving support to fit the new rules of engagement for development cooperation is not straightforward. The reason given for the OAG preferring direct rather than basket funding is that it wants to remain independent. This makes sense as indicated above. However, the OAG Zambia has also been concerned by the slow start of PEMFA and that it has been “bureaucratic and seemingly micro managed by the development partners, that purchases are cumbersome and slow and that it takes too much time to take part in coordination meetings and planning processes” (Chifwanakeni, et al July 2006, p.11). It is obvious that harmonisation of procedures between different donors could make things much more difficult to manage.

It is also interesting to observe the role of the OAG Norway in stating the case for the continuation of project support. The appraisal cited above which looked at the case for a possible RIDP III stated that OAG Norway made this explicit wish known and this seemed to have been having some bearing on the thinking of the Norway.

A review of various documents shows that the weakness with reports focusing on activities rather than outputs noted above is actually as a result of a weak monitoring and evaluation framework. A baseline study was conducted and included in the revised Project Document. But the resulting project matrix was weak. For example, many indicators could not be described as objective and verifiable while there was no system of capturing information related to the specified indicators.

The inclusion of securing the complete independence of the AOG as the project purpose although desirable was outside what the project could achieve. This was a constitutional issue beyond the proper influence of the AOG. Furthermore, no clear strategy is specified on how to achieve this.

ZAM 0010 – SUPPORT TO HIV/AIDS PROJECTS

ZAM -00/338 Integrated HIV/AIDS Education, Water, Sanitation and Hygiene Education (WASHE) for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC) in Eastern and Southern Province

Background and Objectives

Norway was one of the two donors that supported UNICEF to implement its HIV/AIDS prevention and Impact Mitigation for Orphans, Vulnerable Children and Youth in Zambia from 2000 to 2002. The other was the British Department for International Development (DFID). The programme was formulated by UNICEF within the context of its three-year Master Plan of Operations (1999 – 2001). The conceptualisation of the programme was given impetus by the 1999 OVC Situation Analysis carried out by a consortium of donor, NGO and government institutions which detailed the extent of the crisis and the nature of the response. It found that AIDS and widespread poverty had eroded the efficacy of traditional coping systems. The effectiveness of institutional responses depended on the local context and concluded that community participation in designing these responses was key to success.

This HIV/AIDS Prevention and Mitigation for OVC and Youth Programme had four components: (i) Coordination of Support for OVC; (ii) WASHE for OVC; (iii) Youth Friendly Health Services; and, (iv) Extending Learning Opportunities to OVC. It was to cost US\$3,056,250. Norway agreed to fund the second component costing US\$600,000 or NOK 4.7 million to be disbursed in three tranches. UNICEF committed itself to submitting a report once a year. DFID funded the other three components.

The WASHE for OVC component covered ten districts in Eastern and Southern Provinces.¹⁰³ The districts had high numbers of orphans and other vulnerable children while their vulnerability context was deteriorating due to rising poverty, recurrent droughts and the AIDS situation. It had two main objectives:

To contribute to a reduction of HIV/AIDS and STIs and ill health among women and children using issues of water and sanitation as an entry point for integrating HIV/AIDS issues in development projects; and,

¹⁰³One district was added after implementation started to bring the number to eleven districts.

To reduce the labour burdens of carrying water for women and children in ten WASHE districts.

Approach/Strategy

The WASHE for OVC was to be implemented using the WASHE structures from national to village level. These structures were preferred for two reasons. First, they placed strong emphasis on community participation in resolving water and sanitation related constraints. Second, the WASHE structure integrates institutions from a number of sectors making possible the multi-sectoral approach UNICEF was proposing.¹⁰⁴ UNICEF was going to support D-WASHE committees to backstop sub-district staff in their work with communities. It would also support NGOs operating in target districts in building the capacity of communities to deal with water and sanitation issues. The private sector would be engaged in aspects such as drilling and rehabilitation of boreholes and dug wells.

Project Impact and Sustainability

No evaluation of the WASHE for OVC project was carried out and as such there is no independent basis for evaluating the impact and sustainability of the results of this support. UNICEF submitted one progress report on 6th August 2002 and a final activity report on 24th January 2003. They report an overwhelming demand for the WASHE services supported by Norway. Therefore, most of the activities planned for the three years of the project were actually implemented in two years (2000 – 2001). UNICEF employed other resources to try and meet the shortfall between NORAD resources and the demand. For example, although it was planned to provide 4,800 drinking facilities, 25,667 were provided by the end of 2001. Perhaps even more important for sustainability, NORAD support is said to have helped to strengthen V-WASHE and D-WASHE committees.

Some Key Observations

There are two key observations that can be made on the Norwegian support to UNICEF for the implementation of the WASHE for OVC activities.

Despite achievements stated above, a few administrative difficulties were experienced on the part of UNICEF as pointed out below:

First, Norway's support was exhausted within the first two years of the project but only NOK 4,275,000 had been disbursed in these two years. UNICEF used other resources to continue with project activities and did not invoice NORAD for the third and final disbursement until after being reminded by NORAD. The last disbursement of NOK 1,065,636 was released on 11th November 2003. This seemed to arise from some record problems at UNICEF since Norwegian funds were first sent to New York.

Second and linked to this was the fact that the final annual meeting was not called by UNICEF. The meeting was meant to discuss the budget for 2003 and plan for the remaining funds. Perhaps what was difficult about this on the part of UNICEF was that these funds had already been exhausted and NORAD was only to reimburse UNICEF. Annual meetings were provided for in the agreement between NORAD and UNICEF. That the 2002 meeting was not called was a major lapse on the part of UNICEF.

Although it is understandable that UNICEF exhausted Norwegian support in two years rather than three owing to greater than anticipated demand, the fact that this occurred without prior authorisation from NORAD is an indication of the depth of this administrative lapse.

Support to UNICEF to implement activities targeted at mitigating the impacts of AIDS on the OVC should be considered a strategic choice because the structures through which they were carried out reached the grassroots.

ZAM – 044 Luangwa Integrated Resource Development Project

Background and Objectives

The Luangwa Integrated Resource Development Project (LIRD) was a series of projects implemented in four phases. It dates back to 1986 when Preparatory Phase (Phase 1) was

104The Ministries of Local Government, Energy and Water Development, Education and Community Development had a direct role in the WASHE structure and activities

embarked on up to 1988. This was followed by Phase 2, called Implementation Phase, from 1988 to 1992. Phase 3, which the project documented as part of this Country Evaluation was implemented from 1993 to 1998. Phase 4 was support to South Luangwa Area Management Unit (SLAMU) in 1999 and 2000 and was meant to help the project integrate in the Zambia Wildlife Authority (ZAWA). All the phases were focused on wildlife management for the South Luangwa National Park (SNLP) and the Lupande Game Management Area (GMA). The former covers an area of 9,050 square kilometres. The Lupande GMA is 4,500 square kilometres large stretching across six chiefdoms.

The design of Phase 1 was preceded by a feasibility study in 1985 which was funded by WWF. The study recommended the design of the LIRDP. It was requested by the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Services (NPWS) which wanted to widen the base of lessons that had accrued from an earlier implementation of a Community Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) project in Lupande GMA with funding from USAID. Driving these efforts was the concern at high levels of poaching in the 1970s and 1980s that almost decimated the elephant population, taken as an indicator of illegal wildlife off-take, from 35,000 to only 5,000.

The LIRDP was therefore given the mandate to pilot an approach that would eliminate poaching and replace this with a sustainable utilization of natural resources through an integrated land-use approach involving local communities. Phase 2 was designed to test the Administrative Management Design (ADMAD) Policy adopted in 1987 to support local communities in GMAs take stewardship over wildlife and to benefit from the proper management and use of this resource.

Approach/Strategy

Phase 3 of the LIRDP just like Phase 2 had a very wide coverage with nine components: (i) Community Based Natural Resource Management; (ii) Water Supply Programme; (iii) Agriculture and Agriculture Research; (iv) Wildlife Management; (v) Monitoring; (vi) Land Use and Planning; (vii) Tourism; (viii) Roads; and, (ix) Manpower Development and Training. The appraisal document by Scanteam International was critical of this wide coverage and the absence of well defined set of objectives and strategies for achieving clear goals. As a result, the LIRDP was said to have drifted without focus.

Phase 3 was to rectify on difficulties experienced in Phase 2 which were mainly institutional in nature, specifically the lack of legal backing for the transfer of control over natural resources from line ministries to communities, resistance by the NPWS to transfer power to an independent body, constraints to integration with local administration and less than envisaged participation by the local people. A main problem appears to have been that the NPWS felt estranged by the institutional framework of the programme. Overall oversight was placed under the Committee of Management chaired by the President. LIRDP was located in the National Commission for Development Planning (NCDP) rather than the Ministry of Tourism. Therefore, NPWS took decisions that undermined the LIRDP objectives like awarding hunting licenses without the participation of the communities. The expectation that LIRDP would achieve financial self-sufficiency by the end of Phase 2 was not attained partly due to these difficulties but also because that projection was said to have been too optimistic.

The first step in rectifying these difficulties was to move the LIRDP from NCDP to NPWS in 1993. The change in Phase 4 to supporting SLAMU rather than a stand alone project was meant to embed it further in the institutional structure of the NPWS. A review of the regulatory framework was initiated by the GRZ during Phase 3 which resulted in the creation of the Zambia Wildlife Authority (ZAWA) in 1998 which became operational in January 2000. The ZAWA Act gave clear legal backing to joint proprietorship of wildlife resources with communities in GMAs. Norwegian funding to Phase 3 of LIRDP was to be disbursed on a reducing scale as LIRDP slowly attained financial self-sufficiency.

Capacity of Implementing Agencies

The need to build capacity in LIRDP and create structures at community level was appreciated from the very beginning. Community structures received a lot of training to help them play their role effectively. It is difficult to tell the extent to which this was realised. However, achievements in conservation pointed out below may be an indication that this was slowly

realised. For the LIRDPA itself, although overall capacity cannot be questioned, concern has been expressed that the approach of building capacity focused too much on augmenting existing capacity with technical assistance. At issue was the long term sustainability of such capacity.

Sustainability of Results

In the absence of clearly specified indicators for the project purpose and outcomes, it is difficult to ascertain achievements and their sustainability. However, conservation objectives of the project were achieved as the animal population both in the GMA and the national park started to increase. A change of community attitudes to conservation was also noted. By the end of LIRDPA in 1998, the problem of conflict between wildlife and communities had emerged. Both recovery and changed attitudes have continued to present. The LIRDPA also tested a model which has since been up scaled nationally through the adoption of the ZAWA Act. Other natural resource based sectors, forestry and fisheries specifically, have also looked at this model and there have been moves to adopt a similar strategy of giving a significant part of proprietorship of natural resources to communities.

However, Phase 3 of LIRDPA failed to attain the anticipated financial sustainability as was the case with Phase 2. Perhaps it was unrealistic to anticipate that finances raised from wildlife services could fund a whole range of services premised on integrated development without the support of government. It revealed the weakness of lack of focus in the programme which seemed to want to rectify the serious development deficit in the GMA. The integration of the project in district administration could not happen given the serious weak state of local authorities while delivery of development services is highly centralised implemented through line ministries. LIRDPA continued having problems working with line ministries in its operation area.

Role of NORAD

NORAD as the funding agency retained interest in monitoring progress and ensuring that Norwegian tax payer's money was being put to good use. No issues regarding financial accountability were raised meaning that no problems were found in this area. Nevertheless, the usual problem of donor participating in implementation by proxy through the attached TA was observed. It has been suggested that the Technical Advisor at times carried more weight than the director of LIRDPA owing to their direct link to NORAD.

Cooperation between the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions and LO Norway (Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions)

Background

The Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) was registered in 1966. Until 1993, the ZCTU was the sole umbrella organisation for trade unions in Zambia. The organisational structure includes both provincial and districts committees, and a women's committee.

The ZCTU is viewed to be a natural partner to LO and cooperation between the two organisations has historical roots going back to the 1980s. Norad's total committed funding to LO (agreement partner) and ZCTU (implementing partner) during the period 1993-2005 amounted to NOK2 millions. LO support has covered several areas, such as training of educators and researchers, and women's programmes; although the main focus has been on organisational development more broadly, with the overall aim to assist in the strengthening and development of the trade union movement in Zambia. Additionally, the ZCTU has been supported by donors, such as Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Japan, and the ILO.

In 1998, LO conducted an evaluation of its co-operation with the ZCTU: 'Evaluation of project co-operation between the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions and LO Norway'. The objective of the evaluation was 'to examine and assess the performance of the LO-ZCTU project vis-à-vis their aims and objectives, and more specifically assess their impact and overall performance of the ZCTU'. In this context, performance emphasised 'organisational strength, existence of effective local structures, improvement in internally generated financial resources, improvement in the inter-union application of the virtues of democracy and in the

living standards of the members as well as increased union influence in matters of national interest' (Larsen et al, 1998).¹⁰⁵

The Zambian context

In 1991 Zambia became a multi-party system with more than 30 registered parties. However, the government opposition remained weak, and in practice Zambia remained a one party dominant system. Within this context, the labour movement served as a guardian of democracy, and fierce critic of constitutional amendments, the electoral process, as well as policy making in economic and political areas.

The Structural Adjustment Programmes implemented during the 1990s assumed that cutting the budget deficit; diversifying the economy; and privatising the copper mines, would create jobs in other sectors of the economy. However, social conditions deteriorated; poverty increased; wages decreased; and the labour market was characterised by high unemployment and a large informal sector (less than 500,000 out of a population of 9.5 millions had a job in the formal sector).

Industrial relations, legislative framework, and bargaining power deteriorated during the 1990s, and the labour movement itself faced internal cleavages and tensions. In 1994 five unions¹⁰⁶ left the ZCTU, of which one was the mine workers union that had considerable economic and political strength.

While relations with the employers were relatively good, relations with the government had become tense. Tripartite fora between the unions, employers, and government existed, but these often functioned as a way for the government to create legitimacy around decisions that were already decided upon elsewhere (such as the WB and the IMF).

Impact and sustainability

The ZCTU was severely affected by the above mentioned external challenges. The evaluation concluded that it was therefore difficult to assess the effect of LO's support to the ZCTU. It was noted that it is not appropriate to use membership growth (or decline) as a measure of success of the cooperation, since membership of the ZCTU had decreased significantly during the 1990s due to mass retrenchments following privatisation and structural adjustment programmes outside the control and influence of the ZCTU.¹⁰⁷

The main conclusion of the evaluation was that future LO-ZCTU cooperation should prioritise organisational capacity building, including financial management, development of internal human resources, and capacity to organise members. The main areas of weakness and need were the following:

- While the unions largely relied on funding from members, the ZCTU was dependent on funding from international donors (of which some was channelled directly to affiliates). During the 1990s the ZCTU experienced serious financial problems, and in 1998 it was almost insolvent. At the same time, there was an urgent need for resources in terms of infrastructure, equipment, and transport facilities. However, the evaluation found that funds received from LO had not been used in a disciplined manner, and measures for improved financial management, including adherence to financial rules, regulations, control of expenditure, financial monitoring, and accounting system was needed.
- The ZCTU was an important actor on the political arena in Zambia, which frequently expressed its views in the media to its members and the general public. Nevertheless, it was not always clear whether these views were those of the ZCTU centrally, individual affiliates, or the leaders of the ZCTU. Moreover, members may have common understandings in key areas, but not common policies. The evaluation therefore concluded that there was a need to develop key policies on employment policy, wage policy, and industrial policy as this could strengthen the ZCTU position towards the government. The

¹⁰⁵Due to lack of detailed project documentation on the cooperation between LO and ZCTU, the case study largely builds on the evaluation by Larsen et al, and interview with LO representative.

¹⁰⁶The National Union of Building Engineering and General Workers, National Union of Commercial and Industrial Workers, Zambia National Union of Teachers, Mine Workers Union of Zambia, and the Zambia Union of Financial Institutions and Allied Workers. The first three came back to the ZCTU in 1997, while the latter two were still outside the ZCTU in 1998.

¹⁰⁷Some improvement in membership can be noticed. In 1998, the ZCTU had 22 affiliated national unions and 230,000 members; and in 2007, the ZCTU have 30 affiliated national unions and 270,000 workers.

evaluation also concluded that the ZCTU was in need of capacity to conduct its own independent research, analysis, and assessment of the socio-economic situation.

Annex E: Case Studies Executive Summaries¹⁰⁸

E.1 Wildlife Management

Introduction and Purpose

This case study report concerns the support given by the Norwegian government to Government of the Republic of Zambia (GRZ) for its *wildlife and natural resources sector* during the study period of 1991-2005. This support was delivered primarily through the Luangwa Integrated Resource Development Project (LIRD) and its successor, the South Luangwa Area Management Unit (SLAMU). Related support was provided during 2000-2001 and 2004 to assist the transition from the government department responsible for wildlife management, the National Parks and Wildlife Service (NPWS), to the parastatal statutory body, Zambia Wildlife Authority (ZAWA).

The purpose of the review was to evaluate Norwegian support according to standard (DAC) evaluation criteria – relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, sustainability and impact – and also to consider the effect of national and international power structures on this support, with the theoretical framework for the study of power structures in Zambia, the importance of *neopatrimonial systems* in determining power relations and their impact on the delivery of aid.

The case study took place in Zambia during the month of July 2007, with follow-up reporting in the UK and Zambia during the month of August. The analysis is based on examination of project documents and key stakeholder interviews and focus group discussions.

Background of LIRD/ SLAMU and the Zambia Wildlife Sector

LIRD/ SLAMU has been concerned primarily with the conservation of the Luangwa Valley in south-central Zambia, with a focus on the continued existence of the South Luangwa National Park (SLNP) and its wildlife in the Lupande Game Management Area (LGMA) immediately adjacent to the south-western boundary of the SLNP. At the same time, it has aimed to utilize wildlife as a natural resource to improve livelihoods of the people in the LGMA, addressing rights, access to and ownership of natural resources, governance and political economics. Lessons learned in South Luangwa could be applied to other areas of Zambian wildlife sector as a whole.

The origin of LIRD was the Lupande Development Workshop of 1983, with a study proposing a multi-sectoral project that received crucial initial support from the extant President, Kenneth Kaunda. The project has gone through several phases, with changing objectives, as well as changes in the external conditions in the Zambian government.

The first implementation phase, *Phase II*, during 1987-1992, was an ambitious, multi-sectoral approach to improving the standard of living of the people in the project area by means of sustainable use of its natural resources, and a large component of infrastructure development. Although now viewed in retrospect as a top-down, unsustainable “mini-government” that substituted for the work of the GRZ, this type of project was typical of ICDP-type donor interventions of the mid-1980s period, and Phase II did provide the initial basis for subsequent, more focused developments.

Phase III saw improved administrative management and a focus on creating a viable CBNRM programme, phasing out the non-wildlife sector components and making wildlife utilization the primary means of income-generation for park management and rural livelihoods. The CBNRM work also introduced a strong element of decentralized grass-roots democracy, with

¹⁰⁸ Full reports on the case studies are available as downloads at: www.norad/default.asp?V_ITEM_ID=10439

elected Village Action Groups given the key decision-making role for managing the funds from hunting concessions.

Phase IV coincided with the transition of NPWS to ZAWA, a process that ironically resulted in re-centralization of key activities, such as CBNRM. LIRDPA became a ZAWA “area management unit”, SLAMU, arguably a positive step in the direction of institutional sustainability. However, it also, decentralized “ownership” of the wildlife resource in the GMAs and reduced the flexibility and level of funds received.

Phase V extended the objectives of Phase IV, with even greater focus on financial and technical self-sufficiency of SLAMU for managing the SLNP and the LGMA. The expansion of the tourism sector, including creating ever-greater opportunities for private sector operators within the SLNP, and the development and maintenance of partnerships with NGOs in the GMA, have been key aspects of the move towards self-sufficiency.

The project objectives have clearly evolved over the two decades of support, with an accompanying trend towards greater financial, managerial and technical accountability and independence. In all phases, there has been a commitment to infrastructure development in the region, with a significant proportion of the budgets devoted to road building and maintenance.

Project management

The projects have been managed by the implementers, with oversight and guidance provided by the Norwegian authorities. Phase II had good support and commitment by the Norwegian embassy but little effective reporting of results or financial accounting. Phase III introduced a more rigorous system of performance management and reporting, which has been maintained to date. The Norwegian project management system appears to have the advantage of flexibility but the drawback of being not particularly rigorous, dependent on the quality of individual officials and consultants. In practice, the Norwegian officials have generally shown good commitment to the aims of the project, and in later stages have chosen competent evaluators. The monitoring and evaluation system, however, lacked clear project documentation in a readily accessible form.

Relevance

The project is in line with Norway’s Country Strategy 1992, 1994-1997, and Strategy for Development Cooperation 2001-2005. Norwegian support to LIRDPA/SLAMU and the Zambian wildlife sector has been remarkably consistent over the past 20 years. Other donors and NGOs have supported the sector for more limited periods, and Norway has been actively involved in coordination and has played a leading role. While other donors are turning away from the sector, Norway’s continuing commitment is admirable. The support and investment in wildlife-based development shows real promise of becoming an engine of economic progress.

On the Zambian side, although the National Conservation Strategy supports wildlife management, National Development Plans have not identified wildlife conservation as an economic and social development mechanism. The government does not provide ZAWA with sufficient funding for capital development; rather it must generate funds for central government. It appears that the commitment by Norway to support the LIRDPA / SLAMU has not been effectively complemented by the Zambian government. Both the earlier Country Strategy and most recent Strategy for Development Cooperation expects commitment by the recipient government and the Norwegian development authorities may have been slow in the past in insisting on greater policy and budgetary support from Zambia to match the donor contribution. There is recent evidence that a dialogue on this strategic issue has been taking place with the Zambian authorities.

Effectiveness

Wildlife conservation and management in South Luangwa has improved significantly. Wildlife populations have been protected and stabilised, through greatly improved patrolling effort and success, together with cooperation with communities in LGMA. Since the early project phases, the management of SLNP has improved progressively and in the most recent year, it achieved financial self-sufficiency, which is a considerable achievement compared to other

protected areas in Zambia and indeed the Southern Africa region. There has been steady development of tourist facilities within the park.

There has been *improvement in local livelihoods* in the Lupande GMA. This was clearly the case in Phase II, although the results were delivered in a top-down fashion and did not build local capacity. Phase III produced genuine benefit and considerably greater decentralized, democratic control of funds through the hunting concessions in the GMA, although there is little systematic evidence of the financial contribution to household incomes provided by CBNRM. In project Phases IV and V, funds retained at the local level were reduced by the re-centralisation of ZAWA. There is an ongoing problem of central government support for CBNRM, with reports of political interference in ZAWA by powerful individuals.

Land use planning has not been successful and there is currently a serious risk of encroachment by commercial extractive farming in nearby areas, which could develop in future in Luanda. This requires urgent action to counter the loss of natural resources in Luangwa Valley. There has been a similar lack of success in achieving an agreed park management plan for SLNP and there is need for a strategic and operational blueprint for budgeting and work planning.

Efficiency

In the earliest period of the project implementation – Phase II – expenditure against the multitude of activities proved difficult. With successive Phases, efficiency increased markedly and financial management improved greatly. The system for accounting, reporting and issuing of payments is now more streamlined. The relatively large expenditure on roads across all phases, and their ongoing low quality despite these efforts, could be judged inefficient as well as ineffective. There were gaps between project phases, during periods of appraisal and negotiation. The most recent was 2005, when there was no Norwegian funding at all, and SLAMU had to exist purely on its own resources, by minimizing expenditure and cutting back on developments.

Impact

Wildlife conservation has improved, a success that can be attributed to improved enforcement by government authorities, an encouraging environment for private sector investment bringing development to the area, and improved cooperation with local communities.

There has been successful creation of decentralized community structures to receive funds from hunting concessions and to make decisions on development projects. Much of this progress was diluted after ZAWA re-centralization of hunting revenue collection and disbursement and decision-making. The Chiefs' direct role has also been reduced, as the Local Leaders' Sub-Committees and subsequent local Area Development Committees, which they controlled as chairmen, no longer exist; this may have benefited the local people in reducing the ability of the Chiefs to sequester funds without accountability.

The local economy has benefited from spin-off handicraft industries and multiplier effects on the local and national Zambian economy. There have also been unintended negative impacts. From the start of the project there was resentment among NPWS professionals, with some residual tendency effect in ZAWA, for example in the area of hunting quotas. The success of the projects has attracted people to the area, which has increased pressure on resources and threatened the viability of project gains, diluting the per capita share of income.

The increased mobility of people, including incomers, the rise in employment and relative wealth creation may have served to increase the incidence of HIV/AIDS in Mambwe District. The projects in the later stages have specific outputs directed at prevention, which may have offset the increased risk somewhat.

Sustainability

SLAMU is moving towards *financial* sustainability, and while its success towards this objective compares well with other wildlife areas in Zambia and the Southern Africa region, it nevertheless remains dependent on external support for capital expenditure, while GRZ does not provide investment funds from the national Treasury to ZAWA. This lack of support for essential investment threatens to undermine the ability of SLAMU to consolidate gains made

thus far and to extend its ability to generate income for its own operations and for the social development needed to build local support for conservation.

The park management *institutions* function well, while institutions at the community level remain weak and there are unresolved tensions between the Chiefs and the elected CRBs and VAGs. Local government at the District level is undeveloped and is in no position to replace the Chiefs as the authority for conflict resolution and land use decisions. The process of change from NPWS to ZAWA has not been smooth. There remains a high degree of interference from central government, both by the Ministry and other political players. The effect on SLAMU has been to re-centralize financial and decision-making authority, and this has undermined the process of local democratisation and empowerment.

Phase II improved services in a number of sectoral areas promoting *social* development in Lupande GMA, but they did not build local capacity to maintain them, and were in no way sustainable. Line ministries in South Luangwa, apart from MTENR through ZAWA, are poorly resourced, the agricultural sector in particular needing support. In this vacuum, the COMACO project is making a contribution, but it faces the same challenge of ensuring sustainability as did of LIRD Phase II. The social gains of Phase III, in terms both of financial benefit and community development projects, as well as increasing democratisation, lost ground during Phases IV and V. A modicum of good will remains – for example, the village scout system still operates – but with such reduced direct benefit and decision-making, the social sustainability of the CBNRM-based livelihoods and wildlife conservation has been reduced.

The prospects for *environmental* sustainability of the wildlife resource are good, if SLAMU maintains the local institutions.

Ownership and commitment

ZAWA appears to have taken on ownership of the LIRD through its creation of SLAMU, but central government still does not appear to be taking seriously the role of the wildlife sector in the national economy, in tourism and its multiplier effects, in general or in the Luangwa Valley in particular.

Implications for hypotheses

Because politics may be defined as a ‘contestation for control over resources’ it is clear why SLNP and the Lupande GMA have been immersed in political battles for decades. SLNP is one of the finest in southern Africa, and control of natural resources has been fought over by various actors, including Chiefs, government officials at local and national levels, LIRPD/SLAMU staff, local populations and community leaders, international and local agencies, conservationists, NGOs, and entrepreneurs. Those nearest to the centres of power (Chiefs, entrepreneurs, and presidents) have been the most successful in advancing their interests (ministers, conservationists, companies, etc). Those closest to the resources, the villagers, are the weakest politically and have had to depend on others to protect their interests, such as Norad.

Villagers remember with pleasure LIRD benefits, but today the poorest depend on the land, with seemingly little support from government ministries or the district administration, and on funds ‘trickling down’ from the employment of family members in the lodges and park. The villagers in the GMA are not unlike those living in other backward areas of Zambia, though a few community projects are built with hunting revenues, some provisions arrive as a result of the Chiefs’ largesse, and a few NGO/charity programmes benefit the people.

We were asked whether ‘Zambian power structures and politics allowed enough space for Norwegian aid to be used effectively in the Luangwa valley?’ The answer, in terms of protecting animals and subsequently attracting foreign tourists and hunters, is a qualified “yes”, since sustainability is still an open question. There was also some success in alleviating poverty in the years up to 2000, although the benefits to local communities have been reduced in recent years. Whether the effectiveness of conservation management has been maintained from 2005 onwards (outside the remit of this study) is dependent on the amount of government effort (policy, programming, and funds) going to maintain and develop the park and GMA, and the country’s wildlife sector in general. At the moment, this effort is still not sufficient for long term sustainability, without donor support. In the last decade the goals of poverty alleviation and

strengthening participatory governance appear less of a priority to the donor and Zambian governments, apparently a result of a shift in policy rather than a reduction in need locally. Our brief research trip to the area indicated that little recent progress seems to have been made in these areas of local empowerment.

The re-centralization of authority over wildlife resources in Lupande GMA in the transition from Phase III to Phase IV of the project, brought about by the concurrent transformation of NPWS to ZAWA, represents a step backwards for the building of local ownership and democratisation, and with it the prospects for delivery of improved rural livelihoods through CBNRM. As noted, this occurred when ZAWA abandoned the participatory approach developed by LIRD/ SLAMU under Phase III, forcing it to conform to the nation-wide ADMADE programme, operated through ZAWA's central headquarters, and retaining significant funds for itself and for the national treasury. Perhaps the most important lesson of the project is that the process should be applied in the *reverse direction*: in order for sustainable wildlife use to become part of the solution to reducing rural poverty in Zambia, the Phase III LIRD/ SLAMU model should be applied by ZAWA in all its GMAs, in Luangwa Valley and across the country. Whether this is possible in the context of Zambian power structures is the challenge for government and for donor programme design and should be prioritised as the subject of dialogue between the Norwegian and Zambian governments, with the former considering making future support conditional on a satisfactory outcome of such discussion.

Conclusions and recommendations

The main lesson from South Luangwa is that maximum impact on rural livelihoods, local democratic structures and active involvement in sustainable natural resource use and protection occurred under the conditions of Phase III, when all hunting funds were received directly by communities and decisions on their disbursement and spending were taken by village-level groups. This arrangement empowered the people most directly involved in wildlife utilisation and prevented much of the interference in their control over these resources by individuals and groups at higher levels, including powerful interests in government and the chiefdoms. The current system has interposed ZAWA between the source of revenue in hunting concessions and the rural people. The government now retains a significant proportion of financial return at a higher level, but more importantly it has re-taken much of the decision-making power over resource use out of the hands of the rural populace. This approach is consistent with the view that, unless attention is focused, powerful groups at higher levels in social hierarchies act to maintain their control over resources.

We suggest that Norway and the development programme through its Embassy:

1. should continue its support for investment in the capacity of ZAWA to develop its protected areas as income-generating enterprises, using the SLNP model and applying it to other parts of the country, .
2. should continue dialogue with GRZ to reverse the policy of Treasury drawing funds from ZAWA, and instead for Treasury to recognize the importance of well-functioning wildlife PAs in the national tourism economy by providing ZAWA with funds sufficient for capitalization and investment to build PA capacity for income generation.
3. focus attention on devolving financial resource capture and decision-making power to the lowest levels in community areas of Lupande GMA, and with that model, to other GMSs around the country. This may require changes to the Wildlife Act.

E.2 Transparency in Financial Management

This case study is carried out in support of an evaluation of Norwegian Development Assistance to Zambia for the period 1991-2005. It examines three general areas of activity, which are: first, support for public financial management improvements under the Public Expenditure Management and Financial Accountability (PEMFA) programme from 2005; second support for the Office of the Auditor General (OAG) from 1997; and third, support for a variety of Anti-Corruption activities including financing of the Task Force on Corruption (TFC) and the Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC) since 2000. All three project areas demonstrate a focus on increased transparency and the fight against corruption which is recorded in the Zambia-Norway Memorandum of Understanding (2000) as a priority area for the achievement of Zambia's development objectives.

The methodology of the study is indicated at Paragraph 1.3 of the main report. The evaluation uses DAC criteria of relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, sustainability and impact. In addition, a political assessment of the projects has been undertaken using the logic of the neopatrimonial state as an analytical framework. This framework has motivated the following hypothesis (which is more fully stated in the Main Report):

the logic of the neopatrimonial system suggests that there is little incentive for those in power to implement accountability systems which limit their discretionary control of funds.

PEMFA

The overall objective of PEMFA is to contribute to the efforts of GRZ in *improving capacity to improve public expenditure management*, and to *strengthen overall financial accountability*. It includes 13 PFM components under Task Managers and is entirely donor funded. Its Programme Document was finalised in 2005. The total budget for 5 years is currently set at \$72.2 million, against which Norway has committed NOK 70 million or approximately \$12.2 million. More than one-third of this money is to support an IFMIS programme which appears to have a short timetable.

The programme got off to a slow start in 2005, but action has recently been taken to support timely implementation. An “evaluation” of PEMFA was undertaken in 2005. However, this was effectively a PEFA-PR assessment, which assessed the status of the PEFA indicators and therefore provided a baseline by which to judge future PFM progress. Some of its findings were contradicted by informants.

Ownership by any of the arms of government is difficult to gauge. Senior officials of the MoF reiterated their strong support for the programme as laid out now; some government informants were concerned that protracted and detailed negotiation with government on work plans was a symptom of too close an involvement by donors, which undermined ownership by Task Managers. The evidence is not conclusive.

A mid term evaluation is due in September when the picture will be better known.

Auditor General.

In recent years, the OAG has faced several constraints in performing its duties including inadequate financial resources, and inadequate human resources capacity. This resulted in inconclusive and untimely reporting. Recognizing these constraints in 1997, the NORAD provided support to the OAG under the Restructuring and Institutional Development Project (RIDP) in phases as follows:

Figure 1: Norwegian Support to the Auditor General

Phase	Period	NOK million	USD Million
I	1997-2001	13	1.7
II	2003-2005	15	1.7
II (first extension)	2006		1.2
II (second extension)	2007-2008		1.6

The Netherlands, a silent partner in the project, provided USD 1.7 million.

The objective of RIDP in both phases was to improve the OAG’s ability to conduct independent, timely and cost effective audits. Funds continue to be project-based. This is inconsistent with the JASZ, and there is discussion of attaching the funding to PEMFA in future, which the OAG is resisting.

Evaluations, including independent evaluations, tend to be very positive and it is clear that the OAG is much strengthened in capacity. Key informants advise that there has been substantial improvement in terms of timeliness, coverage and quality and the present Auditor General is held in high regard by many informants. Although concrete actions resulting from OAG data are not easy to evidence, the active media have consistently brought the work and findings of the OAG to the attention of the Zambian people. It is likely that this has made civil servants

cautious in handling public resources, although reports of misappropriation continue to abound. Meetings of the PAC are open to the press and public in Zambia, and this is likely to encourage continuing good use of OAG reports.

The OAG is not always well resourced by government. From 2004-2006 the submitted budget was regularly cut to approximately 63% of the original amount - a consistent 37% cut. Actual releases improved from 38% in 2004 to 47% in 2006.

Anti Corruption Activity

This case study examines Norwegian support to the following anti-corruption activities: the ACC; the TFC; Transparency International Zambia (TIZ); and the Governance Development Unit (GDU). Only the first two are referred to in this Summary, whilst limited comment on the other two is confined to the main report.

ACC

It is difficult to assess the broader impact of Norwegian support to the ACC for two reasons: first, because it was intended to catalyse the support being received from other donors; and second because the effectiveness of the ACC in general is difficult to gauge. None of our key informants maintained that the ACC was effective: many thought it weak.

TFC

NORAD has provided extensive support to the TFC since its establishment in 2002. Amounts have totalled NOK21.45 million (USD 3.7 million at August 2007 exchange rates) up to end 2006. Norway therefore provided almost one-quarter of all TFC support. All support has been provided through a multi-donor TFC pool fund.

There are several criticisms of the TFC including its lack of a legal framework and its focus limited to the period 1991-2001. It is the submission of this paper that the TFC could not have succeeded at all if it had had a current focus, especially given Mwanawasa's weak position immediately post-election. A recent evaluation is comprehensive and draws key lessons for Zambia to render the process more effective

Conclusions and recommendations

All projects have merit and are broadly consistent with the stated goals of Zambia and Norway. Not all are fully compliant with Paris principles, but all with the possible exception of the GDU Support have been implemented in awareness of them, and with that direction of travel in mind.

In the case of PEMFA faster progress is expected with the completion of procurement guidelines, the appointment of the Secretariat, and the faster approval of the 2007 Work Plan. The TFC is expected to have stronger results as those cases which were adjourned prior to the election in the hope of a change of government are finally brought to court. According to all reports, support to the Auditor General is delivering what was promised.

An issue of concern is that Norway's array of interventions may not make for an effective approach despite the effectiveness of individual project activities.

Current interventions are taking place against a backdrop of political change in the GRZ-donor relationship. This has come about from three factors including an improved economic position and the steady implementation of Paris principles.

The projects do not prove anything conclusively about the neopatrimonial hypothesis, although outcomes are not inconsistent with it. However, we believe that motives are more complex than indicated in the hypothesis; there are reformers in government who seek change; there are people of vision who see a Zambia free from aid and managing its own affairs; and that President Mwanawasa (and probably others) has a genuine interest in reducing corruption, even if zero tolerance is not politically possible. Consequently the neopatrimonial nature of the Zambian state should be acknowledged, but the complexities of motives and incentives of public sector actors must be understood in equal measure.

Although the main function of the case studies was to further explore the hypothesis *that there is little incentive for those in power to implement accountability systems which limit their*

discretionary control of funds, the case study, as indicated above, does not accept this hypothesis in full. In order to build on the successes that Norwegian and other donor interventions have had in the area of Public Finance Management, the case study team suggest the following recommendations:

1. Norway should seek to “go with the political grain” in developing initiatives in sensitive areas such as public financial management, since activity in such areas requires strong political buy-in. In particular, Norway should continue to support anti-corruption activities which although not technically ideal or complete, are politically possible. The Task Force falls into this category – it does not address (and in political terms, probably cannot address) corruption in the present, but by addressing past offences it raises the profile of corruption issues in public debate.
2. Norway should make a specific effort to identify the immediate winners and losers from its interventions or proposed courses of action; and to consider how winners may be used to motivate the intervention and how losers may be either (1) compensated (2) otherwise incentivised to support the activity, or (3) their opposition neutralised.
3. Based upon the good intermediate outputs of the Auditor General activity, Norway should consider developing support to the post-audit processes. This might include support to the PAC and to the process of Treasury follow up of PAC reports.

E.3 Agricultural Support to Northern Province

The case study of Norway’s support to agriculture in Northern Province is part of the evaluation of Norwegian development cooperation with Zambia in the period 1991 to 2005. Its main objective was to explore in more depth the interaction between development assistance and power structures, at local and central levels. Employing a neo-patrimonial model to characterise Zambia, development cooperation was said to be shaped by power dynamics which are in turn determined by the various competing interests at both national and local level. The avowed motive was to bring about development and eradicate poverty but in reality elites sought to maximise opportunities for access to resources. The Interim Report set a range of general and specific hypotheses to be explored in the case study.

The agriculture case study employed a range of methods which included:

1. A review of over a wide range of literature that consisted of project documents, studies, appraisals, evaluations, correspondence, agreed minutes and bilateral agreements and memorandum of understandings between Zambia and Norway;
2. Interviews in Lusaka and Northern Province of people who had played a key role in the project; and,
3. Field work in Northern Province in four districts – Kasama, Mungwi, Mbala and Isoka. While in the districts, visits were made to the former programme sites were made and Focus Group Discussions with participating farmers conducted.

The Programme and its Objectives

The case study covers the period 1991 to 2005 in line with the terms of reference for the overall country programme evaluation. However, to locate the power relations in project context, it is important to trace the changes to the programme from its previous phases. Norwegian support to agriculture was initiated in 1977 with the Village Agriculture Programme (VAP). It had its own management structure outside GRZ. In 1981, the Soil Productivity Research Programme (SPRP) was introduced under the management of NORAGRIC. Extension Training Support (ETS) was placed directly under the Ministry of Agriculture.

VAP in 1992 was reconstituted into the District Support Programme (DSP) and its extension activities merged with ETS to form the Extension and Training Support Programme (ETSP) under the Ministry of Agriculture. The NORAGRIC contract to manage SPRP ended in 1991. Management was now placed under the Ministry of Agriculture. Besides DSP, ETSP and SPRP, four other projects were reconfigured and were together placed under one programme called Provincial and District Support Programme (PDSP) or ZAM-020. This is after a further trimming down from 12 projects. The PPU provided coordination of ZAM-020. In 1995, the DSP was separated from the purely agriculture related projects which were now constituted under the Agriculture Support to Northern Province (ASNP) (ZAM-070). These were the Fish Culture in Northern Province, FSRP, SPRP and ETSP. Coordination of the programme was placed under the Provincial Agriculture Coordinator (PACO).

The goal of the Programme was to facilitate “*the continued transition of agriculture practices in the Northern Province toward more environmentally sustainable and economic farming systems which will enhance local food security and create cash incomes for small-scale farmers with particular emphasis on women and female-headed households*”.¹⁰⁹ In simple terms, the Programme sought to facilitate a movement of farmers away from *chitemene*, a slash and burn shifting cultivation farming system.

Power Interests in Programme Context

The Problem of Chitemene

By choosing to change farming practices in Northern Province away from *chitemene* to more permanent farming systems as its main objective, Norwegian support unwittingly entered into a contested area. Both the colonial and post-independence governments had sought to stop the practice of *chitemene* with the stated reasons that it was environmentally destructive and was unsustainable on both ecological and social grounds. However, the main reason was political control. *Chitemene* was unacceptable to the colonial government because the mobility of the cultivators made tax collection difficult. Attempts to ban *chitemene* elevated the practice to an expression of identity, and the right to cut down trees was fiercely asserted by its cultivators.

Chitemene had been encouraged by the colonial government at first to undermine chiefly authority and “*many ordinary people seized this first opportunity to escape from the direct control of the Benang’andu chiefs, leaving their stockade settlements and setting up small villages*” (Moore and Vaughan, 1995, p.11). When the colonial government changed course over the matter, the chiefs aligned themselves with the cultivators so as not to lose the little authority left. The issue of *chitemene* and the chiefs remained contested between the cultivators and the chiefs even during the Programme period as Senior Chief Nsokolo of the Mambwe people pointed out to the team.

There is no indication that the Programme designers understood and took into account this political dimension of *chitemene*. Both the Norwegians and their Zambian counterparts readily accepted the arguments put forward by the authorities who emphasised the negative aspects of *chitemene*. The advantages that *chitemene* had for cultivators with respect to its flexibility in responding to a household’s consumption decisions, availability of labour, climatic exigency, as a good insurance against total crop failure and food security/nutrition merits were not given due attention.

As a result, the belief was reinforced that *chitemene* was a system in crisis ecologically and socially because the carrying capacity of the land diminished as population density rose. This ignored the fact that the cultivators did not depend on *chitemene* gardens alone, and that the system was more complex than the authorities portrayed. Socially it was thought that *chitemene* was too dependent on male labour and that male labour migrations tended to leave *chitemene* very vulnerable. Again evidence was ignored which showed that *chitemene* had survived labour migrations before and that male labour although important was not crucially needed to the household every season.

Because the programme did not understand the power struggle that had taken place in the past farmers felt that it was aligned against them. It was the elites who saw *chitemene* as a problem. It was not simply a matter of the Misamfu researchers and extension workers developing and promoting varieties and technologies suitable for the soils of Northern Province. A viable alternative to *chitemene* needed to confer on the cultivators’ all the advantages seen above at the same time. *Chitemene* is a system and it needed to be replaced by another system that would give all the advantages that *chitemene* conferred. The farmers visited during field work in the communities where trials had taken place appreciated some of the varieties and technologies developed and promoted with Norwegian support. Where they could, therefore, the *chitemene* cultivators incorporated into their farming systems the new technologies without abandoning *chitemene* itself.

¹⁰⁹ As stated in V.R.N Chinene, et al, 1997: Impact Assessment of Agricultural Support to the Northern Province of Zambia, 1981 – 1996, p.35. The ASNP Project Proposal Document had no logframe.

The Reformulations of the Programme

Vested interests on the Zambian side welcomed Norwegian support to agriculture in Northern Province without much regard to farm level impact. The VAP when it was first constituted in 1977 focused its activities in selected villages of Northern Province and funded complementary agriculture activities including infrastructure support for marketing and social services, input subsidies, extension and training, oxenisation and agriculture credit through cooperatives. It was therefore a grassroots' focused intervention. However, over time as the support was reformulated, there was an increasing concentration of activities towards, first the district level, and finally the provincial level. Capacity building of institutions was becoming more important. In fact by the time ZAM 070 was put in place in 1995, even the provincial administration had become less involved and MAFF headquarters had taken a much more direct role.

This change in management was much more about access to and control of resources than the need to make the interventions more effective. Resources were now spent at higher levels. Technocrats appeared to have manoeuvred to gain more access to short and long term training, develop their local and international professional networks, gain better access to assets such as vehicles, increase their gains in terms of subsistence allowances, etc. There was less focus on farm level impact. Therefore, camp extension workers who interacted with farmers had the least access to these resources with one informant telling the team that they had little motivation to work at the time as a result.

However, the interests of civil servants were not homogenous. Instead, opposing interests could, in broad terms, be seen between: (i) researchers and extension workers (even at camp level); (ii) within research between SPRP and ARPT researchers; (iii) National and provincial officials; (iv) Provincial and district level officials; and, (v) Camp level staff versus the rest. This comes out when certain critical decisions in the Programme are looked at, especially the decision to carry out the Impact Assessment and the way the civil servants handled the aftermath.

Power Relations and the 1997 Impact Assessment

The Impact Assessment whose report was issued out in November 1997 concluded that *“Despite all the R&D investment over the years, farmers are still without an economically viable alternative to chitemene. It is, therefore, concluded that SPRP, FSRP and EIS have not had a positive impact on addressing environmental degradation”* (V.R.N. Chinene, 1997, p.79). This was the first Impact Assessment, coming twenty years after Norway had began to support agriculture in Northern Province. Although long overdue, we still ask: why was it done at this time in the life of the Programme?

The drivers of the assessment were not the Norwegians but Zambian civil servants in the province and it appears to have been instigated by the extension wing of the Programme and not research. Extension staff, who had been in closer contact with farmers, were more keenly aware that the Programme was not having ground level impact. They were dissatisfied with what was coming out of Misamfu. For a number of them, the SPRP was too academic and did not address farmer needs. They genuinely wanted research to be more needs focused. Second, the advantage that research had over extension in terms of access to and control of resources had produced some resentment. It was hoped that the finding of lack of impact would help to have the extension-research funding balance re-examined.

Nevertheless, the antipathy was not just against research at Misamfu but was much broader in scope. Provincial and district agriculture staff were also hugely dissatisfied with the extension service delivery system and the relevance of research to smallholder needs in general. Therefore, based on the findings of the Impact Assessment, when Norway indicated that it was not going to fund the Programme in its current state, the provincial team went into overdrive. In essence, the team came up with proposals that would have overhauled the extension-research system in the province. They advocated an overhaul of the T&V system to be replaced by a system that respected, listened and learnt from poor farmers. Some of the proponents of this were district staff who had become convinced that things were not working long before the results of the Impact Assessment had been distilled. Coupled with this is the fact that the T&V system as applied tended to concentrate resources at provincial level. Their antipathy was thus also about inadequate access to resources vis-à-vis research on one hand and the whole extension delivery system on the other. The Impact Assessment and the demand by Norway for a new approach gave them the chance to demand a system that would work in their favour and hopefully that of the farmers they interacted with.

It is more complicated to assess the interests of national staff. They had long been uncomfortable with the regional approach and expected that the aftermath of the Impact Assessment would lead to a discussion that would help bring the Programme much more in line with the principles of the Agriculture Sector Investment Programme (ASIP). They had struggled to have some access to the ASNP resources. But the Impact Assessment was carried out at a time when some serious doubts about ASIP had been growing. Donors had not believed in ASIP and collectively held back their funds or disbursed them through other channels. Therefore, some MAFF headquarters staff that genuinely wanted to retain the Programme in its current state given that prospects of ASIP continuing were not good.

Assessment of Project Impact

Assessment of the relevance, effectiveness, sustainability and impact of Norway's support to agriculture in Northern Province has been touched upon in the discussion above. This section can briefly restate these issues more systematically, particularly with a view to assess whether eight years after ASNP was terminated some unforeseen impacts are now discernible.

Relevance

Enhancing local food security and creating cash incomes for small-scale farmers particularly for women and female-headed households was a relevant goal for small farmers in Zambia in general and Northern Province in particular. However, this was the stated objective. Other interests led to decisions being taken that made the objective difficult to attain. Various and competing interests among civil servants led to the design of activities that were less focused on small farmers and more on their own benefits including training, career development, professional networks and allowances. Norwegian and other expatriate scientists and their counterparts seemed to be much more motivated to extend their research interests rather than the needs of farmers on the ground.

Effectiveness From what has been seen above, we question whether aiming at moving farmers from using *chitemene* to “*more environmentally sustainable and economic farming systems*” was premised on a correct understanding of the problem. The researchers and extension workers hoped to achieve this by developing and promoting varieties and technologies suited to conditions of the province. It was not appreciated that *chitemene* was a system that had a wide range of advantages and could only be replaced by another system conferring similar or better advantages. Varieties and technologies developed in isolation were not enough. *Chitemene* was in fact not a system in decline or in crisis whether socially or ecologically. It is doubtful whether the programme could achieve its objective with the approach it took.

Impact

The main conclusion of the 1997 Impact Assessment cited above stands ten years after. Interviews and a trip through the eastern part of Northern Province (Kasama-Mbala-Nakonde-Mpika) showed that the people of north eastern plateau continued to cut down trees. It is nevertheless acknowledged that research produced a number of varieties for beans, finger millet, sorghum, soya beans, cassava etc. In the trial site areas visited some of the varieties were appreciated and were still being used by farmers. There are also signs that with a changed environment farmers are more ready to adopt these varieties. However, in the main they incorporate the varieties adopted within the *chitemene* system, as part of the semi-permanent or permanent system.

Discernible impact was recorded in fish farming. It led to a significant increase in the number of farmers engaged in fish farming and consequently fish ponds and was said to have performed according to the set objectives. After the termination of the programme, fingerling production at Misamfu stopped and many farmers lacked an alternative for restocking the ponds. The resuscitation of the hatchery at Misamfu by the Livestock Development Trust in 2006 has also revived fingerling production. A number of farmers visited were starting restocking their ponds but supply of fingerlings was still a problem.

The programme built skills through both long and short-term training. By 1997, seventy-one Programme staff had attended long-terms courses. This was ninety-four for short-term courses. Therefore, after 1994, Zambians managed the Programme without any discernible problems. Nevertheless, the full impact of this capacity building exercise could not be realised after the Programme ended because of the shortage of operational funds.

Sustainability This can only be judged in areas where there has been some impact – the development and adoption of improved varieties and promotion of fish culture. As noted above, a number of varieties are still in use by farmers and to that end their adoption has been sustainable thus far. However, they risk being lost to contamination because production of seed has not been taken up by commercial seed producers and farmers are dependent on recycled seed. In the case of fish farming, it seems that it will be a small step to make fish farming sustainable if fingerling production is operated on commercial lines.

Implications for Hypotheses

The implications of the above discussions for the general and specific hypotheses set in Phase I of the evaluation are summarised below.

1. In the case of the Norad support to Northern Province's agriculture, there is no evidence to support that this assistance legitimised clientelism and corruption. That there was pressure to spend was evident from the huge outlay that exceeded the absorptive capacity of the institutions supported – more vehicles than was the number of officers in some organisations. This pressure to spend outweighed investigating issues concerning the research agenda and whether the so called problem of *chitemene* could be addressed within a programme context. The pressure to spend was fuelled by vested interests of organisations in Norway, including Norad. It had ready recipients on the part of the Zambian government because it met the interests of the civil servants. Unfortunately, the needs of the farmers, for whom the programme was designed in the first place, did not take centre stage.
2. Ownership was an issue particularly in the early stages of the Programme when it was implemented outside GRZ structures. During the period of ASIP, the agriculture sector had a well elaborated vision. However, competing interests among civil servants undermined the extent to which this vision could be implemented in the way that benefited the target group through which by aggregation broad based growth was to be obtained. Furthermore, throughout the programme's life, change agents were in short supply among Zambians. Junior officers at district level who were agitated about lack of impact had no influence in the system to bring about change. Civil servants mostly served their own interests rather than focus on obtaining impact at farmer level. This was worsened by the fact that the Zambian public service system does not readily acknowledge failure nor reward good performance.
3. Civil servants in general were the greatest beneficiaries of the project through training, professional advancement and allowances. MAFF HQ representing national level elites had worked to repeal the previous system where funds were disbursed directly to the project by Norad. At the time of ASIP, funds were now disbursed through the Financial Management Unit. This gave more space to MAFF HQ to manage its finances. Overall, there was little convergence between the interests of elites and that of the rural poor in Northern Province. Most of the project resources were spent on the elites in Zambia.

Recommendations

Given the analysis above, the following should inform future Norwegian development cooperation to Zambia and other developing countries.

- Producing impact on the ground should be the controlling thread that informs the entire programme. The selection of objectives, strategies and implementation arrangements should strictly conform to this.
- The needs of the beneficiaries should be understood from their own perspectives and not merely interpreted from experts' view point.
- Recipient responsibility to bear fruit must be accompanied by a richer and deeper dialogue around policies and strategies.
- A continuation with project funding modality is necessitated by the absence of decentralisation and mechanisms to capture priorities of grassroots in national development frameworks.
- Sufficient attention should be paid to the understanding of power relations and competing interests of the key players.

Annex F: Data Annex¹¹⁰

Table F.1 Total development assistance for Zambia 1990 – 2005

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	90-05	%
Total net ODA (\$US millions)	475	878	1031	867	715	2031	608	610	348	623	795	349	639	589	1125	945	12627	100%
of which Grants	786	549	781	638	487	523	413	382	353	439	523	396	524	743	969	1682	10187	81%
of which net Loans	-312	329	250	229	228	1508	195	227	-5	184	272	-47	116	-153	156	-737	2439	19%
ODA per capita (\$US)	57	102	116	95	77	212	62	61	34	59	74	32	58	52	98	81		
ODA (% of GNI)	16%	29%	36%	29%	23%	63%	20%	16%	12%	21%	26%	10%	18%	14%	23%	14%		
Memo items	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005		
population (millions)	8	9	9	9	9	10	10	10	10	10	11	11	11	11	11	12		
GNI (\$US millions)	3009	2993	2868	3019	3111	3236	3065	3706	3023	2976	3080	3470	3542	4179	5000	6653		
GNI per capita (\$US Atlas)	420	380	350	360	320	320	340	350	310	310	290	300	310	350	400	490		

Table F.2 Type of development assistance for Zambia 1990 – 2005

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	90-05
Technical Cooperation (\$US millions)	123	123	139	160	132	161	140	132	96	92	108	98	116	123	147	181	2070
% of total ODA	26%	14%	13%	18%	18%	8%	23%	22%	28%	15%	14%	28%	18%	21%	13%	19%	16%
Debt forgiveness (\$US millions)	356	80	79	140	35	60	74	87	111	125	182	47	47	274	387	984	3067
% of total ODA	75%	9%	8%	16%	5%	3%	12%	14%	32%	20%	23%	13%	7%	46%	34%	104%	24%
Development food aid (\$US millions)	8	3	101	14	1	22	15	3	5	-1	4	3	6	4	9	4	200
% of total ODA	2%	0%	10%	2%	0%	1%	2%	0%	2%	0%	0%	1%	1%	1%	1%	0%	2%
Emergency aid (\$US millions)	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	1	4	3	7	21	21	19	33	113
% of total ODA	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	2%	3%	4%	2%	3%	1%

110 Data come from OECD/DAC and Norad Statistics

Figure F1 Total net ODA 1990 - 2005 (\$US millions)

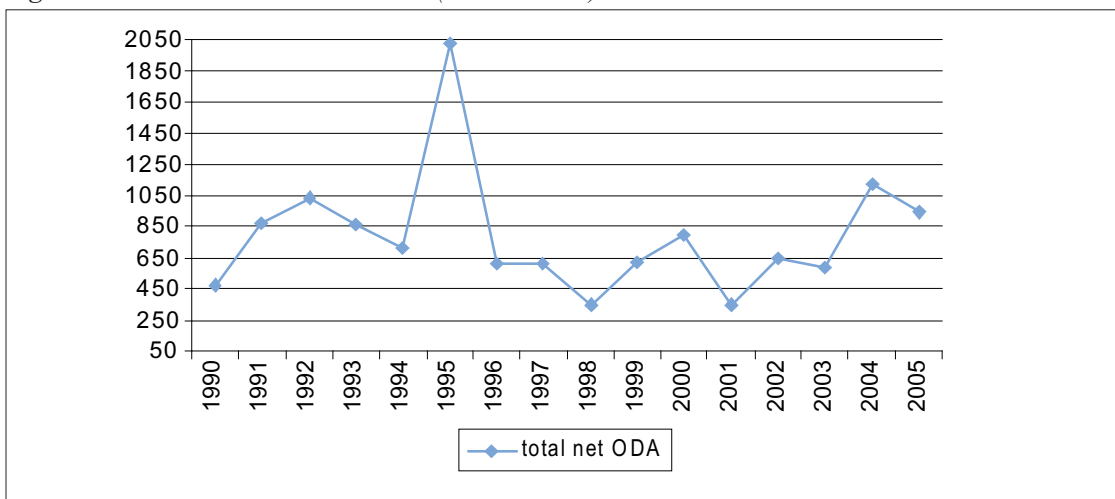


Figure F2 Total net ODA per capita 1990 - 2005 (\$US)

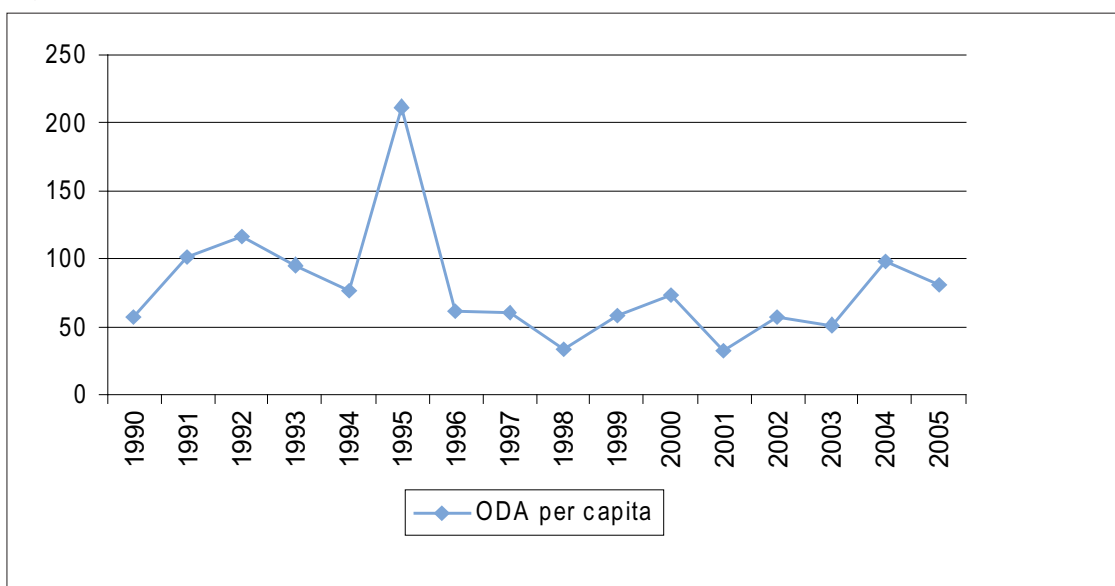


Figure F3 Total net ODA as a % of GNI 1990 - 2005 (%)

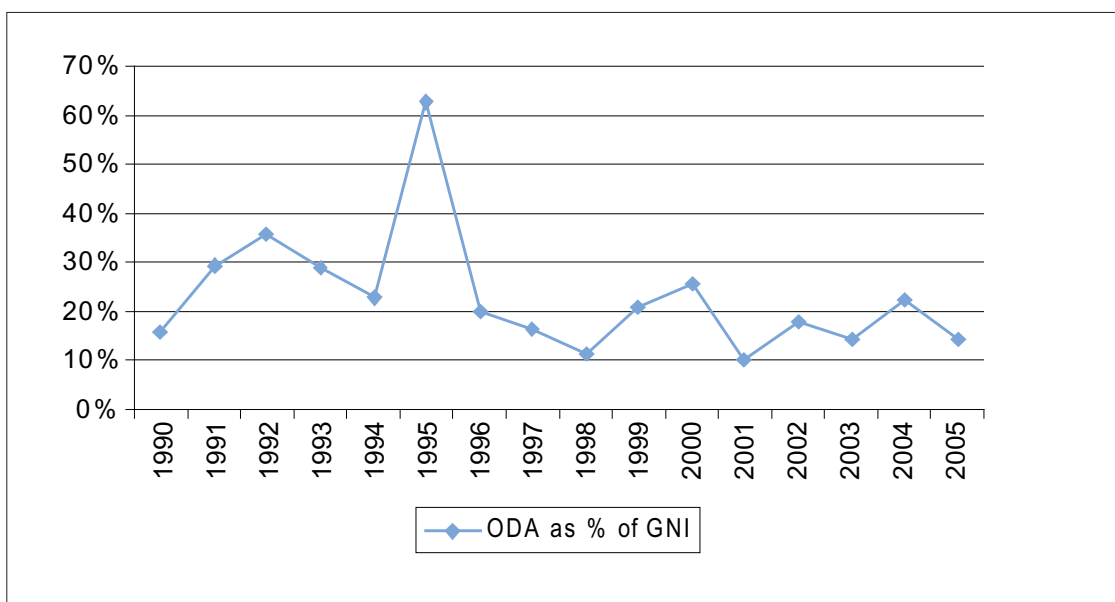


Figure F4 GNI per capita 1990 - 2005 (\$US million)

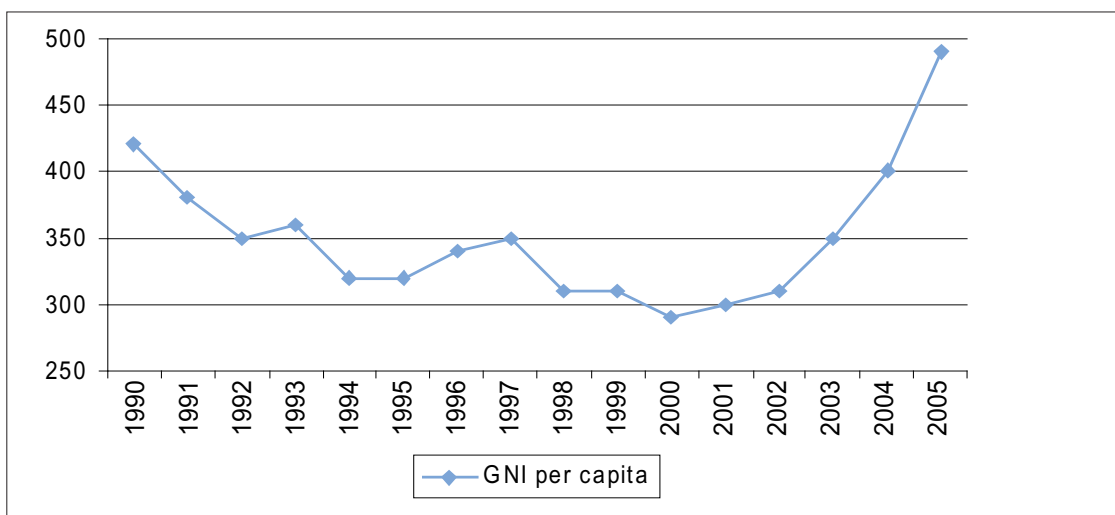


Figure F5 Total net ODA, Grants, and net Loans 1990 - 2005 (\$US million)

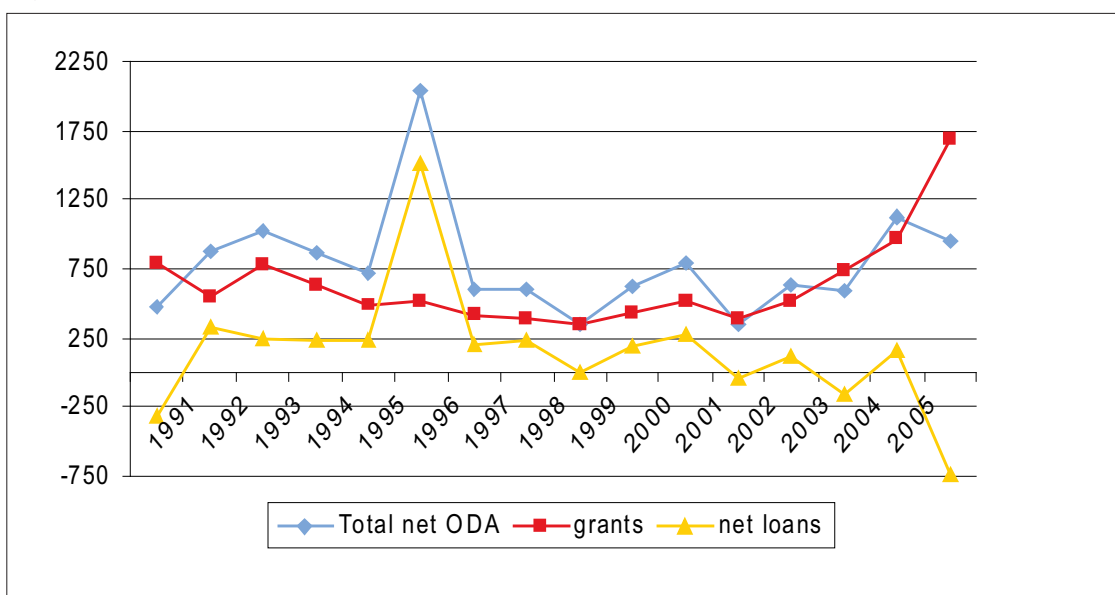


Figure F6 Technical Cooperation 1990 - 2005 (\$US million)

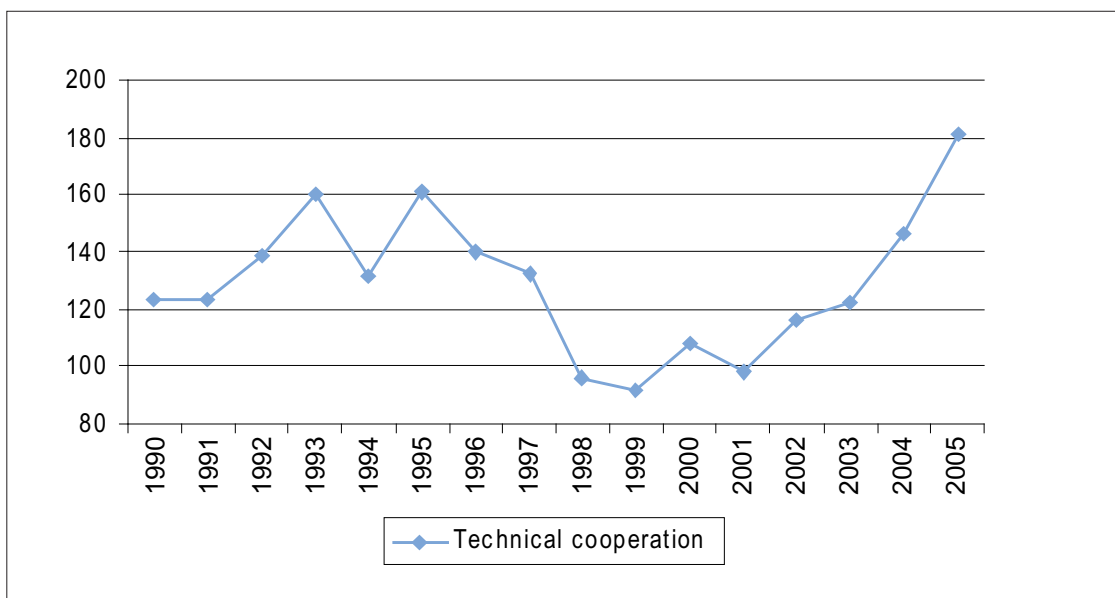


Figure F.7 Debt forgiveness 1990 - 2005 (\$US million)

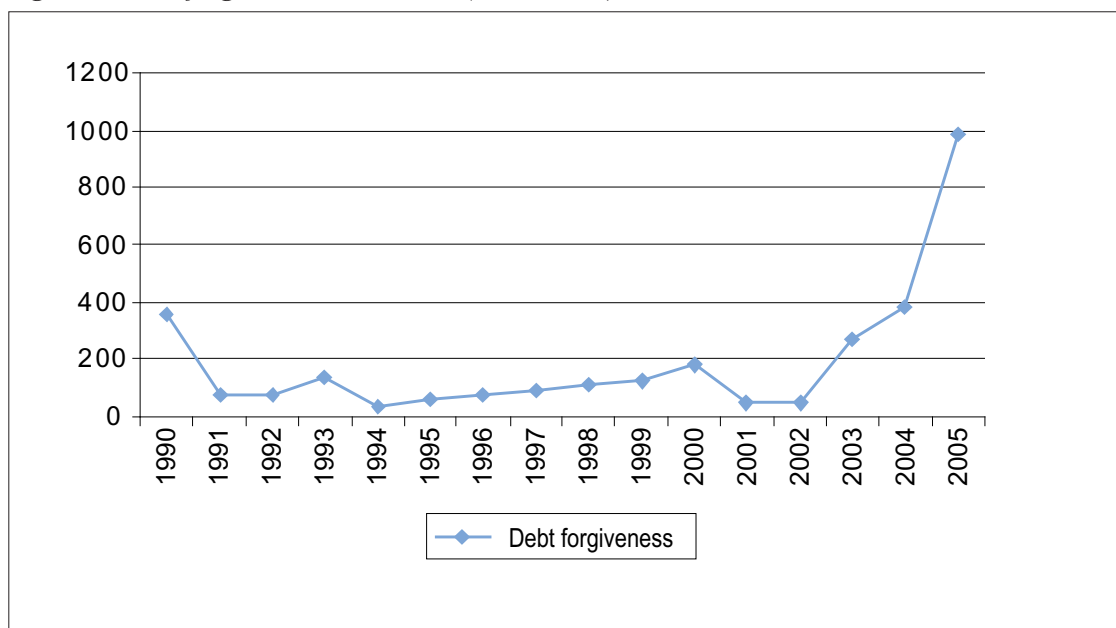


Table F.3 Total development assistance for Zambia by main donors 1990 – 2005 (\$US millions)

Main bilateral donors	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	90-05	% 90-05
United Kingdom	43	67	99	40	69	76	61	94	33	64	111	56	28	66	283	166	1356	10.7%
Germany	79	113	129	129	55	71	80	17	50	65	112	14	44	233	36	118	1344	10.6%
Japan	40	83	117	91	106	79	42	44	34	59	32	47	68	28	14	132	1016	8.0%
United States	12	22	71	34	13	21	18	48	12	27	46	29	48	64	82	124	671	5.3%
Norway	55	52	50	33	51	35	31	37	32	27	25	21	29	36	37	49	600	4.8%
Netherlands	43	17	42	27	28	42	27	24	22	13	51	30	35	35	54	56	548	4.3%
Sweden	37	90	80	34	35	32	31	21	14	15	19	17	19	20	26	34	527	4.2%
Denmark	17	17	18	16	18	26	26	24	18	26	23	23	32	30	45	48	406	3.2%
France	21	20	15	14	11	8	2	3	10	18	13	8	10	2	104	16	275	2.2%
Canada	14	23	26	14	10	19	10	12	8	9	8	9	12	18	25	50	266	2.1%
Italy	12	42	6	51	2	6	1	19	2	1	24	0	1	27	2	0	198	1.6%
Finland	25	25	31	15	13	12	12	8	7	4	3	4	5	5	6	9	185	1.5%
Ireland	3	3	4	5	6	8	10	11	10	9	8	12	21	21	25	28	181	1.4%
Bilateral, Total	409	583	699	511	434	440	354	367	256	340	487	275	362	598	748	836	7699	61.0%

Main multilateral donors	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	90-05	% 90-05
IDA (WB)	3	212	173	173	185	207	178	166	40	152	206	136	150	98	156	102	2335	18.5%
EC	26	31	95	144	46	77	37	29	20	81	26	44	104	79	124	139	1102	8.7%
SAF+ESAF +PRGF(IMF)	-5	0	..	..	..	1254	..	14	..	14	26	-149	-45	-236	-7	-236	630	5.0%
AfDF	15	31	22	11	19	16	15	9	13	19	24	12	25	11	11	16	272	2.2%
WFP	3	3	24	9	6	15	1	1	3	4	4	8	11	3	8	7	109	0.9%
Global Fund (GFATM)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	44	52	105	0.8%

Main bilateral donors	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	90-05	% 90-05
UNHCR	3	2	4	3	5	2	2	3	3	3	9	12	16	11	10	7	95	0.8%
UNDP	7	7	4	4	4	3	6	10	6	6	3	3	3	2	4	5	76	0.6%
UNICEF	3	3	4	6	7	10	8	3	2	3	4	3	4	4	4	5	73	0.6%
IFAD	5	3	2	3	5	3	4	4	3	1	2	2	1	3	3	3	48	0.4%
UNTA	1	2	2	2	2	4	1	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	3	3	37	0.3%
UNFPA	2	0	1	1	1	1	2	3	2	1	3	1	2	2	1	2	24	0.2%
Multilateral, Total	66	295	332	356	281	1591	254	242	92	283	308	74	277	-8	377	109	4928	39.0%
All Donors, Total	475	878	1031	867	715	2031	608	610	348	623	795	349	639	589	1125	945	12627	100.0%

Table F.4 Total development assistance for Zambia by top 10 donors 1990 – 2005

Top 10 donors (\$US millions)	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	90-05
IDA (WB)	3	212	173	173	185	207	178	166	40	152	206	136	150	98	156	102	2335
United Kingdom	43	67	99	40	69	76	61	94	33	64	111	56	28	66	283	166	1356
Germany	79	113	129	129	55	71	80	17	50	65	112	14	44	233	36	118	1344
EC	26	31	95	144	46	77	37	29	20	81	26	44	104	79	124	139	1102
Japan	40	83	117	91	106	79	42	44	34	59	32	47	68	28	14	132	1016
United States	12	22	71	34	13	21	18	48	12	27	46	29	48	64	82	124	671
SAF+ESAF +PRGF(IMF)	-5	0	..	..	..	1254	..	14	..	14	26	-149	-45	-236	-7	-236	630
Norway	55	52	50	33	51	35	31	37	32	27	25	21	29	36	37	49	600
Netherlands	43	17	42	27	28	42	27	24	22	13	51	30	35	35	54	56	548
Sweden	37	90	80	34	35	32	31	21	14	15	19	17	19	20	26	34	527
																	10128

Top 10 donors (% of total ODA)	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	90-05
IDA (WB)	1%	24%	17%	20%	26%	10%	29%	27%	11%	24%	26%	39%	23%	17%	14%	11%	18%
United Kingdom	9%	8%	10%	5%	10%	4%	10%	15%	10%	10%	14%	16%	4%	11%	25%	18%	11%
Germany	17%	13%	13%	15%	8%	3%	13%	3%	14%	10%	14%	4%	7%	40%	3%	13%	11%
EC	5%	4%	9%	17%	6%	4%	6%	5%	6%	13%	3%	13%	16%	13%	11%	15%	9%
Japan	8%	9%	11%	10%	15%	4%	7%	7%	10%	10%	4%	13%	11%	5%	1%	14%	8%
United States	3%	3%	7%	4%	2%	1%	3%	8%	3%	4%	6%	8%	8%	11%	7%	13%	5%
SAF+ESAF +PRGF(IMF)	-1%	0%	..	..	..	62%	..	2%	..	2%	3%	-43%	-7%	-40%	-1%	-25%	5%
Norway	12%	6%	5%	4%	7%	2%	5%	6%	9%	4%	3%	6%	5%	6%	3%	5%	5%
Netherlands	9%	2%	4%	3%	4%	2%	4%	4%	6%	2%	6%	9%	6%	6%	5%	6%	4%
Sweden	8%	10%	8%	4%	5%	2%	5%	3%	4%	2%	2%	5%	3%	3%	2%	4%	4%
																	80%

Figure F. 8 Total net ODA by the WB 1990 - 2005 (\$US millions)

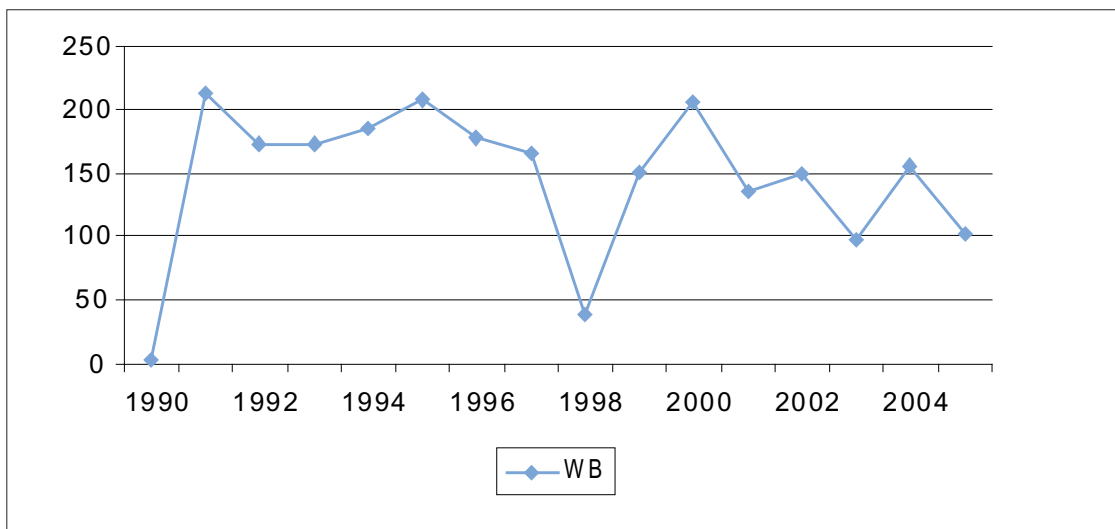


Figure F.9 Total net ODA by the IMF 1990 - 2005 (\$US millions)

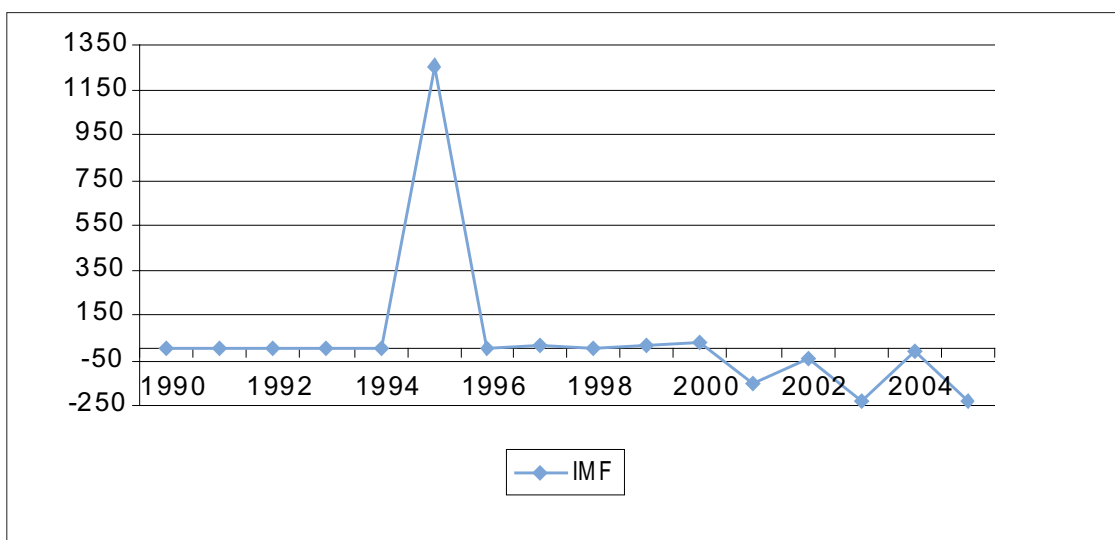


Figure F.10 Total net ODA by the UK 1990 - 2005 (\$US millions)

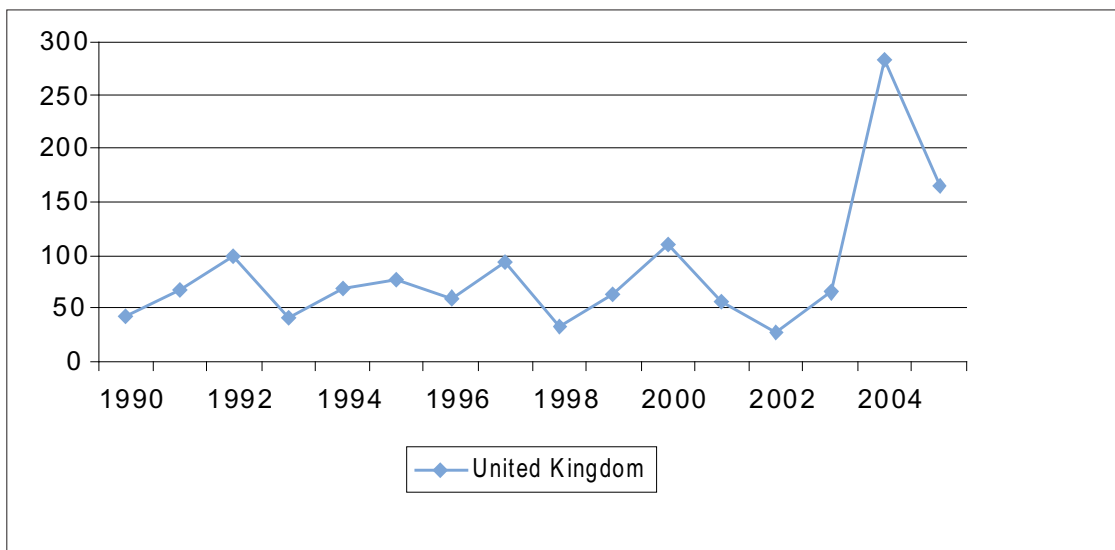


Figure F11 Total net ODA by Norway, Sweden, and the Netherlands 1990 - 2005 (\$US millions)

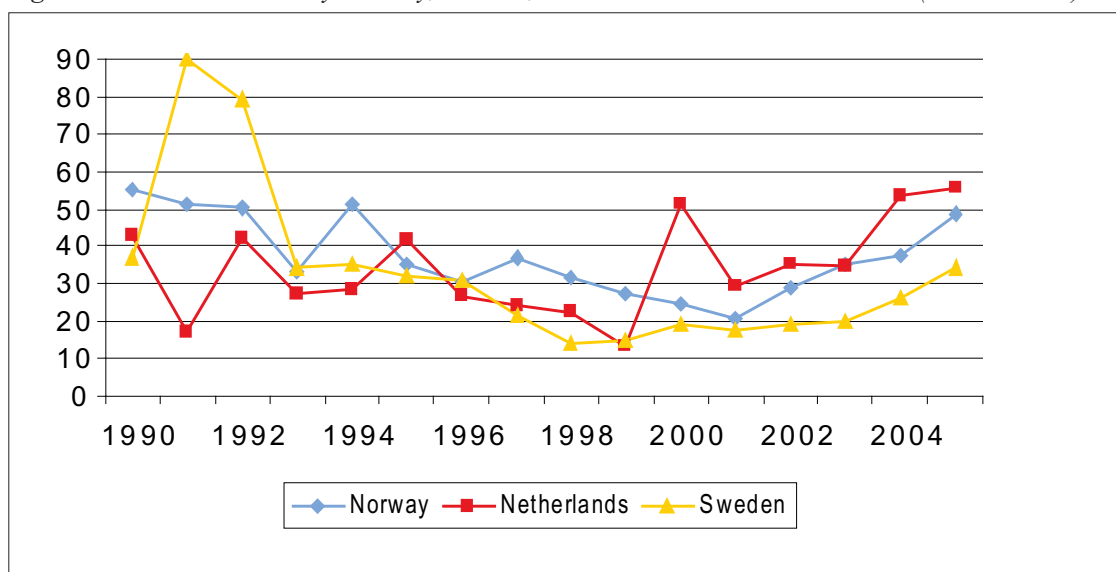


Figure F12 Total net ODA by Germany, EC, United States, and Japan 1990 - 2005 (\$US millions)

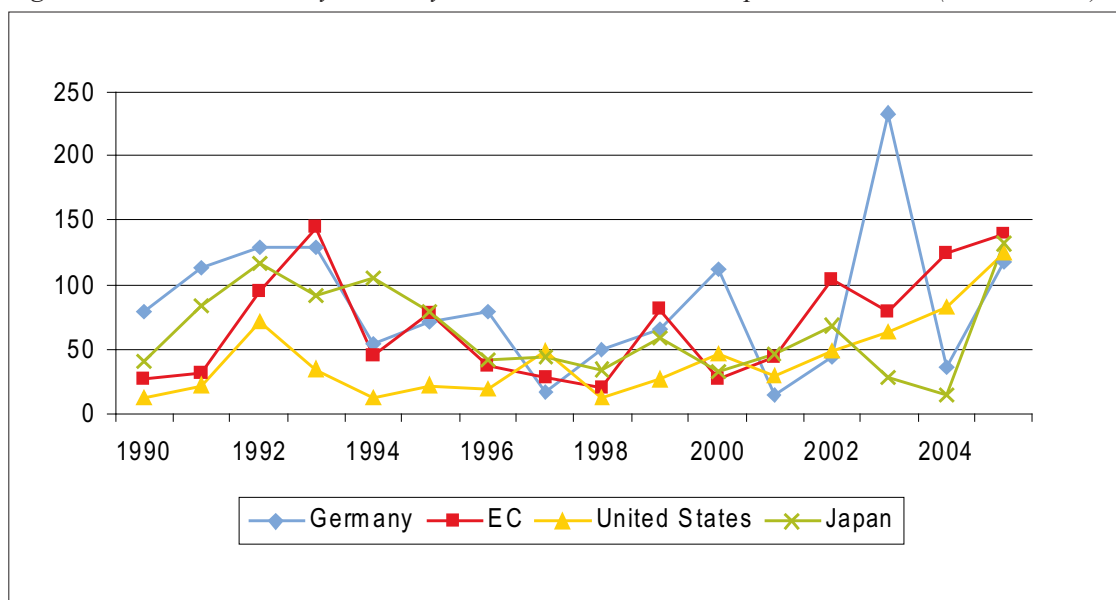


Table F.5 Technical Cooperation by main donors 1990 – 2005

TC by main donors (\$US millions)	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	90-05
United States	5	6	4	20	16	21	17	22	13	28	36	30	40	59	70	117	504
Japan	16	17	17	23	22	28	21	16	13	14	14	13	15	16	14	15	274
Netherlands	16	19	19	27	12	26	22	19	15	11	15	21	16	2	17	8	263
United Kingdom	21	26	21	19	16	21	19	18	11	11	13	10	15	12	10	7	251
Germany	16	10	18	16	13	16	13	11	12	12	9	8	10	15	12	14	206
Norway	7	8	7	9	11	14	8	8	10	1	1	1	2	3	3	4	98
Sweden	1	2	18	9	6	4	3	..	1	0	0	..	0	0	0	0	45
EC	..	..	1	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	..	..	1	0	0	0	13
	82	87	106	125	99	129	104	96	76	78	88	84	99	108	127	167	1654

TC by main donors (\$US millions)	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	90-05
TC by main donors (% of total)	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	90-05
United States	4%	5%	3%	12%	12%	13%	12%	17%	14%	30%	33%	31%	34%	48%	48%	65%	24%
Japan	13%	14%	12%	14%	17%	17%	15%	12%	14%	15%	13%	14%	13%	13%	10%	8%	13%
Netherlands	13%	15%	13%	17%	9%	16%	16%	14%	16%	11%	14%	21%	13%	2%	12%	5%	13%
United Kingdom	17%	21%	15%	12%	12%	13%	14%	14%	12%	12%	12%	10%	13%	10%	7%	4%	12%
Germany	13%	8%	13%	10%	10%	10%	9%	8%	13%	13%	9%	8%	8%	12%	8%	8%	10%
Norway	5%	7%	5%	6%	8%	9%	6%	6%	11%	1%	1%	1%	2%	2%	2%	2%	5%
Sweden	1%	1%	13%	6%	5%	2%	2%	..	1%	0%	0%	..	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%
EC	..	..	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	..	..	1%	0%	0%	0%	1%
																	80%

Table F.6 Debt forgiveness by main donors 1990 – 2005

Debt forgiveness by main donors (\$US millions)	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	90-05
Germany	259	..	..	47	..	17	56	0	32	38	101	..	..	195	..	85	830
Japan	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	15	6	11	12	3	..	720	771
United Kingdom	..	4	..	9	16	19	18	55	69	45	34	8	6	5	243	94	626
United States	..	63	54	56	..	..	..	21	..	..	5	..	..	9	5	..	212
IDA (WB)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19	22	26	29	34	129
Netherlands	18	12	4	3	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	46
Sweden	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
Norway	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0
	277	80	58	115	26	46	73	81	101	98	146	37	40	238	277	933	2625

Debt forgiveness by main donors (%)	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	90-05
Germany	73%	..	..	33%	..	28%	75%	0%	28%	31%	55%	..	..	71%	..	9%	27%
Japan	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5%	..	12%	3%	23%	25%	1%	..	73%	25%
United Kingdom	..	5%	..	7%	45%	31%	24%	63%	62%	36%	19%	16%	14%	2%	63%	10%	20%
United States	..	79%	68%	40%	..	..	..	24%	..	..	3%	..	..	3%	1%	..	7%
IDA (WB)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	40%	46%	9%	7%	3%	4%
Netherlands	5%	15%	5%	2%	28%	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2%
Sweden	..	..	..	..	..	17%	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0%
Norway	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0%
																	86%

Table F.7 Development assistance by Norway to Zambia 1990 – 2005

Development assistance by Norway (\$US millions)	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Total net ODA	55	52	50	33	51	35	31	37	32	27	25	21	29	36	37	49
of which Grants	55	52	50	31	51	35	31	37	32	28	25	21	29	36	37	49
of which net Loans	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Technical Cooperation	7	8	7	9	11	14	8	8	10	1	1	1	2	3	3	4
Debt forgiveness	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Development assistance by Norway (% of total)	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Total net ODA	12%	6%	5%	4%	7%	2%	5%	6%	9%	4%	3%	6%	5%	6%	3%	5%
of which Grants	7%	9%	6%	5%	11%	7%	7%	10%	9%	6%	5%	5%	6%	5%	4%	3%
of which net Loans	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	-0.1%	4.6%	-0.1%	0.0%	-0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Technical Cooperation	5%	7%	5%	6%	8%	9%	6%	6%	11%	1%	1%	1%	2%	2%	2%	2%
Debt forgiveness	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

EVALUATION REPORTS

- 3.92 De Private Organisasjonene som Kanal for Norsk Bistand, Fase I
- 1.93 Internal Learning from Evaluations and Reviews
 2.93 Macroeconomic Impacts of Import Support to Tanzania
 3.93 Garantiordning for Investeringer i og Eksport til Utviklingsland
 4.93 Capacity-Building in Development Cooperation Towards Integration and Recipient Responsibility
- 1.94 Evaluation of World Food Programme
 2.94 Evaluation of the Norwegian Junior Expert Programme with UN Organisations
- 1.95 Technical Cooperation in Transition
 2.95 Evaluering av FN-sambandet i Norge
 3.95 NGOs as a Channel in Development aid
 3A.95 Rapport fra Presentasjonsmøte av «Evalueringen av de Frivillige Organisasjoner»
- 4.95 Rural Development and Local Government in Tanzania
 5.95 Integration of Environmental Concerns into Norwegian Bilateral Development Assistance: Policies and Performance
- 1.96 NORAD's Support of the Remote Area Development Programme (RADP) in Botswana
 2.96 Norwegian Development Aid Experiences. A Review of Evaluation Studies 1986-92
 3.96 The Norwegian People's Aid Mine Clearance Project in Cambodia
 4.96 Democratic Global Civil Governance Report of the 1995 Benchmark Survey of NGOs
 5.96 Evaluation of the Yearbook "Human Rights in Developing Countries"
- 1.97 Evaluation of Norwegian Assistance to Prevent and Control HIV/AIDS
 2.97 «Kultursjokk og Korrektiv» – Evaluering av UD/NORADs Studiereiser for Lærere
- 3.97 Evaluation of Decentralisation and Development
 4.97 Evaluation of Norwegian Assistance to Peace, Reconciliation and Rehabilitation in Mozambique
- 5.97 Aid to Basic Education in Africa – Opportunities and Constraints
 6.97 Norwegian Church Aid's Humanitarian and Peace-Making Work in Mali
- 7.97 Aid as a Tool for Promotion of Human Rights and Democracy: What can Norway do?
 8.97 Evaluation of the Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala
 9.97 Evaluation of Norwegian Assistance to Worldview International Foundation
- 10.97 Review of Norwegian Assistance to IPS
 11.97 Evaluation of Norwegian Humanitarian Assistance to the Sudan
 12.97 Cooperation for Health Development WHO's Support to Programmes at Country Level
- 1.98 "Twinning for Development". Institutional Cooperation between Public Institutions in Norway and the South
 2.98 Institutional Cooperation between Sokoine and Norwegian Agricultural Universities
 3.98 Development through Institutions? Institutional Development Promoted by Norwegian Private Companies and Consulting Firms
 4.98 Development through Institutions? Institutional Development Promoted by Norwegian Non-Governmental Organisations
 5.98 Development through Institutions? Institutional Development in Norwegian Bilateral Assistance. Synthesis Report
 6.98 Managing Good Fortune – Macroeconomic Management and the Role of Aid in Botswana
 7.98 The World Bank and Poverty in Africa
 8.98 Evaluation of the Norwegian Program for Indigenous Peoples
 9.98 Evaluering av Informasjons støtten til RORGene
 10.98 Strategy for Assistance to Children in Norwegian Development Cooperation
 11.98 Norwegian Assistance to Countries in Conflict
 12.98 Evaluation of the Development Cooperation between Norway and Nicaragua
 13.98 UNICEF-komiteen i Norge
 14.98 Relief Work in Complex Emergencies
- 1.99 WID/Gender Units and the Experience of Gender Mainstreaming in Multilateral Organisations
 2.99 International Planned Parenthood Federation – Policy and Effectiveness at Country and Regional Levels
 3.99 Evaluation of Norwegian Support to Psycho-Social Projects in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Caucasus
 4.99 Evaluation of the Tanzania-Norway Development Cooperation 1994-1997
 5.99 Building African Consulting Capacity
 6.99 Aid and Conditionality
 7.99 Policies and Strategies for Poverty Reduction in Norwegian Development Aid
 8.99 Aid Coordination and Aid Effectiveness
 9.99 Evaluation of the United Nations Capital Development Fund (UNCDF)
 10.99 Evaluation of AWEPA, The Association of European Parliamentarians for Africa, and AEI, The African European Institute
 1.00 Review of Norwegian Health-related Development Cooperation 1988-1997
 2.00 Norwegian Support to the Education Sector. Overview of Policies and Trends 1988-1998
- 3.00 The Project "Training for Peace in Southern Africa"
 4.00 En kartlegging av erfaringer med norsk bistand gjennom frivillige organisasjoner 1987-1999
 5.00 Evaluation of the NUFU programme
 6.00 Making Government Smaller and More Efficient. The Botswana Case
 7.00 Evaluation of the Norwegian Plan of Action for Nuclear Safety Priorities, Organisation, Implementation
 8.00 Evaluation of the Norwegian Mixed Credits Programme
 9.00 "Norwegians? Who needs Norwegians?" Explaining the Oslo Back Channel: Norway's Political Past in the Middle East
 10.00 Taken for Granted? An Evaluation of Norway's Special Grant for the Environment
- 1.01 Evaluation of the Norwegian Human Rights Fund
 2.01 Economic Impacts on the Least Developed Countries of the Elimination of Import Tariffs on their Products
 3.01 Evaluation of the Public Support to the Norwegian NGOs Working in Nicaragua 1994-1999
 3A.01 Evaluación del Apoyo Público a las ONGs Noruegas que Trabajan en Nicaragua 1994-1999
 4.01 The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank Cooperation on Poverty Reduction
 5.01 Evaluation of Development Co-operation between Bangladesh and Norway, 1995-2000
 6.01 Can democratisation prevent conflicts? Lessons from sub-Saharan Africa
 7.01 Reconciliation Among Young People in the Balkans An Evaluation of the Post Pessimist Network
- 1.02 Evaluation of the Norwegian Resource Bank for Democracy and Human Rights (NORDEM)
 2.02 Evaluation of the International Humanitarian Assistance of the Norwegian Red Cross
 3.02 Evaluation of ACOPAMA n ILO program for "Cooperative and Organizational Support to Grassroots Initiatives" in Western Africa 1978 - 1999
 3A.02 Évaluation du programme ACOPAMA n programme du BIT sur l'« Appui associatif et coopératif aux initiatives de Développement à la Base » en Afrique de l'Ouest de 1978 à 1999
 4.02 Legal Aid Against the Odds Evaluation of the Civil Rights Project (CRP) of the Norwegian Refugee Council in former Yugoslavia
- 1.03 Evaluation of the Norwegian Investment Fund for Developing Countries (Norfund)
 2.03 Evaluation of the Norwegian Education Trust Fund for African the World Bank
 3.03 Evaluering av Bistandstorgets Evalueringsnettverk
- 1.04 Towards Strategic Framework for Peacebuilding: Getting Their Act Together. Overview Report of the Joint Utstein Study of the Peacebuilding.
 2.04 Norwegian peacebuilding policies: Lessons Learnt and Challenges Ahead
 3.04 Evaluation of CESAR's activities in the Middle East Funded by Norway
 4.04 Evaluering av ordningen med støtte gjennom paraplyorganisasjoner. Eksempelvisert ved støtte til Norsk Misjons Bistandsnemda og Atlas-alliansen
 5.04 Study of the impact of the work of FORUT in Sri Lanka: Building Civil Society
 6.04 Study of the impact of the work of Save the Children Norway in Ethiopia: Building Civil Society
- 1.05 –Study: Study of the impact of the work of FORUT in Sri Lanka and Save the Children Norway in Ethiopia: Building Civil Society
 1.05 –Evaluation: Evaluation of the Norad Fellowship Programme
 2.05 –Evaluation: Women Can Do It – an evaluation of the WCDCI programme in the Western Balkans
 3.05 Gender and Development – a review of evaluation report 1997-2004
 4.05 Evaluation of the Framework Agreement between the Government of Norway and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP)
 5.05 Evaluation of the "Strategy for Women and Gender Equality in Development Cooperation (1997-2005)"
- 1.06 Inter-Ministerial Cooperation. An Effective Model for Capacity Development?
 2.06 Evaluation of Fredskorpset
 1.06 – Synthesis Report: Lessons from Evaluations of Women and Gender Equality in Development Cooperation
- 1.07 Evaluation of the Norwegian Petroleum-Related Assistance
 1.07 – Synteserapport: Humanitær innsats ved naturkatastrofer: En syntese av evalueringsfunn
 1.07 – Study: The Norwegian International Effort against Female Genital Mutilation
 2.07 Evaluation of Norwegian Power-related Assistance
 2.07 – Study Development Cooperation through Norwegian NGOs in South America
 3.07 Evaluation of the Effects of the using M-621 Cargo Trucks in Humanitarian Transport Operations

Norad

Norwegian Agency for
Development Cooperation

P.O. Box 8034 Dep, NO-0030 OSLO
Visiting adress:
Ruseløkkveien 26, Oslo, Norway

Telephone: +47 22 24 20 30
Fax: +47 22 24 20 31
postmottak@norad.no
www.norad.no

No of copies: 400
February 2008
ISBN 978-82-7548-273-8

