

An Examination of the Process of
Development Management: Case of
Massingir Dam and Smallholder
Agricultural Rehabilitation Project in
Mozambique

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An Examination of the Process of Development Management: The Case of Massingir Dam and Smallholder Agricultural Rehabilitation Project in Mozambique

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ABSTRACT

It has been noted that commonly development projects funded by international financial institutions do not meet the time set for their completion. Thus, stalled or failed development projects compromise the development process resulting in time wasting, resources, energy and hence increased poverty and perpetual underdevelopment.

This study investigates development management to understand the reasons for poor performance of development projects funded by the African Development Bank (ADB) in Mozambique. The study attempts to define Development Management alongside Development Project and Project Management as part of the development process. Theoretical framework on Development Management and Models of Development underpinning the study are detailed hereunder. The models differ basically in all aspects and they represent two different approaches adopted for the study. While neoliberal model represents a type of development process with a view to development management as a market driven process, the people-centred model look at it as an involving process where all parts have a say and gather common benefits. This study has adopted a case study approach for better analysis and understanding the Massingir Dam and Smallholder Agriculture Rehabilitation Project of Mozambique, which is funded by African Development Bank.

The study concludes that management of development projects is still a critical issue in Mozambique and needs to be addressed; while factors such as dependency and limited or lack of institutional capacity, people's participation, ownership and commitment are a hindrance to sustainable development process. It is suggested that development management as management for development with a development orientation should create values like empowerment and capacity building, as well as ownership or continuity through more stakeholder participation in the life cycle of the development process.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. The problem

Many development projects do not achieve the full range of the expected goals, and when they do, the results are often out of the timeframes. Available data indicates a decline in the quality of management of development (African Development Bank, 1999). “The review of the 55 Africa-wide projects found that almost half did not address the capacity constraints that would limit the achievement of overall project objectives” (World Bank, 2005:17). Stalled or failed development projects compromise the development process resulting in increased poverty and perpetual underdevelopment. There is debate on the reasons for poor implementation of development projects. The reasons differ from country to country and from case to case. This study will focus on two development projects that are behind schedule in Mozambique in order to establish the reasons that lead to poor implementation of management projects..

1.2. Mozambique in need of development

A summary of some relevant events to the process of development in Mozambique is provided in Table 1.1. The declaration of independence of Mozambique in 1975 from colonial oppression brought into the country new development strategy based on planned economy that guided the country for a period of over 15 years (Young, 1988:1970). However, the declaration of independence did not bring immediate benefits to the country since the development efforts were diverted to the defence of the nation. The 16 years to follow were characterised by the destructive civil war promoted and financed by the apartheid regime involving the rebel force Renamo and Frelimo Government that resulted in underdevelopment. During the war priority was given to the defence of the country; training and capacity building was neglected and a massive destruction of infrastructure took place instead of construction. The main resource base of Mozambique was agriculture and this sector suffered dramatic decline since independence. The civil war, recurrent drought experienced by the whole southern Africa region, and flooding have contributed in making Mozambique one of the poorest countries in the world. After 15 years of a centrally planned economy and two decades of civil war, the country has undergone far reaching political,

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social and economic transformation, leading to political stability, improved macroeconomic management and enhanced institutional framework (ADB, ADF, 2006:1).

Table 1.1. Timeline for selected events relevant to development in the recent history of Mozambique

Year	Event
1975	Declaration of independence
1976	Armed conflict
1977	ADB Group start operating in Mozambique
1984	Mozambique joins the World Bank Group
1987	Economic reconstruction plan (PRE)
1990	New Constitution focusing on market economy and end of planned economy
1992	End of the Civil War
1993	Reconstruction after war
1994	First democratic elections
2000	Floods
2001	Emergency program under floods for reconstruction and replacement of affected people

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At the end of civil war in 1992, Mozambique ranked among the poorest countries in the world (Ferraz and Munslow, 1999). It still ranks among the least developed nations with very low socioeconomic indicators (World Bank 1999 cited in Simler et al, 2004:1). Today Mozambique has a multi-party democratic government, has an estimated population (2005) of 19.4 million, an annual population growth rate (2004) of 1.8%, and an annual economic growth rate (GDP) (2004) of 8.2%. Development projects are critical for Mozambique thus, there is a need to rebuild the country providing the basic infrastructure as well as provide technical skills for people in order to improve institutional capacity to facilitate sustainable development process (Ferraz and Munzlow, 1999; Baker, 2006:105).

Earlier statistics confirm the low level of development in Mozambique; average annual per capita income in 1991 was estimated at around US\$ 80 and it was estimated that nearly half of all urban and rural households could not meet minimum daily calorie requirements from their own resources and two-thirds of the population lived in absolute poverty (African Development Fund, 1993). Thus, poverty reduction is a major objective of the government as well as of nongovernmental organizations and international donors in Mozambique (Simler et al 2004:1). Thirteen years after the peace agreement Mozambique continues to struggle to achieve sustainable and comprehensive development (Kulipossa, 2006: 40; Lundin, 2000:79).

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However, there are optimistic signs: in the last decade the country has experienced a notable economic recovery and more recent statistics from the World Bank (2005: 7), based on 2002-3 data, suggest more than fifty percent of the population live in absolute poverty – this is probably lower than the two-thirds recorded by African Development Fund in 1993.

1.3. The role of external funders

Mozambique has few economic resources and therefore relies heavily on donor funded development strategies, including a structural adjustment programme to pursue the development process (Diogo, 1999: 46).

The African Development Bank Group (ADB) operation in Mozambique started in 1977 and until June 2003 the country had benefited from the ADB UA 812.71 million (approximately US\$ 1,170 million) to finance a number of development projects (African Development Bank, 2003). The African Development Bank (ADB) is one of the key role players in funding development projects in Mozambique. The Bank Group has, since operations began in Mozambique in 1997, approved fifty-three projects, six policy-based programs and eleven studies. Total commitments stand at UA 914 million equivalents to 1,317.074 million USD (April 2006) (ADB, ADF; 2006). In terms of the size of the portfolio within the Bank, Mozambique is the fifth most supported country with 4.8% of the Bank's (ADF) total portfolio.

In 1984, Mozambique joined the World Bank Group (World Bank Group, 2005) in order to obtain the much-needed external assistance to stop the decline of the country's economy, and promote economic growth. As a low income country, under the World Bank rating (International Development Association, 2001), Mozambique gained access to concessional loans from the international Development Association (IDA) and the African Development Fund (ADF) with a repayment period of 40/50 years, including a grace period of 10 years, and an interest rate of 0.7/0.75 percent per annum (International Development Association, 2002). Since the country's entrance to the World Bank Group, a number of development projects were identified and financed by international Finance Institutions (IFI's), including the World Bank/IDA and the African Development Bank/ADF (African Development Bank, 2003; The World Bank Group, 2003).

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Despite this external support the process of development is slow in Mozambique and projects supported with external funding feature a number of constraints on the implementation process. Management processes are a key element for any development project. As Mozambique depends on external aid it is common that the financial agencies dictate procedures (Lundin, 2000:83), funders are likely to play a key role in determining how development projects are designed and managed. Thus, for many development projects the funding agent determines the rules and processes that govern the management of the project. This occurs where the development model embedded is top-down approach. It is suggested that the target community has little say in the design and management of the development process. Under such conditions development projects are likely to fail to achieve their goals since the voice of the target community is non-existent (Meyer and Singh, 2003:240). It is suggested that a possible reason why development projects stall in Mozambique is because target communities are given little say in the design of management process. Furthermore a review of local development projects have highlighted that inequality and participation levels among communities are likely to hamper development process (Elbers, et al, 2004; Godfrey and Obika, 2004).

1.4. Challenges for the management of development projects

Development management is a critical process. Over two decades in Mozambique development management was not set as priority to the country rather, emergence management. One critical challenge to the successful implementation of development projects is to improve policy and strategies around management of development projects.

However many of Mozambique's development projects are characterised by poor performance, and goals are often not achieved; for example; ADB-financed education projects designed to be implemented in four years take a average eight years and ten months to reach completion (Malate, 2005:65). It is important to understand what factors cause such delays. Thin (1998) cited in Biggs & Smith (2003) in a review of large number of evaluations of social development projects has noted regular findings such as lack of participation by beneficiaries in consultation, projects lacking operational definitions of poverty, and lack of clarity as to project objectives and their redefinition throughout the project cycle. Thin "asks why it is that staff in development agencies appears to repeat the same old mistakes rather

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than learn from them, and suggests that we need to go deeper in order to find the answer” (Thin,1998 cited in Biggs & Smith 2003: 1746).

Rationale

It is notable that many research focus on war – projects dealing with rehabilitation as a result of conflict. Thus there is a Need for research focusing on broader range of development projects. From personal experience the researcher knows of delays in implementation of the ADB projects. It is suggested that delays, bureaucracy and lack of clarity of process could be facts that hamper the objective of upgrading infrastructure and promotion of development.

1.5. The Study Purpose

The present study brings to the reader a sense of what factors are hampering successful implementation of development projects in Mozambique. A case study of a project funded by African Development Bank (ADB) in Mozambique – the Massingir Dam and Smallholder Agricultural Rehabilitation Project in Gaza province, was selected to fulfil this purpose. It is an infrastructure project.

The present study has been initiated to understand the reason(s) for poor performance of development projects in Mozambique. Finding from research may contribute to improved management processes that could minimise future problems. The study investigates the process of development management in projects funded by African Development Bank (ADB).

The following conceptual, economic/financial, institutional and people centred elements are more likely to be relevant to understand the success or failure of the development projects, including: Fundamental development policy or framework; nature of the relationship between the funding institution and the beneficiary; procedures and rules applied during the implementation process of the project; commitment of the staff in fulfilling the project goals, lack of qualified staff, high degree of concentration of decision-making power, absence of consultation and accountability and commitment of community receiving benefits from the project. Other relevant factors affecting development management are regarded with poverty, disease, unemployment, illiteracy, hunger and corruption (BBC Focus on Africa, 2005:62). Although in this paper we won't discuss the later elements.

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1.6. Research questions

The main research question that underpins this research is:

Why so many delays in development projects?

The case studies

The Massingir Dam and Smallholder Agricultural Rehabilitation Project is a local project located at District of Massingir in the Province of Gaza (Figure 1.1) (Annex 1,2), conceptualised almost thirteen years ago (Table 1.2) with a budget of approximately USD80 million (ADF, 1994). It aims through rehabilitation of the Dam and the Xai -Xai irrigation infrastructures to contribute towards Government stated goal of accelerate Growth Domestic Product (GDP) growth and poverty alleviation. More specifically, the project will improve efficiency of the Massingir Dam and enhance smallholder productivity in the production of food crops (ADF, 1993: I; Muller, 2006:27).

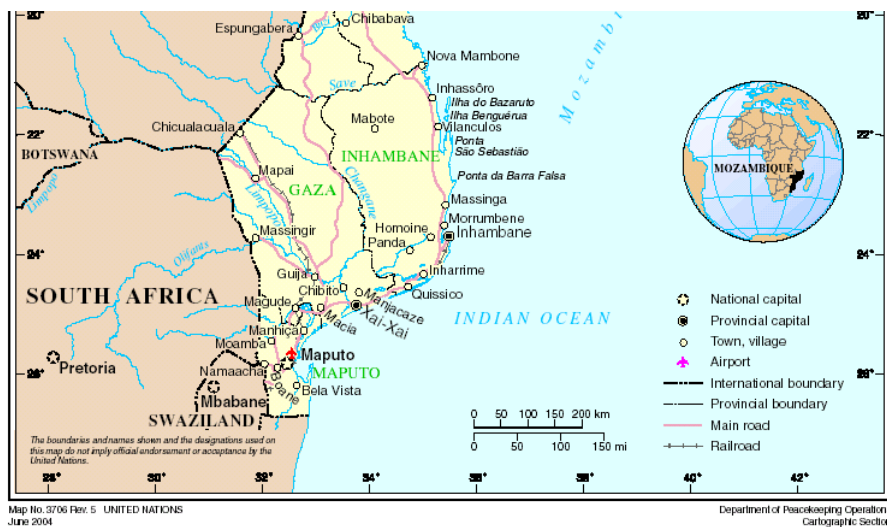


Figure 1.1. Map of Mozambique South Region

Furthermore, the Dam rehabilitation will cut off the cyclical drought that affects the Gaza region, once the water reservoir will keep enough water to be used continuously for five years (Notícias, 2005).

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Table 1.2. Timeline for selected project events for the case studies

Year	Project event
1993	Massingir rehabilitation project conceptualised
1994	Agreement for Massingir Dam Project .
1996	Loan conditions precedent to first disbursement satisfied. Launch of tenders for selection of contractor
2001	
2002	Construction work begins at Massingir Dam
2006	Completion of civil works and hydro-mechanical/ capacity building project completion
2007	Supplementary loan for project completion to be applied until 2010

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To mention that development management process is not limited to infrastructure but it is rather critical in capacity building environmental management and water management issues as it can be understood from Reed, (2006) in its book entitled “Escaping Poverty’s Grasp, The Environmental Foundations of Poverty Reduction” as well as in Scodanibbio and Manez, (2005)

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CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter provides literature review and theoretical framework on development projects, focusing on development management and models of development underpinning the development process. Thus it will start by conceptualizing and interpreting development management, as it understood within the process of development. Then, bring the literature perception about delays in implementation and failures of development project. Finally it will discuss the development model underpinning the development process.

2.1 Conceptualising development models

Development models or approaches can refer to a wide spectrum of things such as empowering, participatory, gender-equitable, people-centred, and inclusionary or they might be the reverse of each of those: disempowering, top-down, male-biased, formulaic, exclusionary. (Rowlands, 2003:1)

This section is concerned with the models of development underpinning the development process; Development projects and the management theory that take place within the framework. Two extreme development models are considered to refer the effect of development management: Neoliberal and people-centred approach are subjects of analysis in this section to understand which of these approaches maintain a set of power relations applied for development process in a developing country like Mozambique. Although, Mozambique historically had embraced different type of development models in different periods of its development or “underdevelopment” process; the hypotheses is that neoliberal model in other words market driven development, is not adequate to achieve effective development but is advised or recommended for many development projects. Rowlands (2003) argues, “Problems may arise when the approach used and the methods employed are compatible, but the individuals using these methods are insufficiently skilled or insufficiently self-aware for them to be truly effective”. This author will suggest alternative model, relevant to maximize development efforts through development projects.

According to Thomas (2000) there are a number of competing theoretical approaches that elicit different visions of what is a desirable ‘developed’ state. These approaches are characterised by differences in: views of history; how social change occurs; how the process

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of development occurs in relation to the global capitalist system; the prescription for how to achieve development; and who should be the agents for development. Thomas states that the competing views are characterised as development alongside or against capitalism. Development alongside capitalism refers to interventionism as a main vehicle to regulate market efficiency envisioning and achieving basic social-environmental goals. The theory of social change for how this vision might be achieved is prescribed on a need of removing the 'barriers' to modernisation. Thus, development will play an important role to 'ameliorate the disordered faults of [capitalist] progress' and involves development agencies such as the state, NGOs and international organizations (Thomas, 2000). The relevance for this study is that the early philosophy underpinning AFDB development projects was the model of interventionism (along side capitalism) following the World Bank model of development with a top-down approach to managing the development process. The approach has since shifted to a more people-centred model. The two sets of approaches are broadly represented institutionally by the World Bank and its annual World Development Reports, and by United Nations Development programme (UNDP) with its Human Development reports. The neoliberal approach, as represented by the World Bank largely pre-dates the people-centred approach represented by the UNDP, just as the Human Development reports were produced as a counterbalance to the longer established World Development report (Clark 2002,2).

2.1.1 Neoliberal model of development

For Clark (2002: 2) the neoliberal model of development is broadly a macro approach, which focuses on increases in national wealth represented by broad indicators such as GDP. This is a mainstream economics approach, and supported by many development economists. It favors the liberal market economy, globalization, removal of trade barriers, and reduction the power and influences of governments in the management of development. NEPAD represents a move of African development strategy and development policy from dependence approach to neoliberal model of development as stated by Owusu, 2003:

"At its 2001 Summit, the OUA unanimously adopted NEPAD. This is generally seen as a new chapter in African development policy because of the document's embraced of Neoliberalism and its similarity with the Bank's Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF)."
(Owusu,2003:1669)

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This approach argues that economic growth will lead to a reduction in national poverty levels, and a reduction in the development “gap” between rich and poor nations, through the trickle-down effect. It is aware of risks of environmental damage from high rates of growth, and accepts the need for some forms of sustainability, but believes technology and the use of market-based policy instruments will advance sufficiently to keep pace with any potential long-term danger to the global environment and the physical health of the planet. According to Stiglitz, 2002 the shift in development policy did not occur only in Africa; rather it was part of the global ascendancy of Neoliberalism under the direction of international institutions such as the World Bank, IMF and World Trade Organization (WTO) (Stiglitz, 2002).

2.1.2 People-centred model of development

People-centred development according to Clark (2002:4) in contrast to macro approach and more concerned with human development in communities. For Thomas (2000,32) this model is a new vision of development that starts not from production but from people and from human needs. The argument underpinning this form of development is that its focus is on improving the quality of life through economic and social betterment, with a range of indicators beyond economic ones. People-centred development derives partly from development economics that incline more to social concerns and less to dependence on efficiency criteria, and also from various sociological and anthropological analyses (Clark 2002:4). It is wary of the adverse human effects of globalisation and neo-liberal market economic growth. It is also strongly aware of environmental risks and supportive of sustainable development, and less sanguine about the future than advocates of a neoliberal development model. Korten cited in Thomas (2000: 32) describes the basis of people centred model stating that:

The survival of our civilization, and perhaps our lives, depends on committing ourselves to an alternative development practice guided by the three basic principles of authentic development: justice, sustainability and inclusiveness-each of which is routinely and systematically violated by current practice.

- Justice: priority must be given to assuring a decent human existence for all people;
- Sustainability: earth’s resources must be used in ways that assure the well being of future generations.

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- Inclusiveness: every person must have the opportunity to be a recognized and respected contributor to family, community and society.
- (Thomas 2000, 33)

Under the people centred model of development participation in development process is likely to be fair to the extent that they can decide about their future, and their needs can be met in a sustainable environment.

2.1.3 Critiques of the Models

According to Thomas (2000:44) there was a real dilemma among neoliberal thinkers, while they favored the non-intervention of the state, they also required its policing function, which in practice tended to be considerable. In addition the dilemma was how to guarantee that this policing was done fairly, since it is necessarily done outside the market and hence outside the mechanism, which this theory argues, is the means of fair regulation (Thomas 2000:44).

“The development approach favored today tends to ignore social policy that will facilitate redistribution of benefits to all segments of society and assumes that maximization of profits will deliver optimal outcomes over time to all members of society”. (Reed, 2006:9)

Though, despite the triumphalist cry that ‘capitalism has won’, Neoliberalism is now largely discredited. Thomas, for instance refer the obvious chaos caused by the attempt to led capitalism ‘develop’ itself in the ex-Soviet Union, together with the increases in inequality, poverty, environmental degradation and wars, has led the World Bank itself, which go well beyond simply ensuring the conditions for market competition. It argued that, “the main area of debate in what may be called ‘mainstream’ development circles is no longer ‘market versus state’ but about the form and degree of interventions” (Thomas 2000:45).

Moreover Thomas (2000) suggests that all the versions of interventionism as well as Neoliberalism envision industrialization as the way to provide the resources to meet human needs or meet the ‘global crisis’. The interventionism model also sees the state and other development agencies as taking on the job of international development. Despite the debates about state versus market or the reform and degree of intervention, these may all be termed ‘mainstream’ views of development. The set of ideas grouped together under the labels

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‘alternative development’, another development’ or ‘people-centred development’ are a reaction against this ‘mainstream’ development. (Thomas 2000:45).

The most important critique posed by Thomas (2000:35) regarding people-centred development is concerned with empowerment, understood as “a desired process by which individuals, typically including the ‘poorest of the poor’, are to take control over their lives; be able to be the agents of their own development” (Thomas, 2000:35). Thus, lack of voice and power is experienced not only in interactions with the state, but also in poor people’s interactions with the market (world Bank, 2000:40). One vision is that people should be enabled (or empowered) to take direct action to meet their own needs. In material terms this vision is clear and simple. Though, clearly a successful process of empowerment must also involve changes in power structures both at local and at broader, national and international, levels. People centred development called by Thomas (2000:34) as human-needs centred development, is often seen in terms of participation and empowerment, particularly by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that promote participative development at a local level. According to Korten, (1995b) cited in Thomas, (2000:35) “some NGOs have associated people-centred development with participatory village development interventions. Such interventions are important, but in themselves are generally insignificant...”

2.1.4 Summary

I have hypothesized at the beginning of the section that neoliberal ‘mainstream’ development model is not adequate to address the development process through development projects. The trickle down effect claimed by neoliberals under top-down approach it has shown not effective in many countries that embraced the model. Poverty and inequality have increased significantly worsening the lives of the poorest. For instant, South Africa is a clear-cut case where poverty headcount has increased significantly in the last ten years (Roberts, 2000:13).

2.2. Conceptualising development management

(Development) Management

(Development) Management in the sense that is used in this study means the “process of getting work done through other people by the use of human resources, materials and time to

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achieve objectives” (Cusworth and Franks 1993, 30). The definition encompass the role of development managers in the process of getting things done in time using efficiently available resources.

Development project

There have been many attempts to define development projects, because of their important role in the development process since the 1950s (Cusworth and Franks 1993, 3). For this dissertation it is worth to adopt the same definition of Cusworth and Franks, which is as simple and generally relevant as possible:

“A project is the investment of capital in a time-bound intervention to create productive assets”.

Thus, in this definition capital refers as much to human as to physical resources. Likewise, the assets created may be human, institutional or physical (Cusworth and Franks 1993, 3). According to Cusworth and Franks (1993, 4), the important characteristics of projects are that they involve capital investment (through the incurring of costs) over a limited time frame. In addition projects create, over that period, assets, systems, schemes or institutions, which continue in operation and yield a flow of benefits after the project has been completed (Cusworth and Franks 1993, 4)

Project management

Van der Waldt & Knipe, (1998: 59) cited in Knipe, (2000: 146), define “project management as a set of principles, methods, tools, and techniques for the effective management of objective-oriented work in the context of a specific a unique environment”. Therefore,

“Project management entails planning, organizing, co-coordinating, controlling and directing activities of the project. [Thus] project management can also be regarded as a planning and control mechanism for using resources to achieve specific objectives”. (Knipe 2000: 146)

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“Project management comprise a number of advantages such as; control over the whole project, which leads to good results; shorter completion time; cost control, quality of the product and transparency” (Knipe 2000: 146).

2.2.1 Development management

The following section is a description and discussion at definition of development management. According to Wield (2000:54; 2003: 184) “development management takes place in a variety of development contexts and institutions, always involving a range of agencies and individuals (for instance diversity of stakeholders)”. In addition he states that there is a tension between the need to focus and clarify development interventions in manageable ways, often artificially simplified, and an understanding of the limitation set by such narrow focus on boundaried project, interventions and activities (Wield 2000:54; 2003:184). For example; interventions take place in a complex, highly populated landscape of human activity. Government departments often come up with grand plans without concretely working out the institutional base, the impact of incentives, and the power relations that will result.

Development management according to Thomas (2000) can be extended to three approaches. As management *in* development, meaning management in the context of the development process; as management *of* development, meaning management of development efforts; finally as management *for* development, meaning management with a development orientation. According Clarke (2002) management *of* and *for* development take many forms at many levels. Thus, at international level they are largely tied to the implementation of aid policies. At the level of national government they may be seen broadly as the continuation of development administration (perhaps with some injection of public sector managerial reform), which in most developing countries has evolved from systems of colonial administration (Clarke 2002:8).

Management *for* development was likely to be the best concept of development management as management is undertaken with a development orientation. Although, due to the limitations of task orientation, management *for* development does not help to recognize the special characteristics of good development management, and it does not really provide the best answer to the notion that management principles are universal (Thomas, 2000: 42). Thus it can be argued that combination of three approaches is worth than a single approach.

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Thus development management in general should be seen as a style of management, which embodies particular development values. Therefore, Thomas (2000) considers “development management as management *for* development, where development links personal development of individuals with a broader view, which includes the ideal of enabling all human beings to realize their full capacity”. In addition, for the same author it seems most useful to consider development management as including the management of specific tasks involved in development interventions; the normative idea of management oriented towards development ideals; and the more straightforward notion of management in a development context (Ibid, 2000).

For Wild (2003:184) development management is a process that includes the social definition of needs and it is embedded in public action. As such involves activities that steer and facilitate intervention towards the identification and meeting of human need (Wild 2003:184; Thomas 1996:101). In addition development management involves learning lessons and feeding back into practice.

Blackmore and Ison (1998:42) argue that one of the needs in development management is to move away from the notion of projects as closed systems towards more open systems. Thus, open systems have flexible and “permeable” boundaries, which enable the system to adapt [to local context] –to respond to inputs and to generate new forms of output through interaction and learning process (Blackmore and Ison, 1998:42). In addition policies that are prescriptive, and are unable to be adapted to diverse, local contexts can also be conceptualised as having closed boundaries. An example of this might be the case of projects designed in a certain conditions and context, that coming to implementation find different situation that require flexibility to adapt to local and new conditions.

2.2.2 Development management in view of development theories

Having discussed the models underpinning the development process, it is critical to tie in with the concepts of development management given in section 2.2.1 within the models. Thus neoliberal approach can be understood in the context of Development management viewed as management *in* development, meaning management in development process. Development process has to be read as a diversity of scales of development intervention. Likewise, neoliberal approach has to be understood as applied to development management as management *of* development, meaning management of development efforts. Development

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efforts have to be interpreted as management of intervention in a process of social change in a context of conflicts of goals, values and interests (Thomas 1996:106 cited in Thomas 2000:40). Development management seen in that perspective is apparently embedded in view for which development of capitalism is paramount regardless the human needs and their future generations.

Thus regarding the discussion above, development management has to be understood as management *for* development with development orientation, to meet social needs of the people requiring to take into account the new 'development alternative', the people-centred approach or according to Thomas (2000), the human-needs centred development. This is often seen in terms of participation and empowerment where the level of satisfaction of various dimensions of human needs is considered to have improved and though, must take precedence over all other development efforts (Thomas, 2000:34; Martinussen, 42).

The present study is going to sustain the view to which development management as management *for* development underpins the people-centred development approach. As we argued above the model applies with human needs, secure future as well as success of many development projects.

Having discussed models of development and how these incorporate development management, the chapter will now move to a discussion of implementation of projects.

2.3 Dynamics on Implementation of development projects

2.3.1 Development projects in early 60s

Massingir Dam project does not constitute a unique case study; similar studies have taken place in early years. Hirschman (1967) in its classic book entitled "Development projects observed" presents his experience in visited projects all financed by World Bank in early 60s. The San Lorenzo irrigation project in northern Peru suffered serious, and at times exasperating delays caused by political change and second thoughts on the kind of irrigation farming the project should promote. Therefore considerable economic losses implied by the delays were in part offset by the fact that, as a result of the second thoughts, the San Lorenzo irrigation eventually became a pilot project for the subdivision of land into small but viable family farms and for the granting of credit and technical assistance to previously landless farmers. The other development project concerned is based in Uruguay, known as Uruguayan livestock and pasture improvement project also experienced extraordinary delays, first

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because of slowness in political and administrative decision making and then because the key technical task of improving the natural grasslands by introduction of legumes into the soil turned out to be unexpectedly complex. Hirschman (1967: 11-13) taking into account the reasons behind the delays in both projects argues that, if the project planners (and this usually includes the World Bank officials involved in financing the project) had known in advance all difficulties and troubles that were lying in store for the project, they probably would never have touched it. In addition, he argues that in some, though not all, of these cases "...advance knowledge of these difficulties and the ensuing search for solutions set in motion a train of events that not only rescued the project but often made it particularly valuable". Thus it is pointed to this stage that it is likely to have two main categories of uncertainties affecting development projects (Hirschman, 1967: 37).

Those regarded with the production of the intended output of the project (the supply side) and those regarded with the demand for the output. According to Hirschman (1967), on the supply side of the project, we first have the technology of the project itself: uncertainty may surround the process by which outputs are to be produced from inputs, as well as the availability of the required material inputs at approximately the anticipated prices. Next, uncertainty on the supply side may centre on the human factor. This very general category includes the possibility that, the project may experience problems of labour supply, of staffing in general, and of intergroup relations; problems of management, in particular with regard to the efficiency and viability of perhaps novel administrative arrangements; or problems deriving from outside political interference with the project's affairs (Hirschman 1967: 37-38). Although on the supply side, one has to contend with financial uncertainty about completion of the project.

2.3.2 Development projects in early 90s

A study carried out by Cusworth and Franks in early 90s has shown that many projects have failed to achieve the targets set for them, or that they have unintended negative consequences which far outweigh their direct benefits. Cusworth and Franks (1993:11) point out that much can be learned by looking at the reasons for such failure. According to Cusworth and Franks (1993:11) development projects failure can in fact be identified at two levels. The first is the failure to implement the project effectively, that is on time, within budgets and according to the plan (which may itself have been revised during the course of implementation). They conclude stating that:

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It is common occurrence to find projects running [delayed] and therefore probable suffering cost over-runs due to inflation. For instance, the World Bank's annual audit of projects regularly finds up to 30 per cent of the projects surveyed more than six months late. (Cusworth and Franks 1993:11)

The second, more obvious failure take place, however, when implementation has been completed but the facilities created fail to achieve the effects intended (Cusworth and Franks, 1993:11). The common cited example of failure is regarded with the water points that are unused because they are wrongly sited or which caused desertification due to over-use, and the meat processing plant that operates at half capacity because local people are not willing to sell their cattle in the expected numbers. Therefore, development is a complex undertaking and it is often impossible to take all the factors into account in the planning process (Cusworth and Franks, 1993:12)

Moreover, other external factors contributing to project failure are subject of much discussion and debate. Those are often referred as project environment factors meaning the whole set of people, things and institutions which surround the project and interact with it (Cusworth and Franks, 1993:12; Adams, 2001:228). Cusworth and Franks point out that maybe a more important set of external factors are those caused by the reactions of people affected by the project. Although a common reason given to a failure of projects is lack of high level political commitment to it, and a lack of strong management and leadership that accompanies this. In addition, cultural misfit of project's objectives and activities within the environment and lack of local knowledge and understanding, leading to rejection of the project by the intended beneficiaries (Cusworth and Franks, 1993:12).

Other delays in development projects have been reported recently in Afghanistan. The reconstruction program has not been effective at all; requirements are pointed as the reason for such delays. A health clinic that was supposed at least to be built by September 2004 remains an unfinished shell after two years (Rohde and Gall, 2005:3).

Previous regional and country studies have demonstrated factors such as failure to identify key capacity constraints, weak implementation capacity, insufficient monitoring and evaluation, divergence and ambition leading to serious delay or failure in implementing

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development project objectives in African countries (World Bank, 2005). An African Development Bank Report (1999) identified that lack of public accountability, corruption and lack of participation of the beneficiaries is damaging development. The same report mentioned highly concentrated decision-making power and absence of consultation and accountability as other causes of poor quality development management.

The following cases are some example of failure of development projects in African Countries originated, exhibiting some of the factors mentioned above.

2.3.3 Development projects in African context

In African context Nigeria has critical infrastructure projects developed in 1970 and 80's. It is worthwhile to mention the Tiga Dam on the upper reaches of Hadejia River built in 1972; it provided irrigation for 14,000ha of land and water for the city of Kano (Bass, et al, 2005:138). Most of the beneficiaries were landowners and investors from Kano who derived considerable benefits from the profits of irrigated agriculture, as well as from contracts for constructing the irrigation infrastructures. In the decade of 1980 two other Dam projects were started, although they were not completed until 1992 (Bass, et al, Ibid).

Baldwin, (1957); cited in Adams (2001:216) in reviewing the Niger Agriculture Projects in Nigeria Middle Belt conclude that the rush development led in many instances to failure. Although delay was not the factor but note that planning and management issues were pointed as the reason of the failure.

A study entitled "The Sustainability Enigma: Aid Dependency and the Phasing Out of the Projects; the case of Swedish Aid to Tanzania" – commissioned by the Expert Group for Development Issues (EGDI) linked to the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs – focuses on phase-out issues as an key element of aid dependency. Catterson and Lindahl (1999) concluded that project phase-out is complicated by the lack of financial sustainability of the institutions being supported. They argue that this has not purely to do with Tanzania's overall poor macro-economic environment (since some institutions are managing to survive), but with a number of underlying factors such as level of technical ambition, lack of finance, organisation and management skills (Catterson and Lindahl, 1999).

Assessing development generated and deployed by development agencies Ferguson (1999), in a book entitled "the Anti-Politics Machine", presents a case study of an unsuccessful development project in Lesotho i.e. the Thaba-Tseka project (1975-1984). The project goal

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was to transform livestock practices in Lesotho. The project was funded by CIDA, a Canadian Development Agency. The project has become a commonly cited example of development failure. Ferguson (1999) argues that there were two distinct contradictions between the vision of livestock development that emerged from within the development problematic and the actual political and economic structures that govern livestock keeping in Lesotho. The study shows what might result with a weak assessment or poor diagnosis of the real situation and lack of consultation of the stakeholders.

Other successes and failures were reported in Mail & Guardian, (2005) of poor delivering of local government in South Africa. The article argues that local capacity to deliver and access to adequate resources as well as high degree of staff turnover is behind the crisis (Allan, 2005:2).

The above studies show some of the factors that affect development management. The issue is not recent it concern since 60's till our days blocking development of many developing countries as we can learn from various studies carried out in early days. Most of these studies are done by development agencies presenting their views as donors or financial institutions. We have little information about independent research or research commissioned by government to understand the phenomenon of delays and failure of development projects in Mozambique.

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CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

This chapter informs the reader how the research was conducted and what methodology was followed to collect the data. Hence, an empirical study using exploratory, descriptive and evaluative questions bring into the reader an holistic understanding of a case study using a qualitative strategy. This approach supported by provides insights about the management process within a broader framework.

3.1. Case study approach

Although, similar studies have been done before, to mention for instance the Hirschman studies in early 1967 about delays in World Bank funded projects; Cusworth and Franks study about the reasons why projects succeed or fail in early 1993 and other studies mentioned under literature review chapter. These studies follow a quite different approach with some overlap research strategy consisting on exploratory, descriptive and evaluative approach.. According to Yin, (2003:2) case study method allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real- life events such as managerial processes. Furthermore selecting case study as research strategy will obviously allow a better perception of the management phenomenon in development projects in the context of the study using exploratory questions such as “What”; “why” and “How”.

3.2. Sampling method

The study aims to gather perspectives from different role players in the development process: the selection process took into account, the position; the role of each informant, the knowledge that the informant has about the topic or the selected project. Thus the following informants were selected:

- The ADB – portfolio administrator(s) representing bank interests in the development projects
- Government – relevant government representative from Ministry of Public Works and Housing (Massingir Dam Project) and Ministry of Women and Social Action (Capacity Building Project for Poverty Reduction Project)

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- Development project – project managers
- Community leaders in target communities
- Project beneficiaries

Purposive sampling was used to select key informants representing these different role players. The study attempted to include all stakeholders.

3.3. Data collection

According to Yin (2003:83) data for case studies may come from many sources of evidence such as documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant-observation, and physical artefacts.

For the present study, the data collection procedure consisted of semi-structured interviews, project document gathering and direct observation.

3.4. Limitations of the study

Well-known limitations apply to our research. First the insights available are limited by the quality of the documents under consideration, limitation of accessibility of the documents. I have noted that fear to give full information still exist among managers especially when the project has notable weaknesses.

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CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

4.1 General findings

Development projects are designed to be implemented to achieve certain goals in a defined period of time however; this has not been fulfilled in many ADB financed projects (but not only as concluded previously in a literature review other international financed projects face the same constraints. As said earlier these phenomena slow down all development process outcomes.

The author has developed a set of questions in order to obtain the respondents opinion regarding the development projects financed by ADB in Mozambique as follow.

Study sub-questions

Our respondents view is that the time frame or duration, capacity and procedures are the main factors. They consider critical the existence of the right people with adequate skills, leadership knowledge and experience to manage issues of management and procurement. Naturally if there re no skilled people with the relevant knowledge, projects will face some difficulties and delays, which may lead to a do the project again right from the beginning..

4.2 Case study findings and discussion

4.2.1. Introduction

The main resource base of Mozambique is agriculture which has suffered dramatic decline since independence. In the Southern Gaza province of Mozambique, one of the main constraints to increased agricultural production and productivity is shortage of rain. Rainfed agriculture is still at the subsistence level with average annual precipitation of 500 mm. Droughts combined with an influx of war-driven, displaced farmers, has contributed in making the Gaza province an economically depressed area, in spite of its abundant rich soil and water resources (African Development Fund, 1993).

It is in view of exploiting the economic potential of the Gaza province that Government of Mozambique enacted since independence a policy aimed to harnessing the immense water resources provided by the Limpopo River and its tributary the Elephant River. The

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development of irrigated agriculture in Limpopo Valley came late during the colonial period (African Development Fund, 1993).

Initiated in 1972 before independence, the construction of the Massingir Dam on Elephants River, a tributary of Limpopo River was completed in 1977. Less than a year after its completion, the Massingir Dam displayed major distress defects, the most serious one being the increased uplift pressure at different locations near the toe of the Dam. It is mostly believed that this is due to the existence of highly pervious layers and geological faults, under the dam that were not adequately treated during the design and construction. As a result, the irrigation potential of the Dam was seriously impaired. The reservoir has stood filled at barely half of its designed storage capacity leading to less than 50 per cent of its potential irrigation development.

The leakage of the Massingir Dam was particularly harmful to the existing irrigation schemes downstream at Chókwe and Xai –Xai. Thus the implementation agency, the Ministry of Public Works and Housing, (former Ministry of Construction and Water) has committed to rehabilitate the dam under support of African Development Fund (ADF) funds.

4.2.1. The main objective and expected outcomes of the project

According to the appraisal report (ADF, 1993) the project major objective is to contribute towards Government stated goal of accelerate GDP growth and poverty alleviation. The more specifically, the project will improve efficiency of the Massingir Dam and enhance smallholder productivity in the production of food crops. Thus the agriculture component of the project is smallholder oriented.

The project represents both local and national efforts for development. The rehabilitation of the Dam is envisaged to have benefits for local communities by providing basic infrastructures such as water, irrigation system and other equipment relevant for their activities (African Development Fund, 1993). At the national level benefits will come through increase of agriculture production therefore, GDP growth. With respect to Agriculture it is expected that once the dam is rehabilitated, it will create a potential for rehabilitating 90,000 ha of land, which will be able to support not less than 60.000 families or 300.000 people. Other outcomes were counting that once in full production; the project will produce annually 106,112 tonnes of rice, 29,663 tonnes of maize, 896 tonnes of beans, 7,597 tonnes of vegetables, 2,331 tonnes of cassava, 51 tonnes groundnuts and 7,405 tonnes of cotton.

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4.2.2. Project stakeholders and its role

African Development Fund conducted the conception of the project after the Government of Mozambique had manifested the interest and importance of having the Dam rehabilitated. The African development Bank and the Government of Mozambique the later represented by the Ministry of Public Works and Housing with specific role. For the ADB the main role was to contribute in financing all foreign costs of the project, which is about 90 per cent of the total project cost, beside of monitoring, and evaluation tasks described on the project document. The Government role is limited for a contribution of 10 per cent of all total project cost. In addition for the management of the project a strong project management team constituting Project Implementation and Management Unit (PIMU) was established to carry out the necessary rehabilitation works of both the dam and irrigation infrastructure, as well as in assisting the smallholder farmers in their farming systems.

Stakeholders' limitations

It has been clear that local institution participation in the development management process is poor. The reality on the ground is that particularly most of this institutions their capacity is very weak our respondents points as the reason why in fact the ADB is trying to build social capital in the country; logically it is a long process. However it does have major impact in designing as well as implementation of the project.

Our respondents consider the role that could be played by government and local professionals as missing, almost is not there. Thus outsiders design projects; actually, problems could be expected at implementation stage, likewise if the country depends on expatriates to assist on implementation of these projects, obviously it is expected that problems arise. Basically the Bank works with Ministries, the pity is that more on macro-economic management normally works with the Ministry of finance. Though the relationship has been good, does not exist anything against. However local communities are less involved in decision-making process and when involved are contracted as cheap labour for project activities.

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4.2.2. Timeline and the process

The loan agreement was signed in 1994 for a six-year implementation period however, following that event the project faced a turbulent phase. First, the fulfilments of pre-conditions for the commencement of disbursement were quite difficult to take place in a short time in the view of the project managers. This was not only the case of Massingir Dam project; other projects had the same problems. The conditions required were difficult to be realized, but this does not happen presently with the new financial agreements. Secondly, after the floods in 2000 two hydrologic studies took place to update existing information since the construction of the dam in early 70's. The studies concluded that it was necessary to improve the security and capacity of the dam in other words reinforces the dam for high torrents.

Actually from 1994 nothing was done until the implementation started in 2002. The project was designed to be implemented in 6 years; it could have finished in 2000. Though its implementation has been postponed several times. The project to rehabilitate the Dam is well behind the schedule.

4.2.3. Constraints and weakness

In the following section the author brings to the reader main findings regarded with project implementation constraints and weakness. The focus is on institution and human capital limitations.

Thus ADB consider not responsible of the delays. Because effectively, what delayed was the fulfilment of conditions of entry into force for the project. The pre-conditions in the recent agreements were simplified, and in the case of Massingir out of fulfilling the pre-conditions; was observed a turbulence in a tender launched in 1996 and thereafter cancelled because of irregularities detected by ADB. These irregularities has ended up with blacklisting of one of the company involved in the competition, therefore was launched another tender that was concluded in 2000. Interpreting the phenomenon apparently there were some kind of corruption in the process involving ADB staff and competing companies.

Moreover respondents have the sense that ADB is more worried with utilization of funds rather than technical aspects. It happens when modifications on the works are to be considered, the ADB technicians come to understand why changes on execution of the

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constructions, have financial impact on the project implementation schedule. For instance, there was a need for construction of berms and filter blanket for the right bank dam. This intervention because it was not effectively estimated it had direct impact on change of the budget of the project. To ensure that ADB staff understands the changes and the need to update the budget it was time consuming.

Another constraint was registered as a consequence of ongoing works of contractors, which imposed that, while the works are in progress the following phase could not start. This was eventually critical to the construction process, to the extent that installation of hydropower was conditioned by the end of the first phase with significant delays.

Staff capacity weakness

Regarding capacity requirements our respondents as stated the following point:

“ Having the right mix of inputs, the Bank come up with the money but people to manage that money effectively are not there, naturally the project will run full of problems and its impact will be affected”.

They support their point arguing that this is particularly the case of many projects as well as getting the right time schedule, so procurement is a major area where lots of the projects have lot of difficulties.

Therefore, the capacity, skills are paramount rather, factors like instability, civil war, insecurity, prices of international commodity, at the time of implementation, the availability of the infrastructure roads and communication are determinant in the process. The rise of international commodities change significantly the course of the project, so, the case of Massingir Dam project, the estimated prices during the appraisal up to the implementation stage almost 10 years ago were not the same and the project cost have increased steadily.

Any delay end up modifying costs, for instance, increase on international oil prices impacted directly on construction Material. Thus if the process of tenders had not wasted 10 years it could not have been affected by the increase of the prices and other costs that any bank knows that may occur caused by the Iraq war, and that becomes hard when it happens out of the period established for extension of the project.

Therefore, even the funding institution end up refraining to finance farmers, as they know that the farmer will not be able to get the outcomes of their investments if the basic conditions are not available, (water for irrigation).

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The delay on procurement aggravated uncertainty to the extent that the Bank was not sure if the adopted solution were the best or not. Hence, that motivated delays on concession of funds to the rehabilitation of the dam as well as uncertainty on loan concession to the farmers aggravated.

Another constrain pointed out is regarding disbursements, in case of construction projects the contractor who has submitted the bill and was not paid he just reduce the performance and the construction that was planned for 12 months may duplicate the time. That means, what was suppose to be done in one day it could be done in 2 or 3 days and this affects the time limit for conclusion of the construction therefore the project performance.

The project officials believe that the fundamental issue for weakness in managing development projects is associated with the rules and procedures of ADB. ADB development projects are usually implemented in line with all kind of procedures, all kind of rules designed by the Bank.

The ADB respondent argues that the country even the staff is not familiar with the rules. Is natural and quite obvious to have problems in implementation of issues like procurement. However there are times that restlessness can cause delays with serious impact on the outputs of the project.

All informants agreed that disbursement have negative impact on management of the projects and constitute one of the major factor for delays. For example it happens with the contractors that expect to be paid in a certain day that never happen due to slow procedures that originates extensions of the projects. There is no equilibrium between the rhythm of the works, disbursements and payments. If the contractor is not paid he gets a loan from the commercial Banks to by building materials and when he gets paid via ADB he has to pay back the loan and interest in such a way that reduce its profits. The projects in most cases delay because the rhythm of disbursements is not adequate.

4.2.4. Monitoring and evaluation tools

Conducting supervision mission typically once or twice a year, is the system adopted by the Bank to see if what was agreed in terms of implementation is accomplished accordingly. According to the implementation schedule what has not been achieved why it as not been achieved identifying weakness and address those weakness to remain in line in order to

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achieve the objectives and goals of the project.

During the mid-term review assessment, the Bank, the Government and the Implementation Agency, see whether the project is on track or not, whether the project is achieving the objectives that were suppose to or not – if there are problems the mission try to address them in the mid-term review. It can be realized that they over allocated funds in an area that did not need, it is an opportunity during the mission to revisit the project and redistribute the funds according to the real needs.

The Bank of Mozambique (BM) as a government financial controller has established two methods to monitor ongoing activities: the first method is Report Evaluation; the project implementation units send a quarter report for review and recommendations. The second method consist on visits to the project sight together with the project manages.

For the case of Massingir only documental monitoring and evaluation was done and the visit to the project sight never happened. The BM manager expects to visit the project before its conclusion.

4.2.5. Perspective, strategy and sustainability

Usually it is expected that the country run the project, although, due to capacity constraints mentioned above, the Bank offer technical expertise to assist the country and ensure that the projects meet the desirable impact.

The Bank use people from the market, recruit people from the market to ensure that the project is implemented in a best manner this is one of the instrument that the Bank use to ensure that have the right people and paid quite well expecting them to produce what they've been recruited for.

One thing that has been suggested is to use the country procedures to avoid additional procedures ensuring that there is no corruption. Using the laid down procedures to avoid that each financial institution or donor comes with own procedures. So that may confuse the countries.

According to the ADB it would rather suggest that the country design the project but unfortunately due to lack of capacity the Bank is forced to do prepare the project of the country, but the ownership of all the project cycle is handed to the government or to the executing agency. The question is to what extent the country assumes the ownership of the project handed by the Bank if did not participate on conceptual phase?

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Our personal experience prove that, 80 percent of the decision making process is under control of the Bank diluting all the local leadership handed to local staff.

It is suggested that the country itself should have training institutions that can build skills of own people. To my own knowledge the country does not have institutions. Create institutions within the country that can provide training, which will continue providing necessary training opportunities without travelling to learn about procurement, Rules and Procedures (R.P) or project implementation.

Building capacity, empowering the people not to fear mistakes; also there is a need to simplify R.P. without lose the sense of competition and efficiency.

Massingir could be compared in the future with the village of Songo (Tete Province) in such a way that economic development may become a reality in this village. Another fundamental aspect is regarded with the water system and strengthening of synergies with other projects like the exploitation of row material for Titanium in Chibuto, such that it will need a lot quantities of water that the Dam could supply.

The most profound challenge is the irrigation of 90 thousand ha that it is not so easy to cover even in 10 years maybe in 50 years. Although the 10 thousand ha available has not yet been used; this could bring the socio economic impact. The other impact could be the installation of hydroelectric system in the dam to resolve the problem of electricity in the Gaza province; this would be a great socio economic impact of the Dam. The state through governors should think well how to make profitable the dam and the capital invested for rehabilitation.

Finally, a successful development project implies management *for* development, meaning management with development orientation where people's values are developed through participation of key stakeholders.

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CONCLUSION

The involvement of all stakeholders in all life cycle of the project would be desirable but as the study demonstrate ADB continue following the top-down approach in management of development projects pointing as the reason lack of capacity in the demanding side (the beneficiary country).

The study has shown that development management in development projects financed by ADB continues critical such that controlling delays it is a task that the government and all key stakeholders has to assumed.

Development management approach followed in development projects financed by ADB embodies the type of *management of development* efforts meaning that values like empowerment and ownership to the local communities are far away to be reached.

We agree that management skills have to be built institutionally as well as individually but it is not the unique reason for poor implementation of the projects.

Leadership on project management concerns. If right leadership is in place the expectations or rather the chances of the project to succeed are obvious. That is why all the projects leadership comes with people-centred and in terms of impact and implementation people participate. Naturally there are failures, if enabled environment good leadership is not provided; if interference are present in executing agency by using the resources for other things that where not intended for the project naturally might have problems.

I want to agree in part that the funder has to be the coordinator of implementation of certain rules but some of these rules must be compatible with national rules, as the same way that the country negotiates concession of the funds should negotiate the compatibility of the applicable rules within the country.

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Appendix A

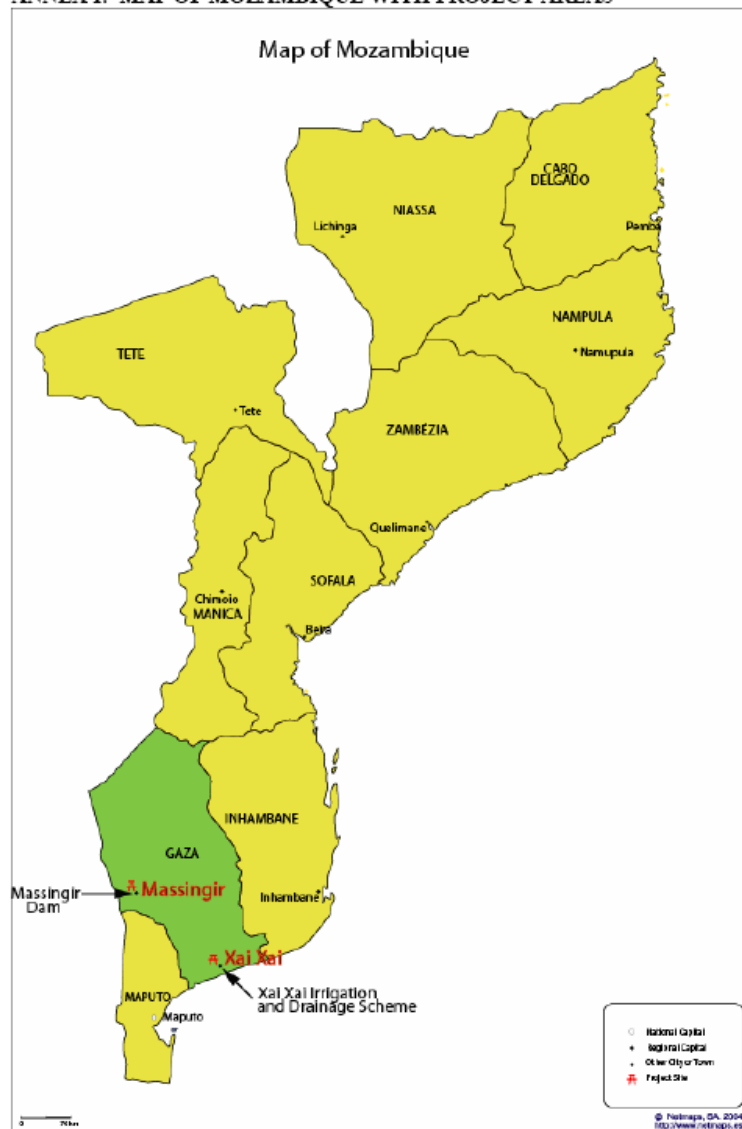
Development projects funded by ADB (General informants)

INFORMANT	DATE	CODE
Ministry of plan and Development		MPD
ADB representative	16/12/2005	ADBR
Ministry of Finance	18/01/2006	MF
Bank of Mozambique	19/01/06-29/01/06	BM

Massingir Dam project

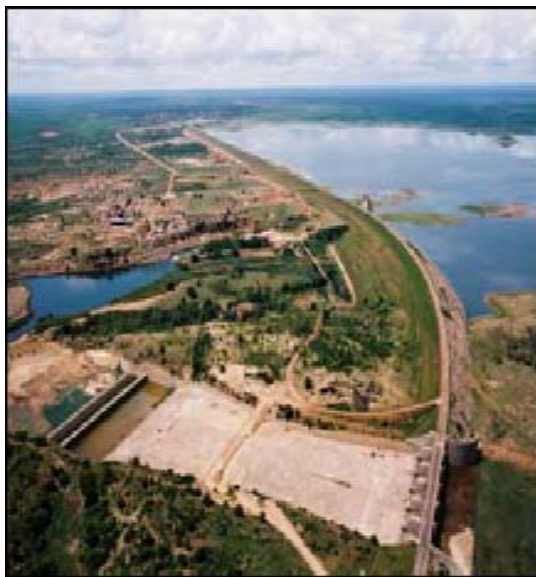
INFORMANT	DATE	CODE
Massingir dam project Manager	23/01/2006	MDM
Massingir Dam financial Manager	30/01/2006	MDFM
Massingir district authority	24/01/2006	MDDA
Community leader representative	24/01/2006	CLR
Community members	15/02/2006	CM

ANNEX I: MAP OF MOZAMBIQUE WITH PROJECT AREAS



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Annex 2
Aerial view of the Dam





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