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THE CLUSTER AS A THEORETICAL
AND PRACTICAL TOOL FOR PORTUGUESE
INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION FOR DEVELOPMENT
THE CASES OF MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|----------------------------------------|---|
| INTRODUCTION | 9 |
| <i>Ana Bénard and Carlos Sangreman</i> | |

PART I - THE CLUSTERS THEORY OF PORTUGUESE

COOPERATION

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| CLUSTERS IN COOPERATION AND THE REFORM OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION | 13 |
| <i>Carlos Sangreman and Fernando Carvalho</i> | |

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| THE SOFT SYSTEMS METHODOLOGY AND ITS SUITABILITY FOR PORTUGUESE COOPERATION | 47 |
| <i>Carlos Sangreman and Raquel Faria</i> | |

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| UNDERSTANDING THE PARADIGMS RELATING TO INTER- NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AND THE CHAN- GING ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN PORTUGAL | 65 |
| <i>Carlos Sangreman and Tânia Santos</i> | |

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| THE VALUES OF PORTUGUESE INTERNATIONAL COOPERA- TION FOR DEVELOPMENT | 87 |
| <i>Carlos Sangreman and Raquel Faria</i> | |

**PART II - CLUSTER PRACTICE IN
PORTUGUESE COOPERATION**

**THE NEW TOOL OF THE PORTUGUESE COOPERATION:
COOPERATION CLUSTERS 113**

Carlos Sangreman and Sandra Silva

**THE COOPERATION MODEL USED BY THE MARQUÊS VALE
FLÔR INSTITUTE IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF ECUNHA IN
THE PROVINCE OF HUAMBO: CLUSTER OR INTEGRATED
COOPERATION PROGRAMME? 133**

Carlos Lopes and João Monteiro

**COHERENCE AND CONTRADICTIONS IN THE THEORIES, THE
TOOLS, THE PRACTICES AND THE ACTORS IN COOPERA-
TION FOR DEVELOPMENT: THE CASE OF THE ISLAND OF
MOZAMBIQUE 159**

Ana Bénard da Costa and Pedro Fraga

FINAL REMARKS191

INTRODUCTION

This book is one of the outcomes of the research project entitled “The cluster as a theoretical and practical tool for Portuguese international cooperation for development, the cases of Mozambique and Angola” (PTDC/AFR/11168/2009), funded by Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT), in the field of African Studies¹ research. Delivers a research focused, in particular, in the two case studies: the Island of Mozambique and Ecuinha in Huambo, Angola.

In addition to the set of reflections on cooperation projects/programs related to the Cluster instrument in which the research project was centered, this publication also includes an analysis carried out in 2006², debated in conferences³ and in the context of academic research⁴ that constituted the first attempt to create more in-depth knowledge about this instrument of Portuguese Cooperation: the “cooperation cluster”⁵. This analysis contextualizes theoretically the reflections that are presented in the remaining chapters of the book and which were guided by two distinct research lines.

The first part begins with the theoretical analysis developed in the article: “The soft systems methodology and its suitability for Portuguese Cooperation”, about how to apply a theoretical methodology in the synthesis reading of the Portuguese Cooperation and in the analysis of problematic situations. This analysis is based on the works of Peter Checkland on “Soft System Methodology”. Without this methodology, the Portuguese Cooperation only produces descriptive and non-analytical analyses. This occurred in

1 A field that was later extinguished by the same entity in a clear manifestation of alienation from Portuguese historical identity in Social Sciences research.

2 “The instrument of transformation of Portuguese cooperation: the clusters, what they are and how they can be operationalized according to the reform policy”, Center for African Studies and Development of ISEG, N° 73, Lisbon, 2007.

3 Communication at the Conference of the National Institute of Administration “Knowledge and Cooperation” with the theme “The construction of knowledge in Cooperation - the clusters as an instrument of the Reform” in co-authoring with Fernando Carvalho, December, 2006.

4 Sousa, FSCP (2011), Cluster of Portuguese Cooperation in East Timor: effectiveness of concept and practice, MSc Thesis, ISEG / UTL.

5 This concept was presented in 2005 by the Secretary of State at the time, João Gomes Cravinho and approved by the Council of Ministers.

the two central works emanating from the Cooperation coordination body in 1995 and 2010⁶.

This analytical incapacity is expressed in the difficulty of defining the public policies of Cooperation. It is recalled that the first strategic document guiding the policies of Portuguese Cooperation emerged only in 1999 and that same document was updated in 2005 and in 2014, with some innovative aspects. The same analytical incapacity is reflected in the decision to merge the Camões Institute and the Portuguese Institute for Aid and Development (IPAD), in Camões Institute for Cooperation and Language, I.P. in 2011, with purely economic justifications of saving on public spending.

The second part is about the research conducted in this project, namely the concrete analysis of the programs and projects that Portuguese Cooperation designated as a Cluster of Cooperation in Mozambique and of those, whose main promoter Instituto Marquês de Vale Flôr (IMVF), a Portuguese NGO, advocates clusters although the IPAD and Camões do not recognize them as such. These projects took place in Angola.

Based on the research that took place on the intervention of the Instituto Marquês de Vale Flôr (IMVF), in the city of E Cunha, Province of Huambo, Angola, it was tried to equate the adherence of the referential model of clusters to analysis of differentiated and complex activities and processes, such as those that characterize the Cooperation contexts.

Thus, in “Coherence and contradiction on the theories, the tools, the practices and the actors in cooperation for development: the case of the Island of Mozambique”, based on research carried out on the Island of Mozambique, it reflects on the coherences and contradictions that are generated around theories, instruments, practices and actors that cross in the processes of cooperation for development in the island of Mozambique, World Heritage of Humanity. After a brief framework of the history of the island and its demographic evolution, the processes of implementation of the Cluster of the Island of Mozambique are analysed, questioning the applicability of this instrument to the field of development cooperation that occurs there. We have a book structured in two parts. One is a theoretical part and other a more practical part with case studies of Mozambique and Angola. The conclusions seek to create a relationship analysis of all the approaches referring to the initial goals of the research where it was sought:

“To confirm whether, or not, the concept and the practical use of the Cluster of Cooperation for development (Mozambique and Angola) constitute an effective response to the question, now consensual issue in the international community, of how to improve the coherence, harmonization and alignment placed in international conferences such as the Conference of Paris regarding the effectiveness of development aid.”

6 In 2005 the Secretary of State for Cooperation was Dr. Brisoa eGala and in 2010 Professor João Gomes Cravinho.

- PART I -

**THE CLUSTERS THEORY OF
PORTUGUESE COOPERATION**

CLUSTERS IN COOPERATION AND THE REFORM OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

*Carlos Sangreman
Fernando Carvalho*

Written in 2007 – hence the frequent use of the term IPAD – this work was one of the first steps in detailed research on the concept of clusters in Portuguese cooperation. It stemmed from the 2005 strategy, gave rise to an address made in the conference “Conhecimento e Cooperação”, INA, 2006, served as the basis for an article published in the IPAD magazine and benefited from the contribution of many of those in the “cooperation community” who made comments, voiced criticisms and put forward suggestions. All of this showed that the article was relevant and timely, and that the issue needed to be out on the table.

This analysis of Portuguese cooperation is the sole responsibility of the first named author. It stems also from the research undertaken as part of the project “A cooperação descentralizada: os actores não estatais na dinâmica de mudança em países africanos – o caso da Guiné-Bissau e de Cabo Verde, 2000-2004 “ (Decentralised cooperation: the non state actors in the dynamics of change in African countries – the case of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde, 2000/2004), financed through the EU programme POCI 2010 and the Portuguese Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia (Foundation for Science and Technology).

Summary

This paper seeks to provide a contribution towards knowledge of the theory and practical effects of the new instrument in the hands of Portu-

guese cooperation for development – clusters in cooperation – both in regard to the countries receiving international aid and in terms of the effect that its creation and implementation may have, through what we can call the “boomerang effect”, on the reform of public and private cooperation institutions in Portugal, above all at the Instituto de Apoio ao Desenvolvimento (the Development Support Institute – IPAD).

As for the theoretical side, we maintain that it is only the connection of this concept to benchmarking, as it is taken to mean in the reform of public administration currently underway, that will turn it into a real policy measure, as opposed to virtual measures that are announced and never put into practice. Then it can provide an innovative contribution to the reform of public institutions and the non state actors who make up the field for Portuguese cooperation, which operates within the current framework of international consensus about the area, and the public administration reform policy of the current government.

In terms of practical operations, we maintain that that this should be achieved by a flexible model that is perfectly feasible and not in any way Utopian. With this model, cooperation programmes can be developed which are the tailor made for the priorities in each country. This can be carried out by using the methodology of partnership and the evaluation of those results that give the best quality and are the most participative possible in all the phases of identification, conception, implementation and evaluation. This means keeping in mind the Portuguese political options and those of the partner countries, as well as the coherence, consistency and institutional capacity of both sides.

Experiences are needed of other countries that finance cooperation, and reference must be made to the most advanced cluster in Portugal – the project for the Island of Mozambique – as well as putting forward proposals for making the clusters operational. These can form a template of what Portugal can set out for the countries with which it is cooperating, and can then also be extended to what we think could be the transformations in Portuguese institutions of the “field” in the light of the ideas expressed here.

The concept of clusters in cooperation¹

Clusters appear in Portuguese cooperation in the Council of Ministers resolution of December 2005², where they are defined as “a raft of projects carried out by various institutions (individually or associated with institutions in the partner country), in the same geographical area and within a common framework (...) In principle, the central feature of a ‘cooperation cluster’ should be a substantial and strategic intervention financed through IPAD, which will also operate as an institution that structures and coordinates the cluster. Around the strategic project there are others, smaller in scale and more closely focused, which complement the central project and provide an integrated approach.”

The existing definitions of the concept have been built above all for the economy, although they have been adapted to other areas. According to Michael Porter, this is an issue about “geographical concentrations involving interconnected companies, specialist suppliers, providers of services, companies in related industries and the institutions that are related to them – universities, public certification agencies and their standards, business associations – in specific area where there is competition and cooperation between them.” For the OECD, the definition is that of a production network of closely interconnected companies – including specialist suppliers – tied together in a value chain that may involve alliances between companies and universities, research institutes, knowledge-intensive services, interface agents – such as brokers and consultants – and clients.

Anyone using this concept in International Development Cooperation (IDC) should take note of the fact that this is not a business. The profit motive, therefore, does not exist as a criterion on which to base decisions. And it is not humanitarian aid, and again, this being so, the current practice in quality cooperation does not cover situations of natural disasters or armed conflict. It should therefore have its own rules and structures that are appropriate for institutional response. As a final point, IDC should not be seen as comparable to social assistance, where the party holding the

¹ The acronyms used here follow those in the document “Acronyms used in Cooperation for Development” available on line at the site www.ipad.gov.pt, except for IDC (International Development Cooperation, which does not appear in that document.

² Government of Portugal (2005), *Uma visão estratégica para a cooperação portuguesa* (A strategic vision for Portuguese cooperation, Resolution of the Council of Ministers, R 423/2005, 30 November, Lisbon.

funds always defines the rules of the game and does not let the recipient grow in accordance with its own options. These days, it is not a question of whether you give the fish or the rod, but rather do you put these options on one side and on the other, learning to make rods together.

It is, moreover, an interdisciplinary activity undertaken against a backdrop of social change and must therefore have a high level of tolerance when faced with the contradictions in the behaviour of those involved. In our opinion, however, this tolerance does not mean abetting incompetence and/or corruption among the actors, whether they be from the suppliers of cooperation or the recipients. The activity should also have explicit conclusions. In other words, Portugal should define the timing for objectives and goals to be transformed into relations of cooperation between peoples and states, without one of the partners being seen as the financier and the other the recipient. There should rather be an agreement on projects of interest to them both and the sharing of costs and benefits, taking into account the development of each country. For example, 25 years should be allotted to Timor for transformation (a generation is enough time for the practical application of income from oil), and the time frame for Cape Verde³ should be shorter, given the country's development.

The current paradigm and the challenges it poses

The norms (ideas and standards) making up the current international consensus, where Portuguese cooperation is framed, is based on the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man⁴ approved by the UN in December 1948. This is a set of principles which have become a yardstick. Although the declaration was set down many years ago, the initial "preamble" and the 30 articles that follow include all the areas of international discussion valid today, except for the issues of the environment.

The most up to date expression of these norms is the relevant section in the resolutions of the International Conference on Financial Coopera-

³ There are simple things that are happening, but rarely. Among them are the financial support for entities in Cape Verde, together with the Portuguese, and a work published this year by the ong ACEP with photographs of that country through the eyes of the MDGs; these things are rare but they are becoming possible.

⁴ On line in many sites including [http://: www.camo.es.mne.pt](http://www.camo.es.mne.pt) .

tion, held in Monterrey, México in 2002⁵ (and it uses the vocabulary that is relevant for the way that issues are approached today – for example the Declaration refers in the preamble to “terror” in the context of the aftermath of the 1939-45 war, while the same word in the Monterrey Declaration is seen in the express context of the September 11 terror attack).

The norms set out relate to justice, fairness, democracy, participation, transparency, responsibility and openness, freedom, peace and security, domestic stability within the States, respect for human rights, including the right to development, the rule of law, equality between the sexes, market economy policies and the general desire to create just and democratic societies.

The conference represents a commitment by an unprecedented number of actors in the field of international cooperation.

It is this strategy – which some authors have termed the “Monterrey Consensus” – which is expressed in the poverty reduction strategy papers (PRSP) put forward in the 1990s and the early twenty-first century, as well as the definition, approved in a UN General Assembly, of overall objectives, known as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), covering areas of extreme and abject poverty, primary education, equality of gender, infant mortality up to the age of 5, health care for mothers, widespread diseases (AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis), environmental resources, drinking water and living conditions in suburban areas. The last MDG is not about an area, but rather a methodology option for putting into practice a global partnership for development.

To this were added innovative initiatives from the regions involved, among them the sub-Saharan NEPAD, covering the use of regional peacekeepers in local trouble spots.

The “Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, Ownership, Harmonisation, Alignment, Results and Mutual Accountability”⁶ acts as a summa-

⁵ Heads of States and Government (2002), International Conference on Financing for Development Monterrey Consensus, Mexico, March.

⁶ On line in the site of IPAD/Camões. Note that this kind of theme has been the subject of discussions, declarations and publications for many years, with the DAC documents forming a reference point. They are closer to the current way of posing the questions of Effectiveness “Análise de 25 anos de cooperação para o desenvolvimento” (Analysis of 25 years of cooperation for development), 1985 and the “Manual de Ajuda ao Desenvolvimento, Princípios do CAD para uma Ajuda Eficaz” (Handbook for Aid to Development, the DAC Principles for Effective Aid (1992)).

ry of the previous declarations adopted in Rome (2003) and Marrakech (2004). These formed a set of commitments for development cooperation based on the principles of coordinated support backing development, where control is ensured at a local level. This control could be in the form of a national development strategy, a sectoral programme, a thematic programme or a programme with a specific structure.

This set of documents and the debate it has generated pose the following challenges:

(a) how to make it possible to promote leadership in fragile recipient States or simply in States which do not have the specialist and political human resources to manage the demands of major participation, for which they are responsible (in a process which is in fact has many similarities to the conditionality mechanisms of “structural adjustment” put in place by the donor countries in the 1980s);

(b) how to manage to put together a single, detailed budgetary and programme-based framework for all the programmes and projects with cooperation decentralised and the lack of any financing norms or standards (and the most consistent is amazingly that area of ondg known a non state actors) coupled with the poor quality of operations in the ministries of finance that form the partnerships;

(c) how to build a formal process leading to coordination between the donors and harmonisation of the procedures they use in areas such as notifications, budgets, financial management and supplies when the international relations between the donor States and recipient States⁷ still determine to a great extent which are the partners with whom they choose to set up cooperation relationships;

(d) how to focus efforts on boosting the use of local systems in creating and implementing programmes and in financial management, along with supervision and evaluation, when, in the case of Portugal, our own cooperation has no systems for the information to back decisions; it has a data base with projects and programmes based on low priorities; there are senior managers of IPAD who come and go at any moment with nobody knowing how or why; and there is no way that we can build a culture of evaluation where there is no explicit plan with goals and objectively verifiable indi-

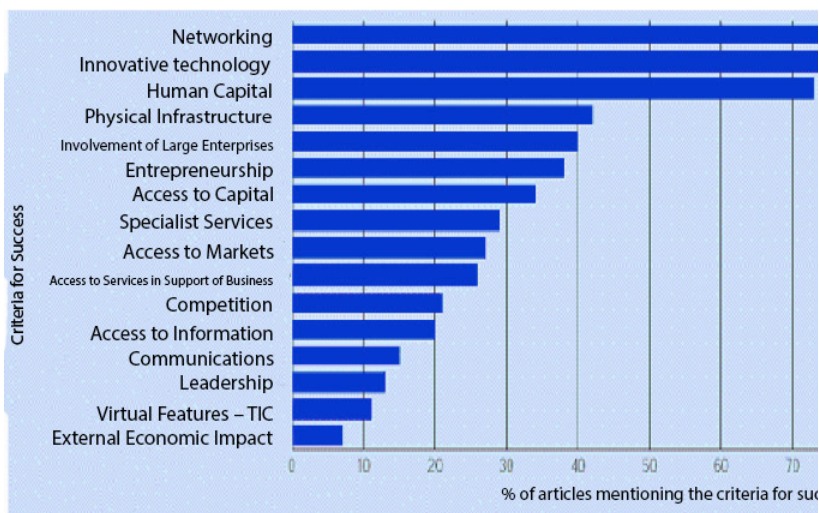
⁷ This is clear, moreover, in the fact that most donor countries place IDC within the scope of their Ministry for Foreign Affairs (vide the summary of models for cooperation in the CAD/OCDE, in *The DAC Guidelines for Poverty Reduction*, 2001)

cators and no way to test what may be more effective management tools, following inspired thinking by specialists or any middle or senior managers

The technological plan and benchmarking in cooperation

The technological plan approved by the current Portuguese government includes a chart detailing the criteria for success of clusters (Figure 3.3) and this should be borne in mind when we are looking to put a concept of this type into place, in an area that is different from what has been previously developed. This covers both the elements that help in defining the detail of what makes up the “clusters of cooperation” and as the starting point criteria for putting together an evaluation of the results.

Critical criteria for clusters success



Fonte: ECOTEC

We believe that the cluster concept linked to a geographical area or to a sector should be seen and assessed in reference to benchmarking as it is understood in the public administration reform process that is in progress.

The concept of benchmarking was created in Japan during the years after the 1939-45 war. It is a tool for use in achieving greater productivity, more savings, a better return on what exists, more effectiveness and a stan-

dard means for assessing efficiency. The essence of this tool is that each sector, organisation or a mere actor forms a reference point for best practices in the specific area. The tool can be applied creatively to the targeted results, and the reasoning is that we do not accept “the best we can do” but rather that we demand “the best that there is”.

This concept, when applied to public administration, has an external dimension, which is the relationship with the citizen in the provision of the highest service quality that is possible, and an internal dimension that involves the search for the best management methods for those who head each of the rungs on the hierarchy (the chair, members of the top executive body, heads of services and heads of departments), for the recycling of staff, the closure of sections, departments or services where necessary, for moving staff to where their work provides a better quality of service, and for a clear, transparent and foreseeable relationship between bodies or ministries directly involved in the sector. The concept also includes the notion that without an evaluation of organisational and personal performance, with consequences known to those involved, a high operational level cannot be maintained.

The way that the cluster concept can be put into practice in Portugal and in partner countries

A carefully crafted operational method is needed if the potentials of this new tool available for Portuguese cooperation is to be turned to advantage, both in the partner countries and in the central institutions of Portuguese cooperation, above all in IPAD.

What is at issue here is to avoid allowing this tool to become commonplace and absorbed into the routine of operations and practices in the IDC administrative apparatus. If this happens, it will lose its potential for innovation in the ways that Portuguese cooperation works and approaches issues.

If we want a reform of Portuguese cooperation – as was done in France after 1998, in the United Kingdom in 1997, in Canada in 2000-2001 and so on – the most bureaucratic structures must not be allowed to handle this type of tool as if it was something to which no great importance should be attached because what mattered was that nothing should change; nor should they be allowed to try and condition the de-

cisions that are taken to the difficulties in defining indicators, the monitoring processes, the lack of funds to cover short-term costs or the impossibility of influencing the processes of financing and so on. All of these attitudes have to be overcome and not be allowed to become a barrier that cannot be breached.

It should be noted that we do not want to go beyond the reforms that may be to some extent the consequence of a process developed on the basis of clusters. We think, for instance, that the Portuguese parliament (Assembleia da República) should structure and approve a basic law for cooperation, given the diversity of the legal framework of those involved in it (covering the law pertaining to the private sector, to the public sector, canon law and cooperative law). But we do not think that this could have anything to do with clusters as a tool, so we are not elaborating on this idea.

This tool, if it is to be used in a country which is a partner of Portuguese cooperation, requires:

- The identification of a geographical area where cooperation with Portugal has assumed a particular relevance, or where it may so do, either through its concentration (in terms of financial volumes and/or the actors involved) or through the impact of intervention (in terms of the reduction in poverty among the people encompassed or the creation of conditions for sustained development) or even for the visibility that it might give to the intervention of Portuguese cooperation.
- The creation of a partnership which brings in local authorities, the actors in the field of cooperation and other international institutions, whether present at the time or drawn into the cluster.
- Setting out the terms of reference for a master plan for intervention, identifying the mission of the cluster, the workings of intervention and the related objectives, the contribution of each partner (specialist and/or financial), the period for carrying out the programme, and the mechanisms for monitoring and evaluation.
- The definition of a structure for coordination, global and for local operation, in which an integral part should be played by IPAD as the entity that mobilises and stimulates the cluster, specifically in referen-

ce to the bodies on the Portuguese side.

- A careful and well-thought out, widely-based identification of the various actors in Portugal and in the recipient countries, for what the December 2005 government diploma called the “...central element” this being a substantial strategic intervention financed through IPAD, working also as an institution that energises and coordinates the cluster.”

The development of this as a tool must have consequences in the organisations at the hub of Portuguese cooperation – the boomerang effect – without which the implementation in the partner countries will not have any greater repercussions on the development than what is happening now. For this to come about, there has to be a representative post – for those managing the cluster – and the people themselves must be chosen very carefully, since this will be the touchstone by which we assess the innovative potential of this mechanism.

These cluster managers (CM) must take on a role that goes horizontally right across IPAD, since the result of the cluster – simply put as success or failure – will depend on the part played by and the correct functioning of all the departments in IPAD. For this reason, the CMs must have the freedom to work directly with all the departments in order to obtain the answers and set out the practices that are needed to solve problems and ensure the effective follow-through of the actions that relate to the clusters. This means they must find information across the institution and be involved throughout the decision making process along the hierarchy. Ideally, they would also be free to interact directly, by e-mail and over the phone with the Portuguese entities involved in each cluster, whether they were private or public.

In order to carry out this role, the cluster managers can and should be directly dependent on the management of the organisation, as long as there is only the one hierarchical structure. And when they take on the post, they should get to know and accept commitment to a number of points of reference that define their mission, their duties and their rights, the methodologies to be used and above all the objectives to be reached. It is through all of this that their work should be assessed and judged.

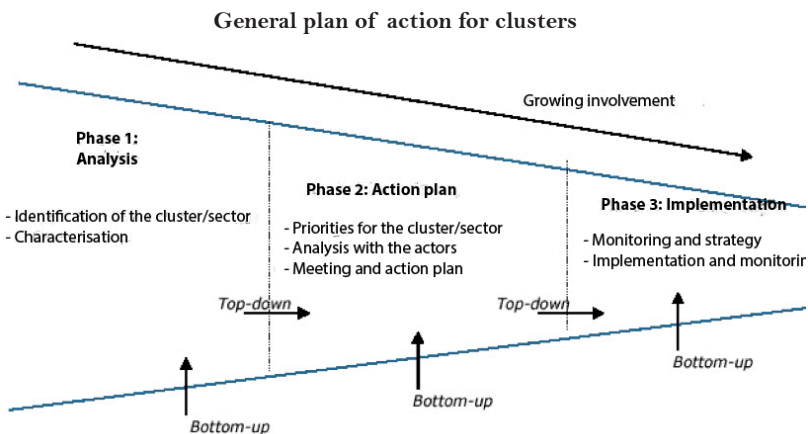
This is not a question of innovating. We are merely putting the CMs in the position of someone known generally in organisations, particularly in

the private sector, as a “client manager”. This procedure has already been adopted in other bodies in the public administrative sector and the results in most cases are positive, both in terms of “citizen/customer” satisfaction and as seen in improvements in the internal workings of the institutions themselves.

The “external shock” from the boomerang that can result from the introduction of CMs in the central cooperation operation (IPAD) should be that “nothing is as it was” and this effect should extend to all the other public and private organisations and institutions linked to the hub.

The act of building up these clusters (with the definition of “clusters + benchmarking” as detailed above) must also take into account the current state of play in Portuguese cooperation in terms of the quality of central and local management, the human resources at different levels of the private and public institutions, the available funds and the relations between the Portuguese institutions and those in the field, from ministries, municipalities, *sucos* (in Timor), foundations, universities and polytechnics, associations and other actors in NGOs.

The following figure is from the Portuguese technological plan and can be used as a way of designing the practical operational application that is the purpose behind this section of the paper.



There is a model which in our opinion responds the best both to the definition outlined and the conditions that may be found in the countries re-

ceiving cooperation funds. It requires Resource Units (RUs) for cooperation to be set up downstream from the coordination structure described already. The RUs should be designed in accordance with the long-term priorities agreed in Phase 1 between the partner countries and institutions. We could, for example, have in the same geographical area an RU for professional training and teaching, another for state and non-state institutional support, another for agricultural work, in accordance with the priorities defined from a choice that was well grounded. The set up would be restricted to the following six-nine years and with a conservative estimate of the following ten years for 2 or 3 RUs in each country, allowing for building and developing effective management and quality in activities.

Phase 2 – definition of the master plan – would be decided between those involved locally and the Portuguese institutions providing the finance, following the practice of participative budgets which is a procedure carried out in some town and city councils in Portugal, based on a financial package and a cost estimate. After the main lines for action are approved between the partners, the details can be worked out at a distance by specialist teams made up by local and international institutions. If there is no internet connection available, the Portuguese embassy will have to take a more active role in these phases, acting as a participant and/or mediator (or “interface agent”).

For phase 3, a local managerial unit (LMU) will be set up, along with a committee of partners. The function of this LMU will be to mobilise and monitor the various projects that make up the programme, the direct participation in the management of projects that are undertaken entirely in premises of the resource unit, the programmed collection and standardisation of information on the development and impact of each project, and the internal evaluation reports and results.

The Mozambique cluster is relatively in line with what we have been describing. Indeed, in the internal documents relating to work at IPAD which we had access to, there is no reference to a search for “best practices” but it is made clear that the criteria of concentration and management through partnership have been broached, and are being put in place in various phases. This procedure is based on work collecting data from a specific region (the island of Mozambique) and was chosen in agreement with the country’s central government, and therefore in accordance with the priorities clearly set out in terms of the MDGs and Mozambican policy. There is even a “Statute for the island of Mozambique” approved in June 2006 by the

government. Since these criteria could have been used for various geographical areas, a theme was added – rehabilitating the island’s heritage – the aim being “to combine the fight against extreme poverty with rehabilitating and revitalising the heritage by using the new cluster concept,” as it relates to the Mozambique side, with the approval of the Gabinete de Conservação da Ilha de Moçambique (the Office for Conservation of the Island of Mozambique – GACIM).

The objectives as we see them require a rigorous quality. They need to be well identified and unmistakable, measurable, realistic and agreed among all the actors involved in terms of contents and timing.

The overall calendar has been defined as nine years, because this seems to better match the reality on the ground than the three-year projects which have been standard for the international cooperation programmes and with an evaluation that strives to be “rigorous, with the aim of improving the effectiveness of future actions of any corrections of errors that may have been committed.”

Cluster management requires a donor committee (where the Mozambique government has power of veto), a management committee for permanent oversight, and a local coordinator who lives on the island. This seems to me to be an over-heavy management structure and I think that it would be preferable to have a management unit with two people on site, clearly defined support at IPAD in terms of what functions the actors have, and a partners’ committee, with all the actors (and not just the donors). This would streamline decision-making, allowing for a clearer definition of power over financing, given that in the same meeting there is representation by those who have the funds and those who are receiving them. The document that we know of includes much of the logic of the 1970s integrated development plans, involving in practice all the sectors of development, but the way the definition has evolved could lead to a change which would make this cluster closer to what we have set out, or it could lead to conclusions correcting what we have presented.

Conclusions

The main body for carrying out Portuguese cooperation has seen 18 Secretaries of State, 16 directors or chairpersons⁸, and it has no financial

⁸ Vide Annex 1 of the book: The Secretaries of State in charge of cooperation and the

autonomy. What is now the *Instituto de Apoio ao Desenvolvimento* (the Institute for Development Support – IPAD⁹) used to be the Direção Geral da Cooperação (the General Directorate for Cooperation), then the Instituto para a Cooperação Portuguesa (the Institute for Portuguese Cooperation) is an unstable institution, with structural problems hindering the execution of its functions. The cluster concept could lead to a positive transformational contribution, impacting on the people who work there and who would like to see more results from their efforts, and also on the institution and on cooperation in general. The aim is to create a more effective organisation in the framework of existing cooperation.

The final conclusions as to the role of clusters in the reform of Portuguese cooperation can be summed up in five points:

- An organisation structured as a network, with exchange of information, objectives, verifiable targets, and practices of knowledge-building processes in permanent learning processes involving everyone;
- A search for the best practices in cooperation developed by other countries or by Portugal in the past, in a benchmarking process that includes models of evaluation and effectiveness for each intervention;
- An increase in the efficiency of the organisational process of Portuguese cooperation at home, through changes in the functioning of structures linked to clusters and the connection to the other parts of the organisation, leading to a boomerang effect as a return is seen on the good practices of the work done in partner countries;
- The adoption of sustainability as a criterion for gauging the effectiveness of a credible cooperation among the actors and in public opinion in Portugal and in partner countries;

heads of the central bodies in the area. As can be seen in this annex, this instability has only got worse since the date when this text was written. There has been a merger between Camões (focusing on the dissemination of the Portuguese language) and IPAD in a new institute, namely Camões, Instituto da Cooperação e da Língua, and in the current government there have been three Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, one of whom was only in the post for four months (note dated July 2014).

⁹ Vide what I consider to be the best compilation of data on the changes in the structure of cooperation in António Rebelo de Sousa (2004), in *Da Teoria da Relatividade Económica Aplicada à Economia Internacional e às Políticas de Cooperação* (On the theory of economic relativity applied to the international economy and the politics of cooperation), Universidade Lusíada Editora.

- The organisation of sessions for reflection and debate on the scientific knowledge of IDC, with dissemination of experiences and models, both successful and unsuccessful.

If the actors, and above all those running the operation, really want to see a qualitative effect from intervention on the ground and a boomerang effect that transforms operations in public and private institutions involved in cooperation, there has to be a specific management line that is much better than the existing one. This could then extend little by little to the whole entity in line with the experience acquired.

If clusters are to fulfil their function, they must be the hubs of excellence in the institutions involved in cooperation, managing little by little, through a ripple effect, to extend this quality throughout the organisation.

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- Annex 1 -

A note on Portuguese cooperation analysed through the cluster concept

Our interest here is the public matrix of IDC at the level of central administration.¹⁰ The reason for this interest is the role that the new tool for cooperation – the clusters – can play in the very necessary reform of the institutions in public administration responsible for this field of government. The matrix is made up of three components: <¹¹

The first of these is the organisational culture of the central institution for IDC. From a commissariat to a general directorate, from this to a public institute (ICE and ICP), then ICP and APAD,¹² and then a return to the logic of general directorate with IPAD. In other words, the organisational culture has been defined throughout its existence by the logic of a body that is part of the central administration of public service. What this means is a permanent double standard relating to the values linked to work, either in positions of responsibility or simply as employees: those that consider what they are doing in terms of “a mission spirit” or “team spirit”; and those that see absolutely no reason to undertake anything apart from what they perceive to be the minimum that the institution will accept.

Motivation based on “the best we can do” is seen as tending to be more valuable than “the best that there is”. This is based on the specific concept that “what the institution does in the vast majority of cases is done for no reason”.

There is no theory of causality saying that better results come from special management skills in cooperation than the same skills in the management of another body. It is obvious that anyone seeing cooperation

10 We use the EU typology when classifying the actors involved in IDC, i.e. State Actors (Ministries and entities in central administration, the president’s office and the parliament) and Non State Actors (municipalities, autonomous institutes, universities, ongs)

11 We take “components” to be those characteristics of IDC that can be influenced by the way that clusters operate but not substantially changed. Further on we shall take “elements” to be those characteristics that can be changed if the way the clusters work is what we are describing or another with the same theoretical and practical consistency.

12 During this period ICP/APAD existed at the same time and this was the only point when the Ministry for Foreign Affairs attempted to change the prevailing organisational logic by looking to APAD for a style of management, contracting and financing based on the banking system. In the process, there was no accurate definition of responsibilities in terms of the different areas of cooperation, and the two departments could not agree on the definition. As a result, the model failed.

as just another job, for which no vocation is called for, will always work in a way that derives from this incompetence, since no fault derives from the sector itself; anyone judging that cooperation is charitable aid will behave in the same way if they work in social security, which is today no charity; anyone who sees cooperation as a business like any other will look for profit as if they were selling services or consumer goods.

This situation also implies that there can be no evaluation with consequences, even simply according to the criterion of budgetary outturn; a year with an outturn of 48% has the same consequences as a year at 85%. It also implies that the justification for criticism is that the blame fundamentally lies in the heavy hand of the organism, with the slowness and operating problems of the whole administrative apparatus acting as a mechanism for putting responsibility onto bureaucratic management. This also accounts for the fact that there has been no reform of the working methods in the particular structure where this is happening. Clusters are a tool through which to introduce new methods and new technologies, though it is true that these are often confused ingenuously with whether or not there is one computer per employee. The cluster concept will help but it will never be decisive for the reform which has been called for and which other countries put in place in the 1990s, as mentioned in point 4.

The second component is the policy of cooperation, which has, since the start, focused on aid to the African countries where Portuguese is the official language, with the later inclusion of East Timor. This can of course be explained by the enormous weight of history and the linguistic and cultural bonds that Portugal has with these countries, a fact that was greatly strengthened by the creation of the Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa – CPLP (the Portuguese-speaking Community of Countries) in 1996. What this means is that there are common social bonds explicit in the official language, the family way of life, patterns of consumption, the same legal framework and an administrative political system that is very similar both in theory and in practice. As a result, there is resistance in both the public services and in private organisations in Portugal against extending cooperation to countries such as Mali, Zimbabwe, the former Zaire, and so on. Such countries have been included in Portuguese cooperation plans for more than twenty years, but their importance has always been small.

This component, however, ceased to be so strictly applied fundamentally as a result of two external factors:

- Integration in the European Union meant that Portugal had to take on certain commitments as a member of an international donor community, and this implied new conditionalities applied to public aid for development.

- Its renewed membership of the OECD Development Assistance Committee as a donor in 1991, and this meant a switch in cooperation policy from a predominantly bilateral approach, to putting emphasis of public aid to development onto “service” to multilateral instruments, specifically in regard to United Nations specialist agencies. This stance was only clearly adopted in the definition of the strategy detailed in the 2005 document “A strategic vision for the 21st century”, approved by the present government.

In our opinion, the cluster concept will have no impact on this component, except in as far as it will increase working methods that are common to organisations in other countries which use this tool.

The third component common to all the institutional models in Portuguese cooperation policy relates to what has been called the decentralised cooperation system, which is characterised by its transverse nature, not only in the areas where it works (covering health, education, justice, sport and so on), but also as regards the actors in IDC themselves. Within this system there is room for the actors involved in cooperation policy and those working autonomously (that is, with their own budgets and activities and specific projects and programmes). This includes ministries within the scope of their competencies, local administration in general within the scope of twinning programmes, self-governing public bodies (such as Universities), organisations rooted in churches, associations representing the business sector, non-governmental development organisations with lay roots, cooperatives and so on.

This system has a generally accepted advantage and that is the capacity to bring about a greater use of the synergies that stem from activities undertaken by various actors. The great disadvantage stems from its very nature, and that is a notable tendency to reach less coherent and effective results (although this assertion needs research which has not been done, even though there are Masters’ dissertations on ngdgos and municipalities).¹³ Putting clusters into place could help if this was seen as an area of IDC

13 Ribeiro, M. (1995), *O potencial das ONGD portuguesas* (The potential of Portuguese ondgs), CIDAC; Costa, M.R.C. (2005), *Redes intermunicipais: Uma nova dimensão económica no quadro da CPLP?* (Inter-municipal networks: a new economic dimension in the framework of the CPLP), UTL/ISEG.

that by its nature searches for “excellence” in terms of quality, performance and coherence, and where only those organisations capable of fulfilling these demands are admitted.

Another point should be added to these components and that is the broad party consensus that exists, even though it is not written down. This can be seen by comparing the points relating to IDC in the electoral programmes of all the political parties since the 25 April evolution. This tacit consensus has a positive feature, which is that the changes in cooperation policies are not so dependent on the party in power and therefore tend to be more stable, but there is also the negative feature that there is hardly any of the kind of debate that arises when there are discordant ideas. The clearest consequence of this is that the workings of IDC depend on the people in charge at the Foreign Affairs Ministry and SENEC in the first instance and then on the executive management of ICP/IPAD. In terms of clusters, this consensus represents considerable freedom to think out and pilot the various options.

There are elements of IDC which can be altered through use of the cluster concept, and those which we consider significant for this analysis are as follows:

Firstly: the process of knowledge-building in the field; IPAD has done the groundwork for a process of this type by giving employees flexible hours to study at university or at INA (the General Directorate for Public Administration Employee Training) and to get assistance when publishing Master’s dissertations (see the INA site for detailed information). The next step, however, has not been made, and that is the provision of funds from the public purse for the publication of texts on IDC by academics or specialists from IPAD who have the necessary ability. In 2004, the Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia created an area for African studies,¹⁴ with funds to finance research on development. Deep down, however, there is the type of thought that Gaston Bachelard described as “the experimental science of ministerial institutions: they weigh up, they measure, they apply restraint; they mistrust the abstract, the rule; they push young spirits to what is concrete and what is real. For them, “seeing is understanding...”¹⁵

The strategy for cooperation was defined in 1999 and updated in 2005,

14 And cut it out in 2012 on the grounds that it was part of the subject of sociology.

15 Gaston Bachelard (1931), “Recherches philosophiques”, in *A epistemologia*, edições 70, 2006, Lisbon

but it was not followed by the creation of what is known nowadays as think tanks. It is through this kind of group that academic papers are produced, often in the form of masters' dissertations or, above all, doctoral theses. In the case of Portugal, this concern for systematic production and dissemination of thinking could be the basis for a description, with properly grounded critique, of the practices followed in Portuguese cooperation, with the theoretical paradigms that exist or are in embryonic form. The absence of such an institutional framework where this process could be developed causes mistakes to be repeated. There is no record of bad practices and good practices, in work going back 30 years in Portuguese cooperation and 40 years in Europe. The cluster concept must be taken to be an area that galvanises the source for knowledge building in IDC. This element must be radically changed through a search in the past for what was done then and what we and others are doing in the present, and the best that is being done must be used creatively through a benchmarking process.

Secondly: qualifications in IDC (theoretical, practical and managerial) and the productivity of human resources in cooperation institutions. It is well known that one of the problems with productivity in Portugal is the low return on human resources, including management at all levels.

“Common sense” tells us that beyond doubt that employees only produce a little and that management is incompetent. But how has this “common sense” attitude come about in terms of IPAD? We believe it is due to factors such as the difficulty that most actors in IDC have in getting access to specialists or people in positions of responsibility to talk to. This is due to the organisation of holidays, those on sick leave, and those not available, unconcerned with relationships with the outside world; and then there is the common problem of getting someone on the phone; and the culture of using official forms rather than e-mails or the phone to ask for information and clarification on cases which require funds to be made available; and the delay in paying what has to be paid, and so on. In other words, we are looking at a *modus operandi* which is or is reputed to be common to most entities in public administration. Yet the IPAD site contains a host of information, and there has been a rapid reply service in place for some time now for questions sent in by e-mail from actors involved, and a Newsletter available to be sent by e-mail to anyone requesting it, along with the IPAD magazine.¹⁶ What is also at issue is the image in the eyes of the public, and

¹⁶ Which started with a new series in 2006 after the amazingly incompetent notion of the

without a policy expressly geared to positive visibility, nothing will change.

Seen from a more objective angle, we have perforce to think that the absence of methods by which to calculate productivity hinders the way we can handle this element. In 1999, there was hardly any discussion at all about what was at that time a new strategy for cooperation, and the figure for the employees that ICP/IPAD would need (never based on very solid reasoning) was between 70 and 80, when at the time it had 134.

One question to ask both public and private institutions (inspired by the criteria of the World Bank) would be: "How many employees are needed to spend 1 million euros in accordance with the rules and the legislation within the institution?" And add to this indicator, what variation is there between recipient countries?

Another question would be: "How long does it take IPAD from identifying a project to releasing the funds for it?" or: from identifying to approval by the Board? In other words, what is the project time scale?

Two financiers, one public and the other private, invited the University of Aveiro in the academic year 2004/2005 to set up Masters' courses in the same country, with the same domestic institutions. One of them was on stream four months after the invitation, the other it is hoped will start in the early part of next year. This difference can be attributed to external elements such as the administrative process needed to lay out funds from public service, but a part which we consider far from negligible can also be attributed to the way that the institutions are run, their technical capacity and their decision-taking methods.

However, only with the introduction of measuring tools can we possibly get a more specific idea of employee productivity. And if these tools are not brought in, these employees will suffer because there is no way to grade the service, and then all is once again left to the vagaries in the discretionary power of those in charge. It is these measuring tools that can be brought in when the cluster concept is operational, available for those responsible at all levels for what is to be organised and carried through.

Thirdly: the capital available for Portuguese cooperation and its productivity in the light of the expectations of partner countries and all the actors in the field.

two previous governments that a monthly supplement in the newspaper *Jornal de Noticias* did the job just as well.

The first criterion to use to assess whether there is a great deal or not much capital in cooperation has to do with the capacity of the actor involved to disburse the funds in line with the budget or with other funds that are accessible. The indicator used administratively shows that the outturn for IPAD over the last three years was below 50%, and only in 2006 did it rise to what was acceptable in terms of availability rather than in terms of the budget figure that was pre-set.

The conclusion is that with the existing structure, cooperation is over-funded. The answer is not to cut the funds but to improve the structure, and the cluster concept is one of the ways towards this improvement. The second criteria relates to the commitments that have been taken on; for the Portuguese state to accept the most high profile commitment, that of earmarking 0.33 % of gross national income to public aid for development would require a sustained growth that current budgetary restrictions do not allow.

So how can the productivity of the funds in the IDC “field” be measured? We believe that it has to be measured by the search for quality and effectiveness. This is so whether the measurement involves the organisation of a system of evaluation at the stages of identification, monitoring and final outcome; or through critical comparison with cooperation in other countries; or through the definition and publication of quantifiable objectives and goals to be reached on a schedule, compared with the actual results. If we look on the IPAD site, we can see that there were ten evaluations between 1998 and 2006 (the most recent being the Mozambique cooperation programme). If there was an attempt to establish a standard methodology, the evaluations that were carried out show no sign of this.

And above all, there is no production of data and information that allow for considerations relating to:

- the measures for covering responsibilities deriving from cooperation with Guinea-Bissau after the commitment within the fragile States accord;¹⁷
- the contribution of IDC to reaching the MDGs in each of our partner countries, using such indicators as the % of taxes in Portugal

17 As and from 2006, the embassy in Bissau was endowed with a technical capacity for cooperation that it had never had before, with two specialists who had working experience in IPAD and in the field, a consul, and a coordinator for almost four dozen teachers in cooperative posts. We still do not know, however, what will be the Guinea cluster and how all this increase in Portuguese resources in the field will fulfil its potential.

set aside for cooperation, the vaccines or treatment for AIDS provided through cooperation, or the progress of schooling where there are cooperation programmes and teachers in education.

Setting up an evaluation procedure in partnership and disseminating the information should be one of the added values from the cluster concept. There should be indicators created and made public, with consequences drawn in both Portugal and its partner countries. Imagine one particular service takes twice the time to prepare and analyse a project brief that another service takes, the management should investigate and correct. Imagine that the beneficiaries of one project only receive 40% of the funds but in another country this figure is 70%, the person in charge locally has to account for the difference. And if we see (in a benchmarking process where the best quality is sought after) that the British government's Department for International Development announced in 2005 that there had been a success in the innovative project to support schools teaching the first year in the mother tongue and only thereafter in the official language (in Zambia), and we know that Portugal refused to support the same idea in Guinea-Bissau some 15-20 years earlier, the minister being Dr. Manuel R. Barcelos, and bearing in mind that the country-wide drop-out rate at primary level there now stands at 45% (data from PASEG, 2006), should we not think again about analysing issues relating to the return on funds spent on cooperation in education?

If clusters are to bring a high return on the funds made available, as far as productivity is concerned, they must be governed by what is remembered of good and bad practices and what others have done or are doing in cooperation. And for this to happen, there must be the knowledge-building tools, not just for a description of the real situation at a basic level, but also in a more explicit and scientific way, involving reflection, and the search for rules, norms and standards which lead to higher quality results in the field.

Fourthly: the organisational structure domestically and in the partner countries. What there is now is few people on the ground; constant dependence on embassies and the way they function (and what happens is a direct function of the current ambassador's skills, personality and way of seeing cooperation); coping with the ambiguities deriving from having two Ministries responsible (Foreign affairs and Finance), these being ministries with different logical approaches and priorities even with respect for governmental decisions, with a very weak work culture where information is hidden from the neighbouring department, its image denigrated in

the presence of higher authority, and where management is greeted with horror if it implies the need for a computerised system to back up decision-making, and the need for horizontal channels for information seen in the light of decisions taken in line with the hierarchy of authority defined in the statutes. Clusters must have a place in the structure with a vertical line that depends on the Board, working alongside those with specialist skills to collate data and organise information, funds for visibility and for the evaluation of all the projects and of the cluster as a whole, a culture of pooling for the sake of improving cooperation and not just the cluster's programme, an ethos that helps the public and private actor to progress. If not, they will be absorbed by those already there, they will see small changes, with what is fundamental remaining the same, and they will end up disappearing in a future organigram without having been useful in the way that was put down in writing when they were created.

Central administration has twice attempted to create structures that could be taken as a point of reference to show that it would be possible to make clusters operational: at the previous department for cooperation at the Ministry of Labour and Social Solidarity (where Ferro Rodrigues was the minister), now the Gabinete para a Cooperação (office for cooperation - OFC) at the Ministry of Labour and Social Solidarity; and at the mission unit for inter-municipal cooperation at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

As for the OFC, taking just the period from 1997 to 2001¹⁸ in terms of the first component, the organisational culture of the central institution for IDC, the office managed to work together with what was then the ICP (now IPAD), adjusting its programmes to the international development programme of each country, and it also got into the habit of informal conversations between heads at least once a month, and this helped in the process of meshing in its own logic. The budgetary outturn of the OFC was always above 90%, so these conversations also served as a way to compare the classical methods of public expenditure with those of the OFC – always within the bounds of existing legislation. This outturn derived from the simple fact that there was autonomy for decisions concerning a budget sum known at the start of the year, originating in the funds from social security and available whenever the projects made it justifiable, without recourse to

18 *Vide* MTS (2002) *Pequenos passos na luta contra a pobreza*. Relatório de Actividades 1998/2001 (Small steps in the fight against poverty – Activities Report 1998/2001). This document is available on-line. It analyses the creation and consolidation of the department, with data covering the period from the planning year, 1997, to 2001. Another work was started on the period 2002-2003 but to date it has not been completed.

other logical deductions except what came from the cooperation programme approved with the partners and authorised by the ministries involved.

As for the second component - the policy of cooperation which has, since the start, focused on aid to the African countries where Portuguese is the official language, with the later inclusion of East Timor – the OFC maintained during this period that it was too early to develop cooperation with countries other than the Portuguese-speaking countries of Africa and East Timor, since this was a structure created in 1998 with people who in general had little experience in the field of cooperation, along with the fact that the physical, human and financial resources that were available should be concentrated on providing aid for these countries. The impact and effectiveness would in principle be greater than if resources were spread over different recipient countries. Multilateral cooperation was developed with the International Labour Organisation because this was the international structure that was conceptually closer to the Ministry. It had also had personal experience from contacts and previous work done. The attempts to do the same with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Mozambique and with the World Bank in Cape Verde were never successful, above all because Portuguese cooperation always seemed to have very little confidence in these institutions. There was a mission sent to the European Union in Brussels in 1998 but at the time the Portuguese specialists at the permanent mission there maintained that the EU did not agree with cooperation based on the fight against poverty.

As for the third component – the decentralised cooperation system – the OFC made no changes. In terms of funds, there were enough for it to be completely independent financially, but it always requested the necessary expert opinions from the ICP relating to cooperation programmes, which were written in collaboration with partner countries. The informal conversations already mentioned gave rise to attempts to structure common projects involving the ICP and APAD, and even, in the case of the Island of Príncipe, with the inter-municipal mission unit. What happened, however, was that there was such a difference in the productivity of the human resources and the flexibility deriving from the readiness of funds at all times that the institutions seemed to function in different countries. There was a great contrast between the mission or team spirit on one hand and, on the other, the motivation found in the more classical style of public service.¹⁹

¹⁹ It is symptomatic that various invitations to people from the ICP to work in the OFC have always been turned down, with the justification that they would not be able to stand working at the pace required.

There was some collaboration with other ministries, and this developed slowly in C.I.C. meetings, with some progress in the area of micro-credit with the Ministry of Finance, though no concrete projects were ever started. Attempts to do something with the relevant office at the Ministry of Education (the GAERI) also came to nothing.

The OFC is also to a large extent an example of the broad party consensus mentioned above in relation to cooperation. The top figures were appointed by the government of António Guterres and kept on by successive governments under Durão Barroso, Santana Lopes and José Sócrates. This made for a stability which, whether or not you agree on the options chosen in the cooperation programmes, led to a very solid operational set up during the whole period.

In terms of a decentralised system, the policy of the OFC was to keep most of the Portuguese non state actors at arm's length. Its projects were never based substantially on partnerships with Portuguese institutions, since it worked on the assumption that it could do exactly the same as these organisations, and with far greater quality control, except for some one-off activities which we will refer to later. In the field, the programmes always included lay and religious ongs, with the consent of the partner governments, with whom an overall cooperation programme was signed, along with partnership agreements on a project by project basis.

As for the first element of IDC – the absence of a process of knowledge-building in the field – the OFC was endowed during this period with what is called in administrative management theory “staff competencies” along with “hierarchical competencies”. There was no doubt as to who had the final word, but the OFC was organised with a permanent advisory corpus and some temporary specialist services and this allowed for improvements through reflection on and justification for the model that was used. Suffice it to say that in its first year, 1998, there were several discussions on the central issue of whether the fight against poverty should be the mission of what was then the department of cooperation. At that time, this objective was not stipulated in the statutes but it was already on the table in many international organisations as a goal or objective. These discussions made it possible to be ahead of the curve when the government came to take decisions that were already being committed to by the international community as a whole.

The OFC sought to frame the projects as a whole according to the life

cycle theory, and maintained that way the issue was handled in the Ministry of Labour and Social Security should be based on the notion “from the cradle” to “old age”. It resisted accepting projects in areas outside its competence, such as health or education, even though it supported initiatives in these areas as mere components of projects integrated in the fight against poverty. The assumption, therefore, was that poverty was a multidimensional issue. The OFC never came to have a formal Centre for Studies, though it was proposed every time there was the possibility of changes in the organisation structure. This was also one of the few areas where the OFC gave its backing to studies carried out by Portuguese ngos following invitations to tender sent to research centres on Africa in Portuguese universities and ongs. Some were even published, and can still be accessed on-line.²⁰

As for the second element - qualifications and the productivity of human resources – what was then the department for cooperation (DC) had around 20 staff, and its budget for the first four years was 2.9 million euros. If we take these two figures together, we find that its productivity was always high. Because of this, people changed to another service if they were not prepared to work at the rhythm that this productivity implied. This is what happened to at least two drivers, two administrative staff, two legal experts and two specialists between 1998 and 2001. Most of the employees in what was then the DC did not have the necessary specialist qualifications for the area, but a policy was put in place meaning all those people who had responsibilities in evaluation and monitoring projects from a specialist or financial viewpoint would visit the country concerned. This enabled them to get to know the real situation on which they had to express an opinion. Even those staff who worked in the financial area learnt to understand the background which influenced delays, the types of documents presented in justification, and the pace of work for local people whose salaries were late or who were earning a pittance. And there were no barriers put in the way of two specialists who did a master’s at the time, the only condition being that they also carried out fully the job they were responsible for.

The project cycle concept was never really applied. The decision-making power was in the hands of the OFC and if the missions to identify or monitor a project came in with an unquestionable affirmation that it fitted with the remit of the office, it was approved immediately and could start in 30 days. Nonetheless, and this is important to make clear, all the projects in

²⁰ This work continued with the OIT after the period we are referring to.(Vide the STEP/OIT site)

the cooperation programmes with each of the partner countries were, in theory and in practice, discussed and approved with them. This translated into a shared responsibility and an effective mesh with the priorities of the governments in the recipient countries (in the respective “National Development Plans”).

The document detailing the project and the budget allocation was written by OFC specialists who also had informal contacts with the institutions identified in the countries where the project was to be carried out. There were defects in this procedure, which involved a certain arbitrary approach, but this was offset by the fact that the funds were promptly available and the monitoring by OFC specialists was hand-on and systematic (even if it was at a distance).

The OFC never gave priority to disseminating information, and those in positions of responsibility in the office never gave an interview with one of the major newspapers. It was also the last service in the Ministry to have its own site and there was no permanent information available.²¹ The most innovative activity was to set up a network of information with a digital bulletin on international research in the area covering the fight against poverty. There were eight editions, distributed to researchers and others interested in Portugal and in the Portuguese-speaking countries of Africa. The starting point was participation, along with a specialist from IPAD, in the OECD discussions that led in 2001 to “The DAC Guidelines on Poverty Reduction”.

As for the third element - the capital available for IDC and its productivity - the line Ministry never cut the funds available, whatever the government. This allowed for a multi-year plan ensuring that all those involved could feel secure as regarded the commitments undertaken. But even with outturn rates always above 90%, the OFC never conquered a fear of external or internal assessments – and this had a lot to do with the director and an obsession of hers. The programme for São Tomé and Príncipe used the criteria set out by the EU, yet the internal evaluation documents were never published or repeated for other countries. In terms of evaluation with consequences, the OFC brought nothing new.

As for the fourth element - the organisational structure domestically and in the partner countries - the OFC was structured on the basis of geographical units and a financial unit. There was always easy communication

²¹ This lack of information on line has been rectified.

between them. The rule for “working with the door open” had a symbolic meaning in the OFC: it was important in the sense that there was no problem either horizontally with information or vertically with decisions. As already said, the price of this *modus operandi* was a personal decision taken against all specialist opinions. But the people should not be confused with the organisation and the structure. The OFC worked liked clusters in a number of ways, not just because of the people who worked there but because it was built from the foundations upwards to avoid the errors in public cooperation that were perceived by the team that prepared its set up in 1997/8.

In the partner countries, the organisation was on the basis of a programme that identified project with country. This was sorted out with the counterpart minister, a protocol and a committee of partners assigned to each project. An attempt was made to have Portuguese nationals as “representatives”²² of the OFC in the countries concerned. The organisation structure of the programmes was always monitored by the same people, who as a rule went to the country once a year. They saw what was going on in the projects, they met the beneficiaries and the partner, and they worked in collaboration with their counterpart ministries to keep the cooperation relationship on an even keel. The funds were either sent directly to the bank accounts of the bodies responsible for carrying out or coordinating the projects (with the requirement in these cases that the bodies concerned should be held accountable), or through the opening of a specific account at the Portuguese Embassy – the pilot scheme for this was with Mozambique – with the provision of technical assistance at the embassy for the organisation of documentation needed for the projects. There was nothing innovative about the mechanism for writing out and approving the reports on activities and finance, since close monitoring meant that the progress of the project was known at all times.

As for the second experience,²³ this came about as a result of the Resolution of the Council of Ministers no. 42/99, of 17 May, with the setting up of “a team with a specific mission, working under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with the aim of preparing and coordinating the start up, implementation and management of a specific programme of inter-municipal

²² In legal terms, this was not possible. Even if there had been people in São Tomé who had the right to be so called. After the period under analysis, there were representatives in Cape Verde and Guinea, this last being a specialist from the country itself.

²³ *Vide* the master’s thesis by Costa, MRC (2005) and the related bibliography on inter-municipal cooperation.

cooperation within the scope of the Programa Integrado de Cooperação Portuguesa (the Integrated Portuguese Cooperation Programme).” The office for this group was in the ICP but it depended directly on SENEC. Its remit was: “to coordinate and manage the programme of inter-municipal cooperation; to define the strategic guidelines and liaise with the public and private bodies involved in the work to be carried out; to outline, prepare and implement a lower level programme of inter-municipal cooperation geared to saving and upgrading the historical and cultural heritage of those countries where Portuguese is the official language; to promote participation and monitoring of the programmes among the domestic or foreign public bodies, where they have responsibilities connected with the programmes; to draw up and present annual reports on the outturn of the programme and evaluation of its results.” Article no. 7 states: “the time scale for carrying out the mission, including the period needed to draw up the final report, is estimated at three years, though the time can be extended as deemed necessary, by written order of the member of the government responsible for the mission.” Following this period, the group was disbanded.

The actions and projects to be implemented within the scope of the programme of inter-municipal cooperation are in the fields of education and staff training; historical culture and heritage; infra-structures, basic sanitation, urbanism and the environment; and support through the provision of materials and equipment. Applications for financial support from Portuguese town and city councils were sent to the *Associação Nacional de Municípios Portugueses* (National Association of Portuguese Municipalities), in accordance with the stipulated timing.

After this, the mission group analysed and selected candidates on the basis of the following factors: the importance of the proposal in the on-site context in terms of the satisfaction level of the objectives to be reached; an analysis of the complementary nature of the action or project, as it was seen to mesh with others already operating or being put together; and an analysis of the impact of the action or project at a local level, in economic, social, cultural and environmental terms.”²⁴

We were unable to find at IPAD the reports made by the mission group, in spite of help provided by the staff there. The information we gathered pointed to difficulties liaising with the municipalities and with ANMP, but only a closer and lengthier investigation would make it possible to see

²⁴ Barata, Manuela (2001), “O Programa de Cooperação Intermunicipal” (The Inter-municipal Cooperation Programme), quoted by Costa, MRC, 2005.

what happened. In fact, we came to the conclusion after the mission was disbanded that everything was as before. What happened was not recorded. No use was made of the explicit experience. What remained was a good example of how not to work.

The non state actors

²⁵An analysis of the Portuguese non-state actors in IDC is a research task to be done, because the authors who look at the role of some of these actors do not look for an overview of the sub-sector. Here we shall just point to some of the features which seem to us to be significant for the reform that this new tool aims to bring about. We are aware of the limitations of this part of the text, since there is task to be done here and that relates to setting out the typologies of the non state actors.

The existing bodies which may be influenced by this new tool (the cluster concept) have the following components, over and beyond those already mentioned in the context of public actors:

Firstly, there is a wide range of actors, some of them logically connected to the State, such as municipalities and public universities; others motivated by religious evangelism, such as the FEC (Foundation for Faith and Cooperation), the Lay Group for Development and VIDA, others with a long history of charitable acts and assistance such as the Red Cross and the Salvation Army, others under the umbrella of private companies using cooperation as a way of balancing their finances, such as private universities and TESE, others with a mission defined by founders and own funds, such as the *Instituto Marquês Vale Flor*, the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, and others set up by left leaning activists energised by the opportunity of putting into practice ethical codes (more or less politicised), such as ACEP and ISU.

Some of them are new to the scene, such as the *Associações de Desenvolvimento Local* (Local Development Associations), others have been around for twenty or thirty years, such as CIDAC, OIKOS, AMI, others are part of an international network structure, such as INDE and *Médicos do Mundo* (the Portuguese branch of Médecins du Monde), and others who are little more than a group of friends, some small, some relatively large. The clus-

²⁵ This ranges from the “giants” such as the Gulbenkian to what Pedro Krupenski, the current chair of the ngo platform, refers to as ings (non-governmental individuals).

ter concept should be a way of analysing applications for projects in such a way that takes account of the advantages of this diversity, along with the need to standardise the monitoring process, the rendering of accounts and the evaluation, but while not losing the advantages of readiness to act that these actors have.²⁶

In the second place, there is a massive dependence on funds from the public, either because of the difficulty in raising money from people, or because there is no law relating to patronage that includes cooperation as an activity exempt from tax, either partially or totally. There is a clause in tax law that permits individuals to make tax-deductible donations to ngos, but it took a number of years before it was enacted. Added to this is the complexity of applications for community funds, in a procedure that drives away those organisations that do not have or cannot have recourse to human resources that know their way around through these procedures. Such dependence always brings with it a subservient approach that accepts the fact that the funding institutions work badly; accepts to gear its strategies to what the donors want; and accepts the fact that its structural weakness faced with a refusal of funding in any one year can jeopardise the very existence of the organisation.

Thirdly, the non state actors have to work within a structure where one feature is that they in competition with each other. This happens even though there is a union of ngos on a platform which has shown it is capable of looking after the interests of ngos as a whole, even at times when there is real incompetence at SENECA and/or on the part of the management of IPAD – as in the years when it was headed by Lourenço dos Santos or Manuela Franco. This capacity of the union takes the form of a permanent use of the means to get access to the governing class, more or less surreptitiously, to specialists in analysing projects or to decision makers in the area of funds for cooperation, in Portugal or in the European Union.

Without the support of the State, the actors who would have the best chance of surviving would probably be, in our opinion, the ngos with ties to Catholic orders, missionaries, the organisations that are looking for access to funds for humanitarian aid or those that started from or have kept close links to political parties.

²⁶ *Vide* Fátima Proença (2005), “A Cooperação Descentralizada, um novo modelo” (Decentralised cooperation, a new model) in Roque, F. et al., *O desenvolvimento do continente africano na era da mundialização* (The development of Africa in the age of globalisation), Almedina, Coimbra, Portugal

With a strategy based on clusters that takes in these actors, the State will have to set out a very clear expression of objectives and procedures. Only then will this group be brought into play in such a way as to contribute with their positive aspects while minimising the effects of the negative.

Given these characteristics, and without a clear policy from SENECA and the government in general, it will be very difficult for these actors to play a part in the overhaul of IDC that starts from the level of exigency that is the aim of the cluster concept. They will tend to become a group rendering a service that is “à la carte” and many of them will just peter out.

THE SOFT SYSTEMS METHODOLOGY AND ITS SUITABILITY FOR PORTUGUESE COOPERATION

Carlos Sangreman

Raquel Faria

Executive summary

Portuguese Cooperation is a system with a minimal structure (basic concepts, vision, principles and explicit values that can vary over time; many actors involved; with a structure, procedures and instruments that have not stabilised since it began to take shape in the period after the 1974 revolution; and activities and actors that are more stable, though with variations over time). As such, it is like the so-called soft systems (systems of human activity with a number of different actors and distinct ways of seeing the world) with characteristics of the Soft Systems Methodology (SSM). The organisation fulfils, therefore, some of the requirements of the SSM.

We consider the SSM the best option to be adopted for Portuguese cooperation, given the need to put in place a methodology that not only allows for an overall understanding of Cooperation for Development, where analyses of new problem situations can be inserted, but also for a standardised set of values that those involved in cooperation consider the right ones. Our aim in the present paper, therefore, is specifically to see how SSM can be implemented, using as a basis the phases and instruments of the system itself.

Introduction

This article took shape after 2 (two) major innovations that occurred in the Clusters for Cooperation project, the main aim of which was to lead

to confirmation (or decide that there was no basis for confirmation) of the extent to which the hypothesis relating to the concept and practice of clusters in Cooperation for Development (in Angola-ECunha-Huambo, Mozambique Island, Maubara-Ermera-Timor Leste and the São Tomé e Príncipe islands) would provide a positive response to the issue of reaching better coherence, harmonisation and alignment, in accordance with the current international consensus. This response could also have a “boomerang” effect on Portuguese cooperation and come to influence its practices and operational procedures.

The project, then, looked at the need to set out a methodology which would make it possible to reach an overall understanding of Cooperation and a standardised set of what are called individual values, that is, those of the actors in the field of Cooperation. The conclusion was that SSM would be the best option. This was not only because of its distinct procedures and instruments, but also because of the very nature of Portuguese cooperation, which has much in common with the characteristics of soft systems methodology.

One of the other references for the choice of SSM in this area was the doctoral thesis *As políticas públicas de Cooperação Portuguesa (1998-2012): um ensaio de modelização* (The public policies underlying Portuguese cooperation: an attempt at modelling).

In fact, with these 2 (two) research projects (Clusters and the doctoral thesis), we were able to give a solid contribution to Portuguese Cooperation. We were able to put in place a methodology that could give us an overall view of Cooperation, and we were also able to identify a set of values that had been up till then unidentified: the values that the actors in Portuguese Cooperation²⁷ consider to be the main points of reference for individual and collective action, that is, the so-called individual values.

It should be noted that up to this point in time, in the literature and in the wider area of official documentation, the predominant values, were those identified by governments, inspired to a greater or lesser degree by documents issuing from the European Union (EU) and the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)²⁸.

²⁷ By “those working in Cooperation” we understand all those who are involved in activities relating to Cooperation and those who have the motivation to do so.

²⁸ For more information, consult: Sangreman, C. & Faria, R., 2014. *Os valores da Coopera-*

In the light of these points, the idea behind this article was to show how SSM could be put in place in Portuguese Cooperation (given that this methodology is normally used only in business management rather than political scenarios). Alongside this, the intention was to provide a very succinct overview of the values identified by those working in Cooperation.

Portuguese Cooperation

The policy underlying Portuguese Cooperation since it began (in the period after the April 25 revolution in 1974) has been based on a decentralised set-up,²⁹ and has focused from the outset on relations with the African countries where Portuguese is the official language (the so-called PALOPs) and, more recently, with East Timor. These 2 (two) geographical areas became the dominant points in the policy of Cooperation, with other countries in the statistics merely relating to the opening of credit lines for companies (Morocco) or military and policing missions (in the Balkans, Afghanistan).

The institutional framework for Cooperation goes back to the 70s (the seventies), but the development of an effective programme only began in 1985, with the creation of post of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation. The situation was only fully consolidated in 1999 with the first strategic guidelines [The Council of Ministers Resolution (RCM) no. 43/99, *Portuguese Cooperation on the threshold of the 21st century*]. Six years later, RCM no. 196/2005 (A strategic vision for Portuguese Cooperation) was a clear continuation and adaptation of this, replaced in 2014 by the document entitled *The strategic concept of Portuguese Cooperation – RCM no. 17/2014*). This followed the 2012 merger of the functions of Cooperation, the dissemination of the Portuguese language and economic diplomacy in the same State structure – Camões, ICL – under the aegis of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MNE).

In terms of being an aspect of foreign policy, Portuguese Cooperation is governed by a set of general values around the ideas of peace, solidarity between peoples, democracy, respect for human rights, promotion of the Portuguese language, covering also the issue of environmental pro-

ção Internacional para o Desenvolvimento Portuguesa.

²⁹ This has played a part in the increased numbers of players that can take different forms (ONGs, municipal authorities, ministries, universities, polytechnics, the courts, foundations, cooperatives, churches, hospitals and so on).

tection (Sangreman, 2009a).

Along with this, it covers a wide range of objectives based on the priorities set out in the 2 (two) strategic documents, among them: bolstering the democratic system and the rule of law; cutting down poverty (by boosting socio-economic conditions and the development of suitable educational infrastructures); stimulating economic growth; promoting dialogue, regional integration and a «European partnership for human development» (Palma, 2002).

These differing values and objectives that govern action have not hindered the development of a series of instruments over the years within the scope of Cooperation, among them the Programas Indicativos de Cooperação (Indicative Programmes of Cooperation – PIC), the Programas Integrados de Cooperação (Integrated Development Programmes), the Delegações Técnicas de Cooperação (Technical Delegations for Cooperation) and institutions such as the Agência Portuguesa de Apoio ao Desenvolvimento (Portuguese Agency for Support in Development – APAD) or the Society for Financing Development (SOFID).

The Portuguese Cooperation system has undergone a number of structural changes, among them those occurring in 2002 and 2003, when APAD was closed down and there was a return to the model based on a single institution to coordinate cooperation the Portuguese Institute for Support to Development (IPAD). This took it back to the administrative culture of a general directorate in the public administration sector; and the most recent, occasioned by the merger of IPAD and the Camões Institute, a public institution to promote the expansion of the Portuguese language across the world. This led to the new Camões- Institute for Cooperation and Language (Camões-ICL), which came into being early in 2012 (Decree Law no. 21/2012, of 30 January).

A Soft Systems Methodology (SSM)

The SSM is a management method developed by Peter Checkland. It is a procedure (organised, flexible and based on systemic thinking) enabling reflection on actions that need to be taken to put in place organisational changes that are perceived as favourable to improvement in situations considered to be problematical (Checkland, 1981; Checkland & Scholes, 1990; Checkland, 2000a). What is involved, therefore, is the creation of a

structure, building on the basic ideas underlying systems, so as to think about what it would be appropriate to do if faced with complex social situations that are very common in the day-to-day running of organisations where there is perception that changes are needed to alleviate the tensions involved (Checkland & Poulter, 2006).

The SSM, as it is put forward, is seen not only as a way of solving organisational problems but also, and mainly, as a way of fostering the learning process among the actors involved, increasing the range of organisational features that they look at closely, starting from the explicit expression and the debate around a wide array of different perspectives relating to the same problem points (Checkland, 1981; Checkland & Poulter, 2006).

Taken in this way, hard thought sees the world as one containing systems the performance of which can be optimised by applying systematic procedures, while the theoretical current of Soft Systems Thinking sees the world as real but extremely complex and problematic. In order to get to know it better and improve it, it is necessary to work in a systemic world of logical analyses with the emphasis on learning from the actors involved (Checkland & Scholes, 1990; Checkland & Poulter, 2006).

This method was developed from the realisation that hard systemic thought and therefore its disciplines/methods – such as Operational Research, Systems Engineering, and Systems Analysis – were limited to solving specific problems, among them badly structured and badly defined problems around which there is no consensus.

The aim of SSM is to enrich the understanding of a specific situation without worrying directly about the algorithmic solution to a supposed problem. The method can be applied mainly to situations where the issue is not so much “how to do something” as “what should be done” (Pidd, 1998).

It is a systemic method aiming to identify a d structure problem situations characterised by a definition that involves different perspectives.

Given this, we can define the SSM as a way of “structuring problems” rather than “solving problems”, since the method focuses mainly on unstructured problem situations characterised by disagreements and uncertainties as to the nature of the context of the problem (Clarke et al, 1999).

One of the many features of this type of problem is the persistent search for visual expression through graphics and images of the processes or situations (the so-called rich picture). These graphics are extremely useful to get an overall view of the system that is being studied but they tend to be too personalised and become difficult to understand for everyone except the authors themselves.

It should be noted that making a rich picture means creating a graphic representation or drawing of how the problem situation at issue is perceived by the authors, and the tendency to personalisation derives from this fact.

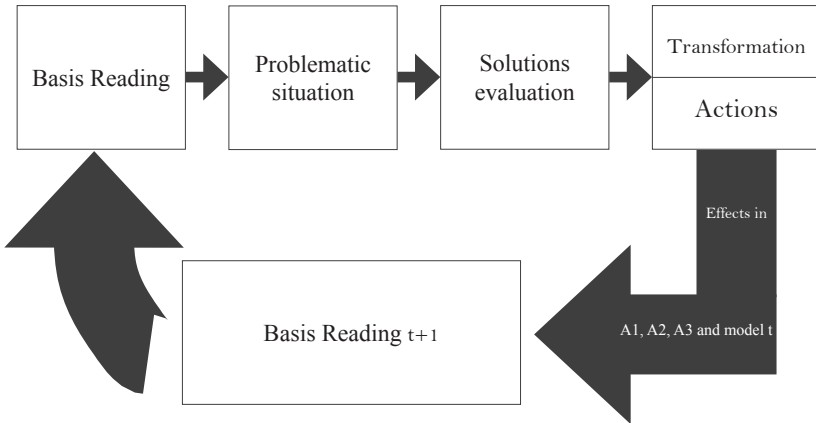
In spite of this tendency to become personal, it is important to realise that development and implementation of SSM depends a great deal on how it is applied by the person using and above all interpreting it. Given this, we are going to give our own interpretation of the phases of the methodology laid out by Peter Checkland and other authors that we have mentioned. Our point of reference is the description of these phases as these authors developed them over time.

The aim of SSM is to reach an understanding of the basic situation at time t as it refers to a system built from a number of analyses with varying focus, and an operating model that makes it possible to look at a “problematic situation” or a “problem”³⁰ and come up with an assessment of how to go about a change, the actions needed to solve the problem, and perception of how this solution will affect the understanding of the basic situation at the point in time $t + 1$.

For this reading of the basic situation and the definition of the problem situation, the method proposes a set of three analyses focusing on the external social and cultural environment (A2) and the internal social environment, that is, the power relationships between those most directly involved in the system under review (A3).

³⁰ The use of the first expression indicates that there is not a very precise definition of the problem in question, but rather a situation where the actors perceive that there are problems, but can not define them very accurately.

Figure 1



CATWOE (with our own additions in brackets). These are (C) Clients, (beneficiaries, partners); (A) actors, (those involved); (T) transformation (evolution); (W) weltanschauung (a socio-political view of the system, including ethical values); (O) owners (main actors who have the capacity to structure the basic situation);³¹ (E) environmental constraints (including relevant technology). There are also the issues set out under the acronym PQR (What does the system do? How does it do it? Why does it do it? Or, in other words “Do P by means of Q to get to R”).

The combination of CATWOE + PQR is defined as *root definition*.

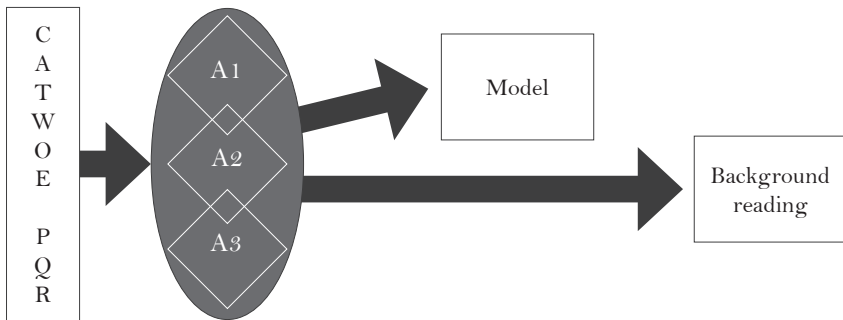
The analysis of the existing situation from the concepts of the *root definition* (A1) complete the items needed for an understanding of the basic situation. Our understanding of A1 is that it is the most factual analysis of the system under review, with features that relate more to description than to evaluation, since it makes use of statistical information taken from a range of sources. It may include elements that are not really expressly defined by the actors, generally speaking, as the values that pertain at time t or the capacity of the main actors to be flexible in structuring the whole system.

³¹ Checkland uses this element to define the particular player who has the power to stop or modify the process of transformation/system. We believe that in a system of human activities it is necessary to differentiate the power of changing from the power of stopping. In our view, the latter only exists on rare occasions.

The analysis is related to the intervention itself, as this aims to improve the situation characterised as problematic.

Scheme 2 – Representative scheme of CATWOE/PQR process,

Model analysis 1, 2 and 3



A working model³² of the situation is put together, and for this, the functions of those involved have to be defined. This conceptual model, according to the SSM terminology, is used to perceive what are the effects of the solution found for the problem in a reading of the basic situation at a different moment in time.

These models are extremely important not only for comparing the activities (expressed in verbs) which make up the problem situation but also for identifying the changes that are seen as desirable and culturally possible. These will be the actions that improve the problematic situation that is at issue.

Peter Checkland considers that these models should be expressed as synthetic behaviour, using verbs, as in the example “He does Y by financing Z to reach X”.

In other words, we are looking for a function of the behaviour of the actors individually and as a whole. That is, we are looking for a function that acts as a synthesis of the system that will have in its subsystems

³² It should be noted that the models can vary according to the view that the observers have of the real situation. The models are above all parts of a debate on systems of human activities. The same is true for some of the variables in CATWOE, among them the view of, and relative weight given to, the values for each kind of actor.

the functions of the actors that make up the system. This could, at least in part, make up the content of the replies to the questions in the PQR acronym.

In order to control or improve these models, Checkland defined a set of 5 (five) measurements of performance, 2 (two) of which are optional³³: these are Efficacy («Do the activities give rise to the output expressed in the process?»), Efficiency («Is the least amount of resources being used?»), Effectiveness («Is the right thing being done? Will our objectives be reached in the long term?»), Ethics («Is what is being done morally correct?») and Elegance («Is a process aesthetically agreeable?») (Checkland, Forbes & Martin in Mirijamdotter & Bergvall-Kärebörn, 2006, p. 83).

The use of this methodology culminates in the desirable and culturally possible changes already mentioned. They come after the comparison³⁴ between the activities that make up the conceptual model and the problem situation in 4 (four) distinct ways: an informal discussion with the stakeholders; a formal questionnaire; a description of a given scenario based on the “functioning” of the conceptual model; and lastly, «the attempt to model the real world with the same structure as the conceptual model» (Checkland in Nunes, 2008, pp. 73-74).

The SSM and Portuguese Cooperation: suitability

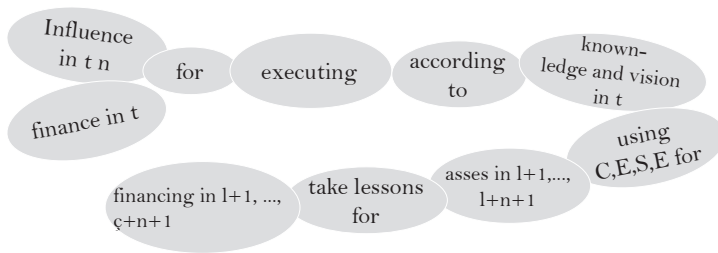
Portuguese Cooperation is a relatively unstructured system (here are basic concepts, vision, principles and explicit values that can vary over time; many actors involved; with a structure, procedures and instruments that have not stabilised since it began to take shape in the period after the 1974 revolution; and activities and actors that are more stable, though with variations over time), and as such it is like the soft systems (systems of human activity with a number of different actors and distinct ways of seeing the world) that underlie the notion of SSM. In addition, the various phases and instruments of the SSM allow us to clearly identify the essential elements in the field of Cooperation. We therefore consider

³³ Ethics and Elegance.

³⁴ This comparison should be undertaken with the «stakeholders involved in the situation and interested in improving it», in such a way as to lead to discussions on the desired and culturally possible changes that may be undertaken, improving the problem situation in this way (Checkland in Curo & Belderrain, 2011, p. 34).

the SSM the best option, given the need to put in place a methodology that not only allows for an overall understanding of Cooperation for Development where analyses of new problem situations can be inserted, but also for a standardised set of values that those involved in cooperation consider the right ones to be adopted for Portuguese cooperation.

For what we consider to be a model for Portuguese Cooperation, we have followed SSM procedures and borne in mind all the information mentioned above. This has led us to following visual expression for the model:



This model fits the PQR acronym, since it can be applied to Cooperation using the fact that we have to “Finance and influence (P) in line with the knowledge and existing vision (Q) to carry out (R).”

The criteria for assessing the solutions have to be chosen in line with the specific situation and the following from among the standard points of reference: effectiveness, efficiency, sustainability, coherence, impact, ethics or others suited to the system under review.

For example, in terms of the system of International Cooperation for Development, the criterion of suitability or sustainability comes after the end of external financing.

The basic reading on Portuguese Cooperation that we are attempting to define here starts specifically from a concept of the general system of Cooperation as a soft system, as already mentioned, and the criteria defined in terms of a logical framework can only go some way towards an evaluation. As for the standards set out by DAC/OECD in 2006, they use a wider concept of evaluation including concepts relating to the justification, aim and objectives of the evaluation, a definition of the parameters,

the context, methods and sources of information, independence, standards or ethics, quality and the pertinence of the results. The very scope of this, however, also implies a lower operational level in the evaluation of a specific action.

Given this, our proposal comprises 4 (four) criteria which act as an “umbrella”, and which can and should be broken down into greater detail in accordance with the system, subsystem, programme, project or action in the Cooperation under review: **coherence, efficiency, sustainability and effectiveness** (CESE). These are related with the harmonisation, alignment and orientation of the results (Paris Declaration of 2005) for beneficiaries and financing organisations. This, however, must also relate to the procedures, the institutional stability and the governance of all the partners, bearing in mind also, of course, the relative nature of the situations.

In other words, it is possible to analyse the instability of the overall system of Portuguese Cooperation, deriving from the average amount of time during which the work was in the hands of the senior management of the coordinating bodies or the Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation (SENEC). This is different, however, from an analysis of the institutions of a fragile State such as Guiné Bissau, even if the theoretical criterion is the same.

Coherence is related to the values adopted by the actors as expressed in codes of conduct, public policies, and the statutes of other organisations involved. From a more micro angle, it relates to the range of actions backed by a financing body related with their priorities. It is enough to consult the list of support provided by IPAD over the last few years in the *Diário da República* (Government Gazette – DR) to understand the importance of this criterion, given the difficulty in understanding the reasoning behind many of the supports.

We then defined a specific problem situation to try and put in place the instruments made available by the SSM, and then check them through the various phases suggested in the methodology.

We defined as a problem situation the effect that might be made on Cooperation as a whole by changing the nature of the person mainly responsible for configuring the entire system (from the position of the actors to the outside environment), and we found that it was possible to use all the tools (rich picture, CATWOE, PQR, the conceptual model and so on),

and it was also possible to follow the various phases that were put in place on the basis of SSM representations. This culminated in the cycle of research/learning made up of 5 (five) phases (the theoretical reference and methodology underlying the creation of the model).³⁵

Also in one of these phases, particularly in Analysis 2, bearing in mind the social set-up that characterised the defined problem situation, we attempted to reach a standardised set of individual values of the actors involved in Cooperation. This was because the only values identified up to now, as mentioned already, always came from top government officials, inspired to a greater or lesser extent by EU and DAC/OECD documents.

The values identified were based on 422 (four hundred and twenty-two) replies to the questionnaire available³⁶ on the on-line platform *SurveyMonkey*. They were: being supportive, responsible, open, honest, capable, transparent, having integrity, showing respect, looking for social justice, excellence, freedom, equality and a world at peace (Annex 1).

Conclusion

The present research resulted from the growing need to create a model which would make it possible to obtain an overall understanding of Portuguese Cooperation and “break” from the values that are normally identified by governments, based on documentation put together by international leaders.

With this we were able not only to put together this model but also to identify the values that the actors in Cooperation consider to be the guiding principles for individual and collective action in Portuguese Cooperation (being supportive, responsible, open, honest, capable, transparent, having integrity, showing respect, looking for social justice, excellence, freedom, equality and a world at peace). This enabled us to put together a standardised set.

Over and above this, we were able to show that SSM, as a methodology that is crucial for planning, and is normally used for business mana-

35 For more information, consult: Faria, R., 2014. *As políticas públicas de Cooperação Portuguesa (1998-2012): um ensaio de modelização*. Doctoral thesis. Coimbra: University of Coimbra.

36 During 4 (four) weeks.

gement, can be used in other very different scenarios, such as the policy underlying Portuguese Cooperation.

Indeed, the similarity between Portuguese Cooperation and soft systems, the way that it was possible to use its range of tools (gaining a clearer view of Cooperation in a whole series of aspects), and track its phases, showed us that SSM can really be used in such a different scenario as Portuguese Cooperation.

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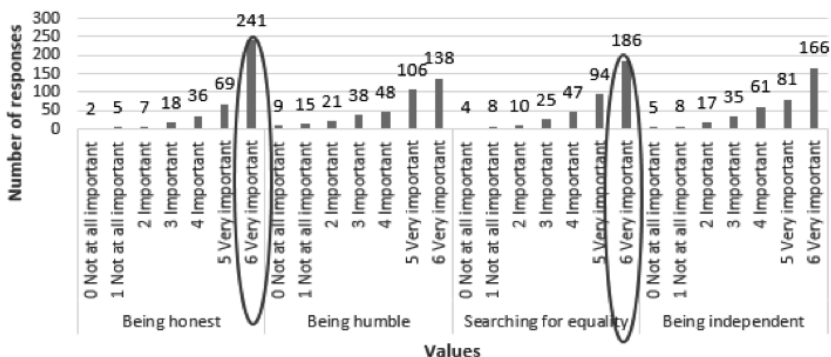
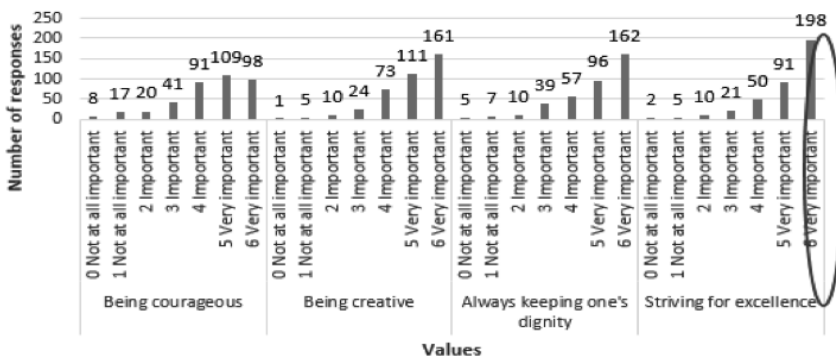
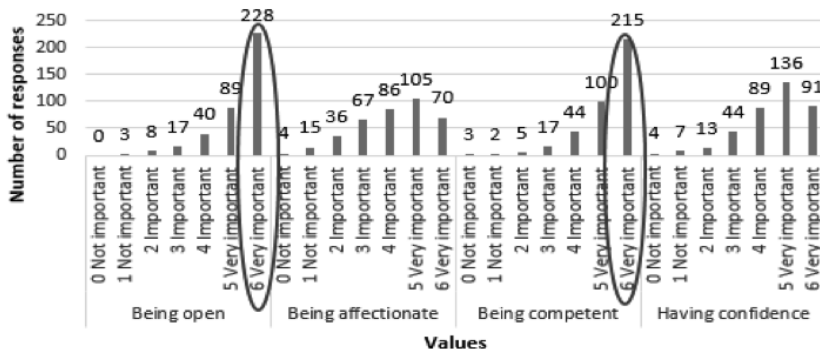
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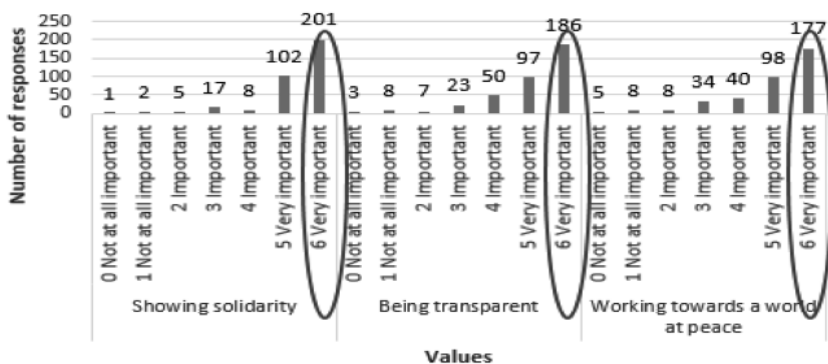
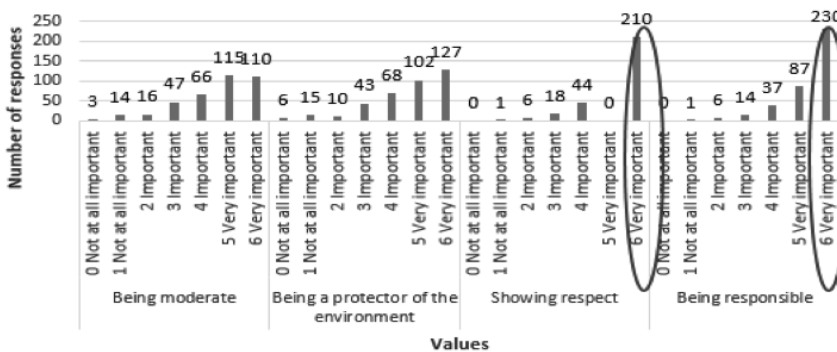
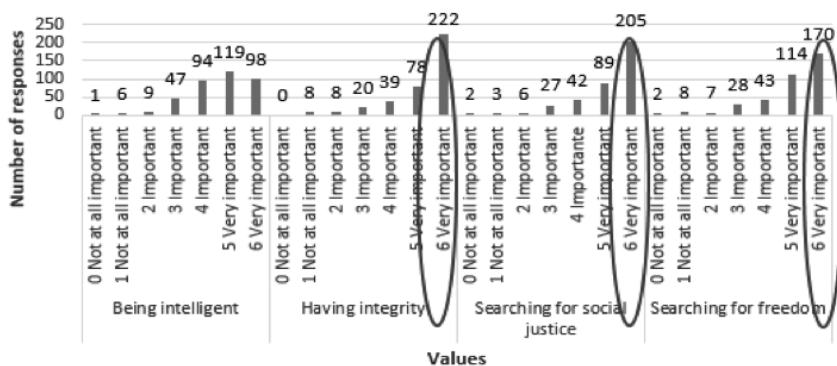
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- Annex 2 -

The values of those working in Portuguese Cooperation, in graphic terms





UNDERSTANDING THE PARADIGMS RELATING TO INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AND THE CHANGING ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN PORTUGAL

*Carlos Sangreman
Tânia Santos*

Summary

This article results from the on-going research at CESA on the subject of Development Cooperation. This has financial backing by, among others, the Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, which funded the project POCI/AFR/55830/2004, *A Cooperação Descentralizada; os actores não estatais na dinâmica de mudança em países africanos - o caso da Guiné-Bissau e de Cabo Verde, 2000-2004* (Decentralised cooperation – the case of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, 2000-2004), carried out by Aveiro University, the ngo Associação para a Cooperação entre Povos e o Centro de Estudos sobre África e do Desenvolvimento (CESA) from the Instituto Superior de Economia e Gestão, and the project PTDC/AFR/111680/2009, entitled *O cluster como instrumento teórico e prático da Cooperação Internacional para o Desenvolvimento portuguesa: o caso de Moçambique, Timor Leste, São Tomé e Príncipe e Angola* (The cluster as a theoretical and practical instrument in Portuguese International Development Cooperations: the case of Mozambique, East Timor, the St Thomas and Prince islands and Angola) carried out by CESA and by the Centro de Estudos Africanos (now the CEI-IUL/ISCTE).

The aim of the article is to contribute to a clearer understanding of developments in the specific institutions in Portuguese civil society design-

nated as ngos operating in the field of International Development Cooperation (IDC), such developments relating to the way they fit in with the dominant paradigms, going back to the Marshall Plan involving the USA and Europe which became part of the heritage of the continent in the period after the second world war. This was followed by the twinning process involving towns and other local organisations, up to the global partnership for the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2000 and the following international conferences where the dominant paradigm was defined.

An understanding of the process underlying the promotion of development where the economy was seen as the engine makes it clear that this led to a type of IDC that was based on integrated development plans and sectoral projects set up by the State. This was the shape of things until the debt crisis of the 1970s, with the paradigm leading to civil society having a secondary role, with institutions of the State taking centre stage.

The debt crisis caused a radical change in the paradigm, and this was to be based on policies focusing on stability and structural adjustments – the so-called Washington Consensus. Organisations in civil society then became players that could complement and replace the State, underpinned by the conviction that “the smaller the role of the State the better”.

It then became clear that this policy model was a failure. It led to greater poverty and inequality and slowed down institution-building in public administration in less developed countries, weakening even more those countries that were already fragile. And so another paradigm came into being – the Monterrey Consensus – with civil society working with the State on an overall partnership for development, the central focus being on the fight against poverty and the definition of concrete goals which, for the first time, took in the whole world – the Millennium Development Goals. And this is a partnership that works for both sides, those receiving and those providing the finance for IDC.

There is no clear understanding in Portugal of how the theory of this international partnership translates into practice, and this article is an attempt to clarify these cooperation procedures in the context of the on-going reform of the country’s public administration and the IDC that exists with specific countries.

1. The IDC paradigms

How knowledge accumulates in IDC?

International Development Cooperation (IDC)¹ is an area that grew fundamentally out of two spheres of knowledge: one of them is the economics of development and the other is international relations.²

The aim of this text is to contribute towards IDC becoming more accepted as a discipline in its own right through a reading of the activities and the players involved in IDC in Portugal. There are a number of features pointing to an improvement in the understanding of IDC in the country: the fact that for more than 20 years there have been Master's degrees in the field of Development, Cooperation and African Studies; the emergence of a more systematic approach to research in the wake of the creation of a specialist field in African Studies (from 2004 to 2012) in the Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia (FCT); the recent protocol agreed between IPAD and the FCT regarding doctoral theses in this field; the fact that the ICP and what is now Camões, ICL, the successor of IPAD, have for some years now been providing assistance to employees, in terms of their work schedule and the publication of texts, and this has meant that they can do a Master's in the field and can publish their work in a collection specifically for theses; the fact that research and teaching have become an integral part of the institution, to such an extent that there are now Master's courses, post-graduate studies, and subjects and modules relating to IDC in a variety of universities, higher education institutes and polytechnics, as has happened recently at the University of Minho; the appearance of doctoral dissertations on themes concerning IDC, as has happened recently at the University of Coimbra and at the ISCSP/ University of Lisboa. All of this leads us to believe that there is an improvement in the knowledge of IDC in Portugal and, although this is occurring years after it happened in countries such as the United Kingdom, Canada, France, Sweden or Holland, the advantage is that it provides the chance to learn from what the "cooperation community" has already done

1 A discussion of the existing definitions will be made on another occasion, given that we have seen as this paper was being written that there is no generally agreed definition among the researchers and organisations involved in the field.

2 The terms "development aid" or even just "aid" appear in many texts in English. When translated directly into Portuguese, the connotations are not so suitable for current relations between people and States, based on mutual responsibility. IPAD defines the term "aid" as "public aid for development", thus restricting the area where the term can be applied.

and is continuing to do. There is as yet no university research centre with an exclusive focus on IDC, as there is for example in the Universidad Complutense of Madrid, though the path towards this has been more clearly paved over recent years.

We are aware that we are still in the phase of building up our knowledge of an area which tends to be expressed in Portuguese academic circles more as a series of monographs on practices in a range of sectors (agriculture, local development, migrations, health, tourism, the fight against poverty, education, multilateralism and so on) rather than a systematic production of scientific knowledge related to one discipline. There are, truth to tell, very few dissertations that can be classified as research into IDC.³

We believe that this is a moment of social change, with the appearance of new ways for agent/institution interaction and it is now that there should be more detailed research, with IDC in a position to clarify a body of knowledge, an epistemology and a methodology of its own allowing for a “field” to be defined – the field of international cooperation for development – in the sense used by Pierre Bourdieu – as an application of the terms “field”, “capital” and “habitus” as pivotal instruments for a reading of the social reality that is specific to IDC.

These new forms of interaction derive from recent developments in the Economics of Development and in International Relations. These developments have loosened their influence in the field of IDC, for the following reasons:

- firstly, the issues raised by development are interdisciplinary, and the belief that the economics of development would act as the engine, sufficient to bring up the standard of living and the well being of peoples across the globe, led to expectations that came to nothing.⁴

³ For example, the most recent we know of that has been published as a book – António Rebelo de Sousa (2004), *Da teoria da relatividade económica aplicada à economia internacional e às políticas de cooperação*, Universidade Lusíada, Lisboa – was also impossible to get in the major bookstores in Lisbon.

⁴ For work made up of articles by various authors, vide Seers, D. and Meier, G.M. (org.) (1988), *I pionieri dello sviluppo*, Asal, col. Quale sviluppo, Roma; Tarp, F. (org.) (2000), *Foreign Aid and Development*, Routledge, London and New York; Burnell, P. e Morrissey, O. (org.) (2004), *Foreign Aid in the New Global Economy*, Elgar Reference Collection, Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, USA.

- secondly, globalisation⁵ has been opening up new possibilities in the logic of relations between sovereign States, with the growing importance of international organisations, whether multilateral or private, and with a new dimension given to IDC by the involvement of non-State organisations that are private, semi-public or within a municipal scope against a backdrop that is transnational and “one of complex interdependence”.⁶

In the light of these new forms of interaction, IDC is now faced with the challenge of becoming “emancipated”. This has come about with the failure of economic solutions to respond to expectations and with the concept of international relations in a state of profound transformation, a situation stemming from globalisation and the array of different levels and types of power. In Portugal, this process is happening very much alongside the knowledge gained from what happens in State and Non-State organisations (Non State Actors or NSA), and this article is an attempt to play a part in knowledge-building which does not leave aside this component in the “field” of IDC.

As a consequence of the dearth of thinking, debate and careful reflection, there is no coherence or consistency in the definition of the reforms that should mesh with Portuguese practice in the field of cooperation and with the developments in the international consensus on IDC, including the role of the NSAs.

The existing practical paradigms

What we call paradigms are more an explicit than a scientific form of

⁵ As a multidisciplinary concept and with a historical development over the centuries, we can take the definition of Mário Murteira (2003) *O que é a globalização*, Quimera, Lisboa: “we can define globalisation as a process that has led to a growing conditionality of economic and social policies by the mega-economic sphere at the same time as relationships of interdependence, domination and dependence between transnational and national actors are intensified, including national governments which attempt to put their strategies for the global market into place.” The author states in the same point that: “an understanding of “globalisation” does not empty the meaning of total social change in this day and age, since this has other components than those referring to the economic sphere, specifically those of a cultural or civilisational character.”

⁶ Wallerstein, I. (2002) “Le Capitalisme historique”, Postface à la deuxième édition *La mondialisation n’est pas nouvelle*; Santos, B.S. (2001), “Os processos de globalização”, in *Globalização, Fatalidade ou Utopia ?*, Boaventura Sousa Santos org., Cap.I, Vol.I, Afrontamento, Porto; Stiglitz, J.E. (2002), *Globalização, a grande desilusão*, Terramar, Lisboa.

knowledge, since they do not have either methodologies or “laws” that can be validated by processes that the actors involved can accept. It seems to us that practical paradigms have always been made up more of a raft of solutions on how cooperation can be undertaken than a coherent construct that takes in theoretical reflection and empirical analysis.

It should be noted that we can see different methodologies in the definition of the “field” among the paradigms: the first two were the “Paradigm of sectoral projects”, built above all on the Marshall Plan and the bilateral cooperation among various European states; and the “Paradigm of structural adjustment (or Washington Consensus)”, formulated from considerations made by international organisations – above all the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). The current “Paradigm based on the effectiveness of aid” (or the Monterrey Consensus) seems to have created a stable foundation from the criticism of the previous paradigm and has taken concrete form through application of the findings of international conferences over a number of years.

The paradigm of sectoral policies

The first practical paradigm came out of the theories, policies and economic models of development put into practice with the conviction that the State was the single dominant entity in the “field” of cooperation in the countries receiving aid. It was believed that the recipient Ministries had sufficient human capital to make national and regional plans effective, to give priority to modernising physical structures, to agriculture and industry, education and health.

In other words, based on an analysis of the capital gained from what was really just a symbol of the recognition that these players had achieved through independence. Among them were FRELIMO in Mozambique in the 1970s, and the PAIGC as institutional counterparts in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, and Samora Machel or Amílcar Cabral as individuals in the same position. In the 90s in East Timor, this capital was based above all on the activities of FRETILIM and the Catholic Church, which were seen, as least outside the country, as symbols of the people’s resistance to Indonesian occupation. It was believed that these players were capable of absorbing international aid in financial and human capital and would thus converge towards western models, distancing themselves from traditional players that held a socially disproportionate capital. In this paradigm,

the influence of the political “field” came in above all as a natural consequence of the logic of geopolitical spheres of influence originating in the field of international relations.

Up to the end of the 1970s, those involved on the supply side attempted to back medium to long-term projects with donations and loans. This proved to be an unsatisfactory way of channelling funds to IDC, with the fall in raw materials prices, the hike in the oil price and the resulting problems with external debt, above all in Latin American and sub-Saharan countries. This led to a period after 1979 – 1980 when those involved adopted the neoclassical theses that took material form in loans for sectoral and structural adjustment.

This was the paradigm of structural adjustment, otherwise known as the “Washington Consensus”

In the 1980s and 1990s, the concepts of stability and structural adjustment were the subject of many texts from a wide range of disciplines. They attempted to pin down the conceptual delimitations, either in the more generic sense of seeing the concept as a synonym of development, or in the narrower sense of economic and social policies.

The loans that sustained these policies were from the start conditional on an agreement regarding a stability programme; the structural adjustment then takes the form of a support for these changes and sectoral adjustment becomes the detailed application in strategic sectors of activity. This gave the operational form to loans conditioned to certain sectors, as was the case in India (in the 1960s), or to Zambia, Kenya or Tanzania in the 1970s.

This “conditionality factor” is the key concept in the relationship between the players with the strong hand – the IMF and the WB – and those with the weak hand – the countries of Africa. This was approved by the two organisations in 1952 – in an imposition by the USA against the opinion of the remaining members – and consists in general terms of access to successive tranches of loans being conditional on the measures of economic policy approved and put into practice by the country requesting the programme.

This concept was only included in the statutes of the IMF in 1969,

and the directives that allowed for a real and normal use in practice were only in place in 1979. Towards the end of 1989 the criteria of “good governance” was added and this meant that the “field of IDC” had to include as a norm a concept that until then had been in the sphere of the “political field” and was now added to social and economic criteria. This absorption of criteria relating to one “field” by another also had the effect of bolstering the process of seeing IDC as an autonomous concept in its own right.

The criticisms already mentioned exacerbated the competition between the players, with the World Bank and the IMF on one side, along with a number of countries, and on the other the non-governmental organisations and various multilateral organisations such as UNICEF and UNESCO. This competition meant that the second of these groups saw the IMF and the World Bank lose ground in terms of social capital and this gave them the scope to be able to wield more power in terms of access to funds and positions that were closer to the centre of the “field”. The World Bank attempted to stay in line with this move as a way to keep its position as a strong player, but the IMF was clearly unable to do so and saw its central position whittled away as its paradigm lost its edge.

The current “Monterrey consensus”

Criticism of the Washington Consensus led, as already mentioned, to a series of proposals aimed at changing the financial requirement for aid, along with any knowledge of the methodology to be used to make IDC more effective. The writers who have raised issues relating to the effectiveness of aid over the second half of the 20th century provided the knowledge fundamental for constructing this paradigm.

The proposal includes the statement that the dominant players, either at a global or a national level, should accept to forego part of their position on the understanding that this will mean that other players will have a greater say.

The major group of these entities is made up of the so-called Non State Actors. These are marginal to the “field” through the criteria of “access to funds” or “recognition by other parties involved” in the recipient countries or the donors.

The other group is made up of the countries receiving aid. This is contrary to the very concept of IDC, and the role of these countries in the “field” in terms of how it functioned was always that of secondary actors. The criterion of “who has access to funds” determined in a position far from the centre, as opposed to the criterion of “being the recipients”. This was true except for some “sub-fields”, made up of countries that were former colonies and former colonial powers such as Portugal and PALOPs (Portuguese-speaking countries of Africa), Spain and the Spanish-speaking countries of Latin America, and France with its former colonies.

The current practical knowledge of IDC has created a better balance between the actors in the “field” but it is far from having settled.

The current debate

The current debate centres on the normative criteria for the “field”. The MDGs do not include human rights explicitly, or the issue of abortion or the struggle against social inequality, the production and sale of arms, or political criteria connected to “good governance”. This omission implies that there are no value judgements surrounding the political option of each player, and opens the way for all programmes geared to fighting poverty in any country, and, where Portugal is concerned, all the programmes and projects in the scope of official cooperation. At the same time, however, such an omission runs counter to what has been developing since 1989 in the international community in terms of the importance for IDC of good governance and human rights criteria.

In fact, the Monterrey Declaration and the Paris Declaration on the effectiveness of aid, along with the 8th MDG meeting – the global partnership for development – include issues relating to “harmonisation” and “alignment”, or, in other words, the players should enhance the coherence of their national policies, both on the side of the donors and the receivers. This means that IDC should be defined in line with the options of the recipients, and they, if the criterion of access to funds is used, are not close to the centre of the “field”. The failure of the Washington Consensus was also attributed to the imposition of know-how by the central actors in the “field”, with little or no attention to local players. Following this, the current debate has come down on the side of an inversion in the methodology, including a greater percentage to be provided through support

for the Budgets of the recipient countries. But the price of this inversion is the need for ex-post assessments and conditionality mechanisms. In other words, the recipients of aid pay a price for being nearer the central positions on the “field” by committing to a rigorous approach to targets (with the MDGs acting as the lowest common denominator) allowing for assessment to be made by other players.

As the penalties for non-fulfilment were not openly debated, we can only assume that they will possibly, in general terms, oblige a move back from the new positions if the commitments defined by the countries themselves are not fulfilled. This simply picks up a very similar version to the conditionality measures of the previous paradigm.

2. The NGOs in the IDC paradigms

As and from the second half of the 20th century, there were changes in the action of non-governmental organisations in international development cooperation. These changes stemmed from shifts in policies, in the way cooperation was handled and, in general terms, in the international context itself.

The data available through the UN Development Programme relating to how the system was growing point to a steep rise in recent decades, moving from 13 thousand ngos in 1981 to 47 thousand in 2001 (UNDP, 2002).

Starting from the standpoint of the advantages and limitations generally associated with non-governmental organisations and the role they play, we would propose a reflection on the way this role has changed in the paradigms of international development cooperation.

The ngos fundamentally have three roles (Universidade Complutense de Madrid):

- An instrumental role, associated with the rendering of services and the provision of goods in an attempt to respond to the needs of the people they work with;
- a structural transformation role, associated with political activism and the search for alternative political, economic and social solutions, but also with activities in education, awareness-raising and capacity building

for change;

- a role in the development of social capital, associated with the building of networks between people, organisations and communities at local, national and international levels.

The comparative advantages of ngos are associated with their greater proximity to the poorest people, and therefore their capacity for bringing these social groups into the processes of social change, their flexibility and rapid response capacity to changes in the contexts, their low operating costs, their capacity to experiment with alternatives and with innovation, their use of participative practices, their accountability and the good image they normally have in the eyes of the general public.

The following points are normally put forward as limitations: their activities tend to get dispersed and fragmented, there is limited impact from the projects they undertake, they tend to become bureaucratic as they grow, they are unable to take advantage of regional economies of scale, they are used in instrumental fashion by governments, they show a degree of paternalism in relation to those benefiting from their services, and they are also characterised by a personalised management style and a rigid institutional structure.

The ngos in the grand sectoral plans

The paradigm of the 1960s was based on the highly visible central role of the State in all sectors of the economy and society, along with a concept of development seen fundamentally as economic growth. These factors were to influence international development cooperation and the role of the ngos within this framework. In this practical paradigm, the State is the dominant entity in development cooperation, with a minor role left for ngos, seen fundamentally as a way to promote ties of solidarity and intercultural exchange between countries, in an attempt to raise awareness in countries in the northern hemisphere as to the problems facing countries in the southern hemisphere. The relationship, in fact, was fundamentally paternalistic. In this phase, the ngos also undertook activities that involved the transfer of knowledge, know-how and technologies, as well as the provision of basic essentials.

The intention underlying the role of the ngos in IDC was to maintain

the historical ties built in the colonial period, and provide support for economic growth in developing countries, the point of reference being the economic models of countries in the northern hemisphere. The activities of the ngos are funded by States, by religious institutions, foundations and private donations.

In this period, the most specialised ngos are those involved in emergency aid. They were created within the context of the wars in the first part of the 20th century and had more specific competences in terms of logistics, organisation and the supply of services, these being fundamentally medical.

Generally speaking, ngos have small, flexible structures, their costs are low, and their operations are based essentially on voluntary work. Their activities are fragmented, with very limited impact and no great concern with looking for alternative solutions. They don't occupy a position on the "field" which allows them to be important in the questioning of dominant ideas.

It could be said that their role in this phase is fundamentally instrumental.

The 1970s – ngos and political activism

The action of ngos in development cooperation in the 1970s is hugely influenced by the international political context, specifically the creation of the non-aligned movement and the increase in calling into question the prevailing socio-economic and political models. Under-development in the countries of the southern hemisphere is seen as a product of the inequalities and injustices existing in the international framework, manifest in the relationship between the countries of the north and south. This state of affairs had to be changed.

This period marks the start of a process that involves a move to more central positions on the "field" through the increasing number of ngos which become active in discussions about countries' social models and political organisations. They get involved in debates and political infighting associated with the way decolonisation was being handled and the political and social policies for countries from the north and south. In all of this, there were powerful ties between ngos and political movements.

They may have been small, but the ngos became more aware, and looked to develop networks through which to work with other non-governmental actors, the aim being to build spaces for greater north-south interconnections.

Against this backdrop, the ngos managed to get access to funding with no great restrictions, bearing in mind their political role – to be “used” by States as an influence in specific countries and regimes.

It can be said that in this phase, there are clearly positive aspects that differentiate ngos, relating to experimentation and innovation in an attempt to find alternative ways of involvement, among them those with a participative element.

The role of the ngos is going to be fundamentally the promotion of structural transformation and the bolstering of social capital through lobbying and advocacy, focusing on the injustice underlying north-south relations, debating alternative models, putting pressure on governments in the northern hemisphere to bring about the growth of public aid for development (PAD) and reinforcing partnerships with organisations and social movements in the southern part of the world.

The ngos in the Washington Consensus

In the 1980s, it was clear that the dominant paradigm had been a failure: major sectoral plans came to nought, leaving behind massive structures, inefficient and abandoned; and a debt crisis held sway over many of the countries in Latin America and Africa. It was at this point that the Washington Consensus came about, with a new paradigm that incorporated a specific vision of the role of the State, the market and the service sector, with the second of these at the head.

As we have seen, the adjustment programmes were to condition the financial support, with developing nations tied to measures for improvements to the functioning of markets, policies to cut public expenditure, and a limitation on the role of the State to the provision of social services. This led to worse living standards for the people of these countries, an increase in inequality and an increase in social unrest.

Given this framework, the ngos will take on a role in providing basic services that the State foregoes, covering areas such as health, education,

sanitation, housing and so on. This attitude was based on the supposition that one of the advantages of ngos was that they cost very little, and another was that their activities brought them close to more impoverished communities. This positioning was not without risks, and there are authors who argue that the provision of services by ngos ended up by hampering even more the role and capacity of the State (Van Rooy, quoted in Univ Complutense). Such a standpoint is not universally agreed, and there are other authors who consider that the ngos, by providing these services, acted as a form of pressure on governments to improve public services so as to face up to competition (vide Univ Complutense page 127).

The importance of the instrumental role of the ngos also raises the question of their association with structural adjustment policies in which the supply of services to those affected by measures to reduce public expenditure ends up by being seen as a contribution to maintaining this kind of approach. This argument has been counterbalanced by the idea that the proximity of the ngos to the communities allowed them to denounce the negative effects of the structural adjustment on the living standards of the people, and this came to play a crucial role in the criticism of the paradigm.

The 1980s saw a burgeoning of ngos. There was increasing specialisation in their activities and the introduction of new themes such as environmental issues, gender issues, human rights and so on. The ngos also acquired a greater degree of professionalism and this led to changes in the composition of their human resources and organisational structures: they moved from organisations made up essentially of volunteers in outfits made up fundamentally of specialists and horizontal structures to forms of organisation with various levels in the hierarchy. These transformations, however, had implications in the increase of bureaucracy in the organisations and the fragmentation of their social base.

During the 1980s, the available financing for ngos increased with the funds available through the cooperation agencies of countries in the north, through multilateral international institutions and through the donations of private individuals and organisations. However, the increase in resources available to ngos as part of the cooperation for development was targeted on mainstream projects, by which was meant those that contributed to keeping the system going. This ended up by calling into question one of the main advantages of the ngos and that was the space

they had for experimentation, innovation and the creation of alternatives to State intervention.

Various authors have argued in this context that the increase in the proportion of financing by the State in the funds for ngos will call into question their independence, their capacity for innovation, their legitimacy and their ability to question the system.

Be that as it may, the ngos played a part in setting the agenda in the 1980s by raising issues related to environmental sustainability, solidarity and north-south interdependence, along with changes in the way development was approached by the introduction of notions such as participation, empowerment and the role of civil society. This was also a period marked by the building of social capital in the ngos through the use of technologies and network development.

The question that has been posed in this phase is to try and see whether the increased role of ngos as providers of services gave them a higher profile in the framework of IDC, specifically in terms of lobbying, advocacy and political proposals for changes in the system, or whether it cramped their room for political intervention as a means for questioning the existing framework.

The ngos in the Monterrey Consensus

In the light of the negative consequences of the structural adjustment in southern countries, fundamentally those leading to a steep rise in poverty, and therefore of inequalities, there started a revision of the Washington Consensus. On the table were the issues associated with the effectiveness of aid and the adoption of the Millennium Development Goals. As we have seen, this new paradigm came to be called the Monterrey Consensus.

By this time, the ngos had reached a point where they were ever more important in IDC. They now have room for political participation in the donor countries and in the multilateral institutions, and they are called on to participate in the global partnership for development, the 8th of the MDGs.

The process of professionalisation, diversification and growth in ngos that started in the 1980s was set to continue in the next decade and at the

start of the new millennium, with implications in their structure, which became more complex and bureaucratic. As this process unfolded, criticism began to be heard about the response capacity of the ngos to rapid changes in those places where they worked, along with their move away from base organisations and those communities that were the most marginalised. This issue has also been discussed from the point of view of the legitimacy of the ngos as an interface with governmental institutions in terms of the policies that affected the communities where they worked.

The proliferation of ngos and the increase in funds sparked a debate over greater transparency and accountability not only for the donors but also for the communities where they operated. There was another consequence here: the accounting procedures and audits required by the donor countries became more stringent, there was greater competition for funds, and increased bureaucracy, all of which came to mean that there was less time available for research and discussions as part of the activity of the ngos. They were now obliged to respond to administrative requirements and to spend far more time and energy on the search for funds, and this shifted their activity away from areas where fewer funds were being channelled. This trend has been clearly seen in the increase of ngo dependency on emergency funds.

In addition, the international position on the reduction of poverty within the terms of the Monterrey Consensus takes individual income (the 1st MDG being an example) as a point of reference for measuring outcome. As a result of this approach, the ngos became subject to greater pressure from the donors regarding concrete and measurable objectives to be applied to the projects that they were undertaking.

However, the quantification of objectives and goals implies greater problems in carrying out projects with more intangible objectives or with goals that are either difficult to quantify or long-term, such as those associated with institutional development.

The authors in question also argue that this situation will tend to imply that the strategies of the ngos will have to become de-politicised, with greater stress on the supply of services through activities with “visible” outputs. This has also implied a focus on projects aiming at the reduction of poverty, with an absence of discussion on or intervention in issues associated with the distribution of wealth and social justice. In terms of partnerships, there has been a shift by the ngos from the northern part of

the world away from partners such as political or social movements and towards productive and credit organisations.

The ngos showed that they could use the technologies of information and communication to set up networks and transmit their messages, but this also had consequences for the points where they could play a part, fundamentally in the case of humanitarian aid, leading to their being associated with major catastrophes and conflicts, and the high profile attaching to them.

3. The NGOs in Portugal

Nowadays, the ngos are one of the most high-profile movements in civil society, and this can be seen by its rising growth curve. Apart from the number of ngos, a point already made, there is another factor that serves to illustrate the steep rise and the importance of ngos and that is the number of World Bank projects where they play a part: this figure went from 14 per year from 1973 to 1988 and stood at 96 per year from 1989 to 1990.

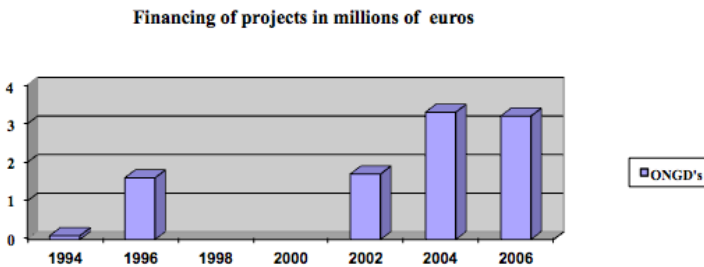
In Portugal, the emergence of ngos is associated with the end of the Estado Novo, the name given to the Salazar regime, in the period that followed the revolution of 25 April 1974. CIDAC – Centro de Informação e Documentação Amílcar Cabral (the Amílcar Cabral Documentation and Information Centre), was the offspring of progressive militant Catholics who were against the colonial war. It was started in 1977 and was the first and only Portuguese ngo during the period from 1974 to 1984. In March 1985 the national platform for ngos was created. Its activity focused on “training, raising awareness and lobbying”, and it was made up initially of 13 organisations. The legal status of ngos was only recognised almost 10 years after the creation of the platform. This was in May 1994, with the enactment of Decree Law no. 9/94, this being revoked by Decree Law no. 66/98, where the ngos were considered to be “private, not for profit collective entities” whose main aim was “cooperation and dialogue between cultures, along with direct and effective support for programmes and projects in developing countries”. The recognition came at the same time as the creation of the Instituto de Cooperação Portuguesa (Portuguese Institute for Cooperation) in 1994, and this was to be the single institutional interface for the Portuguese State in terms of planning, coordination, monitoring and evaluating the policy of cooperation. In 2003 this

was replaced by the Instituto Português de Apoio ao Desenvolvimento (the Portuguese Development Support Institute – IPAD), which was in its turn replaced by Camões, Instituto para a Cooperação e Língua (Camões, the Institute for Cooperation and Language), resulting from the merger of IPAD with the Camões Institute (whose statutes set out its role in the dissemination of the Portuguese language around the world).

Ribeiro, M. states that ngos “still have a marginal role to play in aid for development.” This opinion is shared by IPAD, which sees little intensity in the activities of ngos in Portugal. In fact, there is a low level of professionalism in the ngos operating in the country, with their work focused on countries in Africa and “a participative and humanist role in development processes.” One of the factors which could help explain this situation is the absence over the years of a budget allocation for the cooperation sector which provides financing for projects put forward by Portuguese ngos.

In the years following the country’s entry into the EEC, there was a strategic change in cooperation policies, reflected in the financing for ngo projects. According to the figures from studies carried out by IPAD in 2005, there was an increase of around 86% in projects that were funded.

Figure 1: Overall amount of financing provided by IPAD to civil society



Another factor reflecting this change was the signing of a protocol between the government and the ngos in 2001. This set out the terms of “collaboration in the definition of policies and strategies and in carrying them out, with an alignment of positions and promoting the support needed to put projects and programmes into practice...in the field of coope-

ration for development, education for development and humanitarian aid.”

The role of the ngos is also recognised by the Portuguese government in the strategic orientation document entitled “Portuguese cooperation on the threshold of the 21st century”.

It should be mentioned, however, that the expansion of ngos in Portugal, both in terms of their size and the funds made available, reveals the need to adapt the regulations and legal statutes ever more closely to the needs of the organisations concerned. As with the conclusions presented by Schieffer, we believe that the lack of a clear government strategy for ngos creates anarchic conditions for their participation in the IDC “field” and provides a lower level of performance in operations that connects the ngos to the business fabric, to universities and research centres. In this way they try to find a way to reach self-sustainability, and this does not exist in our day and age without the State.

As a final point, Ribeiro, in the work already mentioned, points to the need for the ngos to create their own dynamic, allowing them to overcome the many and varied problems that are associated with the lack of stability in the sector, among these being an excessive fragmentation, the scarce funding available, the absence of experience and capacity for mobilisation, along with the fragile social capital of Portuguese society and the weak performance of the State.

In short, the following structural features characterise the matrix of the non state actors operating in Portugal:

In the first place, there is the wide range of actors, some of them logically connected to the State, such as municipalities, public universities, others motivated by religious evangelism, such as religious orders or lay movements rooted in the church, others with a long history of charitable actions and assistance, such as the Red Cross and the Salvation Army, others that function as private enterprises, such as private universities, others with a mission defined by a group of founders and with their own funds, such as the Instituto Marquês Vale Flor and the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, others started by left leaning activists buoyed by the motive of putting ethical codes (more or less politicised) into practice, such as ACEP and ISU. Some have arrived recently on the “field”, such as the associations for local development, others have been around for twenty or thirty years, such as CIDAC and OIKOS, others are part of an international network, such as INDE and Médicos do Mundo (the Portu-

guese branch of Médecins du Monde), and others yet are little more than a group of friends, either small or relatively big. The Administration has to have methods for analysing applications for projects and these methods have to take into account the advantages of this diversity and also the need to streamline the process of monitoring, accounting and evaluation while never losing the advantages that come from the successful applicants being able to take action.

In the second place, there is a massive dependence on funds from the public, either because of the difficulty in raising money from people, or because there is no law relating to patronage that includes cooperation as an activity exempt from tax, either partially or totally. There is a clause in tax law that permits individuals to make tax-deductible donations to ngos, but it took a number of years before it was enacted. Added to this is the complexity of applications for community funds, in a procedure that drives away those organisations that do not have or cannot have recourse to human resources that know their way around through these procedures. Such dependence always brings with it a subservient approach that accepts the fact that the funding institutions work badly; accepts to gear its strategies to what the donors want; and accepts the fact that its structural weakness faced with a refusal of funding in any one year can jeopardise the very existence of the organisation.

Thirdly, the non state actors have to work within a structure where one feature is that they in competition with each other. This happens even though there is a union of ngos on a platform which has shown it is capable of looking after the interests of ngos as a whole, even at times when there is real incompetence at SENECS – as in the years when it was headed by Lourenço dos Santos or Manuela Franco - and/or on the part of the management of IPAD. This capacity of the union takes the form of a permanent use of the means to get access to the governing class, more or less surreptitiously, to specialists in analysing projects or to decision makers in the area of funds for cooperation, in Portugal or in the European Union.

Without the support of the State, the actors who would have the best chance of surviving would probably be, in our opinion, the ngos with ties to Catholic orders, missionaries, the organisations that are looking for access to funds for humanitarian aid or those that started from or have kept close links to political parties.

Given these characteristics, the ngo movement runs the risk of splitting into two parts: the large ngos, where the instrumental role predominates, and the smaller ngos which are more political. The first are able to procure greater amounts of resources and have access to public and high profile space. They monopolise the participation and discussion about development, the result being less pluralism in the movement.

Moreover, the political room that the ngos have acquired in IDC starts from the supposition that they form a social counterweight to the State and the market. This will only be effective to the extent that they manage to put forward alternatives based on the views and expectations of the communities with which they work. In terms of the role of the ngos in the Monterrey Consensus, more specifically as regards effectiveness, coherence, harmonisation and alignment, the ngos will have to be capable of finding a balance between the various roles that they take on (the instrumental one, the structural transformation and the bolstering of social capital) so as to contribute to making IDC well aligned, coherent and in harmony with the aims of the struggle against poverty and the equitable distribution of resources and so as to effectively reach the poorest strata of society.

This will require the ngos to be capable of buttressing the comparative advantages that they have. For them to do this, they have to rise to a number of challenges, specifically:

- Providing communities with services that correspond to a specific objective, and that is to expand their capacities, specifically through experimentation and innovation;
- Creating an ethical framework that provides a touchstone for their relationship with other agents and their own internal organisation;
- Focusing on spaces that allow more room for pluralism, innovation, debate, reflection and research;
- Bolstering their proximity to the communities that they represent, based on democratic relations, transparency and accountability.

In the framework of the administrative reform in progress in Portugal and the consequences for IDC in the “field” concerning non-governmental actors that play a part, the only new point that has arisen so far is the new

statutes for IPAD. There are, in our opinion, positive and negative points stemming from the disappearance of the Department for Services, which was responsible for the relationship between the institution and the ngos:

- Positive in as far as it shows that the actors concerned are deemed to have their own place on the IDC “field”, along with the remaining state and non-state actors;

- Negative if the regulations for applications and financing are not clear for all those taking part. In other words, the fact that at present the ngos have rules and norms that are more explicit than for other actors means that their integration in service departments with a definition of responsibilities through a geographical path puts them in a situation where they are mixed in with other actors for whom there is no comparable set of definitions.

We therefore consider that the role of the ngos in the IDC “field” should be mapped out in terms of a sectoral strategy, as IPAD has done for sectors such as Rural Development of Education. This should involve a specific application and development in the strategy set out in the December 2005 document “A strategic vision for Portuguese cooperation”, above all in Chapter 8, “Portuguese cooperation and civil society”, updated for the strategy defined in 2014. Such a document, if it is widely based for all the actors, will play a decisive role for knowledge-building in the “field” and for a clearer relationship between all the actors involved.

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THE VALUES OF PORTUGUESE INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

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Summary

Over recent years, International Cooperation for Development has taken on specific importance in scientific research. Many studies can now be found, either of general scope or circumscribed to a smaller geographical space, among these being studies of cooperation focusing on specific countries. Generally speaking, these analyses have attempted not only to explain the historical/institutional and strategic development but also to provide the basis for deliberations on a long line of ideas, values and practices which have now been mapped out, with a focus also on the results in terms of partner countries.

Portuguese cooperation is no exception and, in a general way, all the published material where this cooperation is seen in context refers directly or indirectly to the overall values that govern its activities.

There are, however, no studies that identify the individual values that serve as a point of reference for the work of those involved in Cooperation in terms of its practices for choosing, managing and assessing projects. In this article we aim to turn the spotlight on the values considered to be the guiding principles underpinning the actions of the individuals involved in Portuguese cooperation. Such an aim is in fact a real innovation, since the only values identified to date are those of specific governments, inspired on the whole by documentation emanating from the European Union (EU) and the CAD (Development Assistance Committee)/OECD

(Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development)¹.

Introduction

International Cooperation for Development has taken on an important role on the international scene, and this has been reflected not just in the international agenda but also in scientific research.

In terms of the international agenda, the documents detailing the decisions that form the basis of the policy of Cooperation give a clear indication of the importance of this, while in the scientific community, the considerations and the articles and work or research published on these strategies, policies and results at a global level show that Development has ceased to be a topic debated only by the political elites and by governments. It has come to include the active participation of civil society in general and of academia in particular.

Where the Portuguese scientific community is concerned, there has been an ever increasing number of publications. However, and in spite of the range and quality of the themes analysed, the individual values of the players concerned with Cooperation continue to be put to one side. Mention is made of the overall values underlying Portuguese cooperation, but there is no consideration of the guiding principles behind individual and collective action of those actively involved in Cooperation or thinking of getting involved.

Given this, there is a gap to be filled, and this idea led to the creation of a list of these individual values.

1 Abbreviations in the text:

APAD - Agência Portuguesa de Apoio ao Desenvolvimento
Camões-ICL, I.P - Instituto da Cooperação e da Língua, I.P.;
CONCORD – European NGO confederation for Relief and Development
IPAD - Instituto Português de Apoio ao Desenvolvimento;
NGDO - Non-Governmental Development Organization;
PALOP - African countries where the official language is Portuguese;
PVQ - Portrait Values Questionnaire;
RCM - Resolution of the Council of Ministers;
RVS - Rokeach Value Survey
SOFID - Sociedade Financeira de Desenvolvimento
SVS - Schwartz Value Survey;
WVR - World Values Research.

In order to see what values were involved, we planned and drew up a questionnaire based on Schwartz's Theory of Human Values, using the model that he developed with Tamayo (1993), along with the method used by Ronald Inglehart, applied to Portugal. We took as a point of reference the Code of Conduct drawn up by what was the IPAD, and is now Camões-ICL, I.P. We also drew on the Code of Conduct of Confederation for Cooperation of Relief and Development NGO (CONCORD).

Schwartz's Theory of Human Values

Schwartz's Theory of Human Values has proved to be a landmark, given its theoretical coherence and the various tools that have been developed in the study of individual values (The SVS² and the PVQ³).

Schwartz defines values as «desirable, trans-situational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in people's lives». He believes that «values are derived from universal requirements of the human condition, pre-existing the individual» and are formed by needs

[biological, social (which are those that relate to the regulation of the «interpersonal interactions» themselves), and socio-institutional (inherent not only to survival, but also to the well being of groups of individuals)] [1].

Considering that they «are a motivational construct that transcends specific actions and situations», Schwartz asserts that they themselves can be ordered in terms of their importance in relation to the others [2] and, because of their diversity, they should be grouped by specific categories which can be distinguished from the others by their motivational content.

To reach this point, he developed a methodology where these motivational types can be ordered in a list of 10 (ten): power («social status, control or dominance over people and resources»), achievement («personal success through demonstrating competence according to social stan-

² Based on Rokeach's theoretical model, more specifically with the Rokeach Value Survey (RVS) used as a tool. The SVS also completes the RVS in the «sectors presented below», given that Schwartz «developed a more differentiated response to assess specific human values» [2].

³ The specific feature of this tool is that the main task of the participant is to make a comparison with other individuals of the same gender [2].

dards»), hedonism («pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself»), stimulation («excitement, novelty and challenge in life»), self-direction («independent thought and action; choosing, creating, exploring»), universalism («understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature»), benevolence («preserving and enhancing the welfare of those with whom one is in frequent personal contact»), tradition («respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self»), conformity («restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations and norms») and security («safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships and of self») [2].

These motivational types are grouped into 2 (two) bipolar dimensions: opening to change vs. conservation; and self-transcendence vs. self-enhancement.

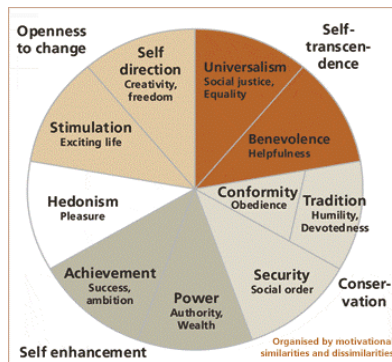


Figure 1- Bidimensional structure of Schwartz's motivational types [3].

There is a wide range of values associated to these motivational types, among them freedom, independence, courage, curiosity (Annex 1).

Portuguese Cooperation

Following the 25 April 1974 revolution in Portugal, the country's cooperation policy became decentralised, both in organic terms and in the

definition of its strategy. This remained so until 1999.

Its institutional framework dates from the 1970s (nineteen-seventies) but an effective cooperation programme only began to emerge in 1985, when the post of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation was created. This was only materially consolidated in 1999, when there were the first strategic guidelines that came with approval in the Council of Ministers (RCM no. 43/99, of 18 may, Portuguese Cooperation on the threshold of the 21st century). The second strategic document (in 2005) was a clear continuation and adaptation of this (RCM no. 196/2005, of 22 december, A Strategic Vision for Portuguese Cooperation). It has remained in force in spite of the structural change that stemmed from the 2012 decision to bring together in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the functions of Cooperation, the dissemination of the Portuguese language and Economic Diplomacy.

These documents set out the policy of Portuguese Cooperation as part of its foreign policy: to take an approach focused above all on peace, the spirit of solidarity between peoples, the setting up and consolidation of a democratic political regime in every country, whatever its culture, religion or ethnic origins. It gives pride of place to respect for human rights, and also to promotion of the Portuguese language [4]. These points of reference are in fact the general values which govern the activities under the aegis of Portuguese Cooperation.

It is important to highlight the fact that two features of Portuguese Cooperation have been constant since the 1974 revolution:

(1) The relationship with PALOPs, with assistance geared to helping in all those sectors that are essential for economic and social development. This position has recently been extended to include East Timor. It should be emphasised that these two geographical areas are the dominant points in the policy of Cooperation, and this means that other countries appearing on related statistics merely reflect the opening of credit lines for companies (Morocco) or military and policing missions (the Balkans, Afghanistan and so on);

(2) The decentralised structure, which has helped towards an increase in the number of players and the wide range of organisations involved (NGOs, town and city councils, ministries, universities, polytechnics, courts, foundations, cooperatives, churches, hospitals ...).

RCM no. 43/99, of 18 may, sets out the aims: to bring together diffe-

rent areas (the political and economic and the cultural); the dynamics of forming an international community based on the whole range of relationships between countries where Portuguese is the official language; and getting closer again to other regions and peoples.

Over the years, a series of tools has been developed with cooperation in mind, among them the indicative cooperation programmes, the integrated cooperation programmes, the technical cooperation delegations and funding institutions such as the Portuguese Agency for Development (APAD).

In terms of structure, the Portuguese Cooperation system has been modified at some points, but nothing substantial, for instance in 2002 and 2003, when APAD was closed down and there was a return to a model having one institute coordinating cooperation (IPAD), with a return also to the administrative culture of a General Directorate of Public Administration; and when there was a merger between IPAD and the Camões Institut, a public institute fostering the expansion of the Portuguese language across the world, with a new Camões merging (Camões – ICL, I.P.) early in 2012 (Decree Law no. 21/2012, of 30 january).

The values of Portuguese Cooperation as seen by those who work in the field

During our research, we found that in general the literature with specific reference to Portuguese Cooperation and particularly to its system identifies very clearly the so-called general values of cooperation which we have already referred to.

Moreover, in terms of the values expressed by IPAD and taken up by Camões – ICL, I. P., the Code of Conduct lists a set of values founded on some solid principles which have also been adopted. These include «equality, impartiality, non-partisanship, transparency, integrity and the careful allocation of scarce public resources». The values in reference are: «excellence based on rigour, quality, efficiency and effectiveness»; «truth, integrity and transparency»; «equal treatment, impartiality, a non-partisan approach and justice»; «quality and productivity in work done, equal treatment for people and opportunities and non-discrimination» [5].

It is also clear from this document that there is zero tolerance of any practice associated with fraudulent practices. These include corruption,

bribery and other infractions such as using IPAD resources «for personal purposes, for one's own benefit or that of third parties, as well as using information or facts that you find out through the exercise of your functions for your own benefit or that of third parties». This is also true for those who for or with you [5].

As already mentioned, we have seen that the literature in general that refers to Portuguese Cooperation and its system notes that the general values of cooperation are in line with those set out in fundamental State documents, specifically those dealing with strategy in 1999, 2005 and 2014, along with the EU Code of Conduct to which Portugal subscribed in 2007 [6].

This position can be summed up in the IPAD statement: «The policy of Cooperation for Development as part of foreign policy is governed by the general principles that underlie the intervention of the Portuguese State in foreign affairs, centred on values such as working towards peace, showing solidarity, fostering democracy and the rule of law, defence of human rights and basic liberties, defence of and assertion in the portuguese language, conservation of the environment and equal opportunities for all» [6].

To sum up, and as we have already briefly mentioned, Portuguese Cooperation is without doubt a priority of Portuguese foreign policy, where the core values are solidarity, respect for human rights and good democratic governance. It is a policy that follows the basic principles of equality, impartiality, non-partisanship, transparency, integrity and the careful allocation of scarce public resources.

In terms of NGDOs, the Portuguese platform is in line with the CONCORD Code of Conduct [7], which refers to 3 (three) important principles:

- «Respect for the dignity of the people concerned»;
- «Belief in the equality of all people»;
- «Acceptance of the need to promote fairness, solidarity and justice».

Over and beyond this Code, Portuguese NGDOs subscribe to the “European NDGO Charter”, where the values set down as being those that these organisations hold are:

- Social justice, fairness and respect for human rights;

- Participation of the people for whom they are working;
- Involvement of civil society in cooperation for development;
- Service for partners from the south – the NDGOs will not serve their own interest, but rather those of their partners.

A survey was carried out in Portugal in 2009, involving 23 (twenty-three) NGDOs on the subject of decentralised cooperation. It was carried out by the Portuguese NGO development platform, and gave 22 (twenty-two) items from which to choose up to 8 (eight) principles. The salient points in the responses were: empowerment of local organisations, alignment, participation, procedures carried out on site, and transparency. In the same survey, the first steps were made towards an Ethical Code of Conduct, with “5 points (chosen by 61% to 74% of the respondents): refusal to contemplate any form of influence peddling or favours; respect for the principles of equality of opportunity; social and environmental responsibility; a guarantee to provide information to all partners and public information on the activities of the organisations concerned [8] (Garcia, O. in ACEP, 2009).

As for standards in international cooperation, Sangreman [9] states that a range of authors share the opinion that «standards make up the preferences of those who are in the “field” [of international cooperation for development] whether it be individuals or those who represent a collective identity».

The most up-to-date set of standards that can be found in the literature on international cooperation for development are, according to the author cited above [9]: justice, fairness, democracy, responsibility, transparency, openness, freedom, peace, security, stability in each State, respect for human rights, the rule of law, equality of gender, policies developed on the basis of a market economy and the general wish to «create fair and democratic societies».

For the research in hand, we have seen on the one hand that there is no literature identifying the values considered by the people employed or the volunteers in cooperation as guiding principles for individual or collective action in this field.

Faced with such a situation, we developed and applied a question-

naire⁴ to those involved in Portuguese Cooperation. The questionnaire was based on Schwartz' theory of human values, and the model for the questionnaire was developed by the Schwartz with Tamayo (1993), and the method was set out by Ronald Inglehart⁵ [10] applied to Portugal (available in World Values Survey) [11]. The IPAD Ethical Code and the CONCORD Code of Conduct were also used.

We took as a given the Schwartz hypothesis that values are to be found on a continuous qualitative scale. Of the 61 (sixty-one) values identified in Schwartz's theory, the research team chose 23 (twenty-three). These, in our opinion, give the respondents some leeway in the area of Portuguese Cooperation.

The questionnaire was available during 4 (four) weeks (from 20 January to 20 February 2013), at an on-line platform – SurveyMonkey.

The target group did not form a specific set, so the questionnaire was sent to all the contacts on the government's platform to bring together the different players concerned – those at the Fórum da Cooperação para o Desenvolvimento, at the Centro de Estudos sobre África, Ásia e América Latina (CEsA), and at the Centro de Estudos Africanos (CEA).⁶ It was also publicised on-line by the Centres and by the Portuguese NGDO platform. The estimated total of recipients was 2,500. It should be noted that this methodology meant that there was no control over the dissemination that the potential respondents themselves chose to make.

Responses came from 422 (four hundred and twenty-two people), mainly women, portuguese by nationality and with university level academic qualifications.

4 See Annex 2.

5 He is the coordinator of one of the world's most important pieces of research in this field: WVR. This is a global network made up of researchers and social scientists who study the changes in values that are seen and their impact in social and political life [8].

6 The last 2 (two) were complementary files, though the main one came from the Forum, since it provided all the contacts, both the public and the private players.

Table 1 – Responses on education and nationality

| Education | Portuguese | Portuguese and another | Another | Total |
|-----------|------------|------------------------|---------|-------|
| Primary | 2 | 1 | 0 | 3 |
| Secondary | 17 | 0 | 2 | 19 |
| Higher | 376 | 4 | 14 | 394 |
| Total | 395 | 5 | 16 | 416 |

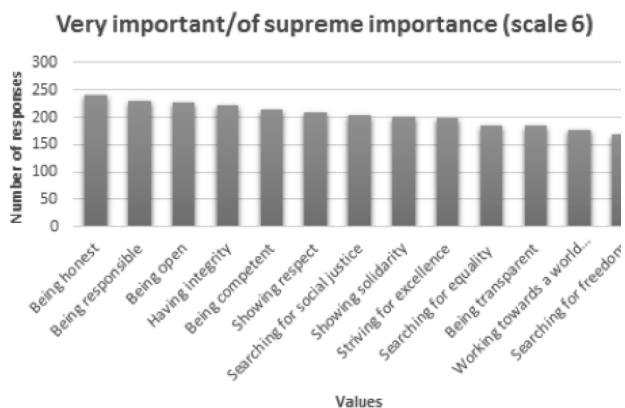
Table 2 – Responses on education and gender

| Education | Masculine | Feminine | Total |
|-----------|-----------|----------|-------|
| Primary | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| Secondary | 9 | 10 | 19 |
| Higher | 182 | 217 | 399 |
| Total | 191 | 230 | 421 |

Table 3 – Age groups by gender

| Age groups | Masculine | Feminine | Total |
|-------------------|-----------|----------|-------|
| Up to 25 | 14 | 46 | 60 |
| Between 26 and 35 | 38 | 63 | 101 |
| Between 36 and 50 | 52 | 75 | 127 |
| Between 51 and 65 | 53 | 32 | 85 |
| Over 65 | 35 | 14 | 49 |
| Total | 192 | 230 | 422 |

Figure 1 - Values and numbers of responses (very important/ of supreme importance - scale 6)



The information on these Tables from 2 to 3 gives us the possibility of different readings. From these we would like highlight the following from an assessment of the absolute figures in the responses, taking into account the thirteen values that stand out the most clearly⁷ as having special importance (showing solidarity, being responsible, being open, being honest, being competent, being transparent, having integrity, showing respect, searching for social justice, striving for excellence, searching for freedom, searching for equality and working towards a world at peace):

(1) If we take the scores of all the respondents, we have a pattern composed of being honest, being responsible, being open, being competent, showing solidarity, transparent, having integrity, showing respect, and searching for social justice, striving for excellence, searching for freedom, searching for equality and working towards a world at peace.

(2) If we just take the scores of men, we have a pattern made up of being honest, being open, being responsible, being competent, showing solidarity, being transparent, and striving for excellence, searching for social justice, having integrity and showing respect.

(3) If we just take the scores of women, we have a pattern made up of having integrity, being honest, being responsible, showing respect, being open, being creative, searching for social justice and working a world at peace, being competent, showing solidarity, searching for equality, searching for freedom, being transparent and being independent.

(4) If we take respondents who were 20 (twenty) years old or more in 1974⁸ we have a pattern made up of the values: searching for a world at peace, being honest, being responsible, having integrity, being open, being competent, striving for excellence, showing solidarity, being in search of social justice, showing respect.

(5) For those under 20 in 1974, the pattern is composed of being honest, being open, being responsible, having integrity, showing respect, being competent, searching for social justice, showing solidarity, striving for excellence, searching for equality and being transparent (Annex 3).

7 When there are two responses with the same number, they are put in the same place in the order. They are indicated with an asterisk (*).

8 The year of the revolution which saw the end of the totalitarian regime of the time and led to independence for what were then the colonies.

If we look at the findings in relative terms, that is, by taking the responses “very important” and “of supreme importance” together in relation to the total number of respondents for each criterion, we have:

(1) If we take the scores of all the respondents, we have a pattern composed of showing solidarity, being responsible, being open, being honest, being competent, being transparent, having integrity, being in search of social justice, striving for excellence, being in search of freedom, being in search of equality, working towards a world at peace, being transparent.

(2) If we just take the scores of men, we have a pattern made up of solidarity, being responsible, being honest, being open, being competent, having integrity, striving for excellence, searching for social justice, searching for freedom and being transparent.

(3) If we just take the scores of women, we have a pattern made up of showing solidarity, being responsible, being in search of social justice, (*), having integrity (*), being competent, being honest, showing respect, being in search of freedom, being in search of equality and being transparent.

(4) If we take respondents who were 20 (twenty) years old or more in 1974, we have a pattern made up of showing solidarity, being honest, being responsible, being open, being competent, having integrity, being creative, searching for social justice, being transparent and being in search of freedom.

(5) For those under 20 (twenty) in 1974, the pattern is composed of showing solidarity, being responsible, being open, being competent, being honest, having integrity, being in search of social justice, working towards a world at peace, striving for excellence and searching for freedom.

We therefore have a pattern that does not vary much between men and women, nor between the generations. In the first case some variation can be seen in terms of importance, but only because men include striving for excellence and transparency in the top ten, while women replace showing respect and searching for equality, with transparency appearing in eleventh place.

The difference in terms of generations is a little bigger, with older people including the values of being creative and transparency and younger people replacing these by striving for excellence and working towards a world at peace.

We believe that these data also show a relatively weak position on the value scale from respondents choosing transparency, independence or environmental concerns, which these days come up in all international documents and debates (Annex 4).⁹

Conclusions

Now that this work has been done, we are in a position to identify these values in a general way. In fact, and considering all the responses to the questionnaire, we can consider the following to be values of exceptional importance: showing solidarity, being responsible, being open, being honest, being competent, being transparent, having integrity, showing respect, searching for social justice, striving for excellence, searching for freedom, searching for equality and working towards a world at peace.

Identifying these values gives real added value, since it allows us to understand a whole set of motivations that characterise those who undertaken cooperation activities in the field. In addition, this is a real innovation, since the only values identified to date were those that emanated from the minds of governmental leaders, inspired to a greater or lesser extent by EU and DAC/OECD documents.

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⁹ Of the 422 (four hundred and twenty-two) only 54 (fifty-four) answered the question on what their profession was, so an assessment of this issue is not significant.

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- Executive Order no. 194/2012, of 20 june;
- Council of Ministers Resolution no. 196/2005, of 22 december;
- Council of Ministers Resolution no. 43/99, of 18 may.

Annex 1

Complete list of values proposed by Schwartz and their definitions

| Motivational type | Values and definition |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Self-Direction | Curiosity (interested in everything, explorer), Creativity (being unique, imaginative), Liberty (liberty of action and thought), Choice/Self-determination (choosing own goals), Independent (self-sufficient, self-confident), Self-respect (belief in one's own value) |
| Stimulation | Daring (in search of adventure, risk), Varied Life (full of challenges, novelties and changes), Exciting Life (stimulating experiences) |
| Hedonism | Pleasure (satisfaction of desires), Life of Pleasure (love of eating, sex, leisure, etc.) |
| Achievement | Successful (reaching objectives), Competent (competent, effective, efficient), Ambitious (hard-working, with aspirations), influential (with impact on people and events), intelligent (logical, rational), clever (getting round problems to reach desired goal) |
| Power | Social power (control over others, dominance), authority (the right to lead or command), wealth (material possessions, money), preserving a public image (protecting reputation), vanity (concern and care with appearance), social recognition (respect, approval from others) |
| Security | Clean (well-groomed, tidy), national security (protection of own Nation against enemies), reciprocation of values (avoid being in debt to anyone), social order (social stability), family security (security for loved-ones), sense of belonging/sense of being part of something (sense that others care about one), healthy (not being sick physically or mentally) |
| Conformity | Obedient (doing one's duty, honouring one's obligations), respect for parents and elders (showing respect, being honourable), politeness (courteous, well-mannered), self-discipline (self-control, resistance against temptations) |
| Tradition | Aware of one's limits/acceptance of one's life (accepting the circumstances of one's life), devout (dedicated to religious faith and belief), humble (modest, unassuming), respectful of tradition (preservation of long-standing customs), moderate (avoids extremes in feelings and actions), privacy (the right to a personal space) |

| | |
|---------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Benevolence | Supportive/helpful (working for the welfare of others), honest (sincere, authentic), forgiving/indulgent (forgiving others), loyal (faithful to friends and in-groups), responsible (trustworthy, reliable), work (a worthwhile way of making a living), spiritual life (emphasis on spiritual and non-material issues), true friendship (close and supportive friends), mature love (deep emotional and spiritual intimacy), seeing a meaning in life (a purpose in life) |
| Universalism | Protector of the environment (preserver of nature), unity with nature (integration with nature), a beautiful world (beauty in nature and the arts), open minded (tolerant of different ideas and beliefs), social justice (correction of injustice, support for those who are weaker), Wisdom (a mature understanding of life), equality (equal opportunities for all), a world at peace (free of war and conflict), dreamer (always maintaining an optimistic view of the future), inner harmony (at peace with oneself) |
| Notes | <p>The values in bold and underlined were added at the time of the study by Tamayo and Schwartz in Brazil (due to its highly specific culture). The main aim of the Brazil study was «to verify the motivational structure of values with Brazilian examples» (2004, p. 57).</p> <p>Values in bold and italics are from the Rokeach scale of values (Menezes, Costa & Campos, pp. 67-68).</p> |

Source: Pires (2004, p. 58); Menezes, Costa & Campos (1989, pp. 67-68).

Annex 2

Questionnaire relating to values in Portuguese Cooperation

We would like to request your help for a scientific research project: Projeto Clusters da Cooperação Portuguesa: [https:// http://pascal.iseg.utl.pt/~cesa/index.php/menuinvestigacao/projectos-em-curso/140](https://http://pascal.iseg.utl.pt/~cesa/index.php/menuinvestigacao/projectos-em-curso/140) coordinated by Carlos Sangreman and part of a doctoral thesis by Raquel Faria (in progress) entitled “The public policies of Portuguese Cooperation (1998 to 2012): an attempt at modelling” at the University of Coimbra.

Please fill in the questionnaire as per the instructions given. Please do not leave any question unanswered. There are no correct/incorrect answers.

We are particularly interested in your personal opinion. The quality of this research depends on the sincerity of your answers.

Thank you for your collaboration!

Instructions

In this questionnaire, you should ask yourself “What, in my opinion, are the values that govern individual and collective action in Portuguese Cooperation?”

Your task is to assess how important each value is for you as a main guideline for Portuguese Cooperation. The following scale should be used for this purpose:

As a main guideline for Portuguese Cooperation, this value is

not important // important // very important

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

(Please answer all the questions)

1. Sex: Masculine () Feminine () 2. Age: ____
3. Nationality(s): Portuguese Other Which ? _____
4. Education: Primary () Junior () Secondary () Higher ()
5. What is your profession? 6. What kind of entity in Cooperation are you working in?
7. What countries have you been to, not as a tourist:
Angola Brazil Cape Verde Guiné Bissau Mozambique
São Tomé and Príncipe Timor European countries
Other countries Which ones ? _____

Thank you for your collaboration!

List of values

Before you start, read the values all through and assess their importance, bearing in mind the scale referred to already

Not at all important

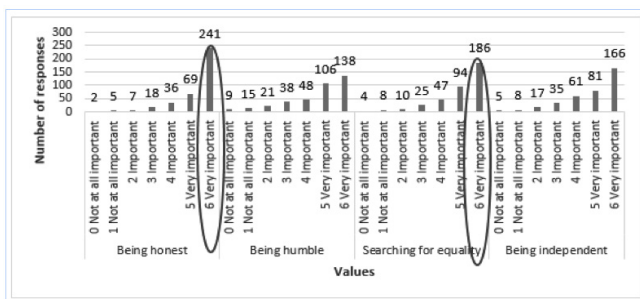
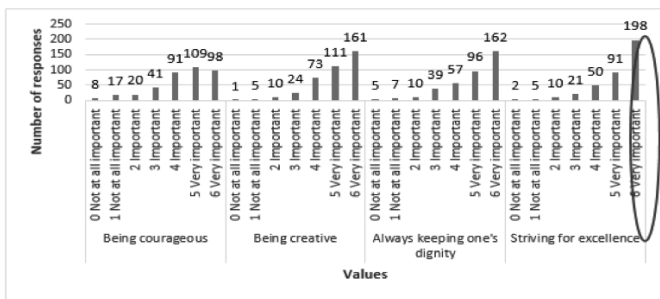
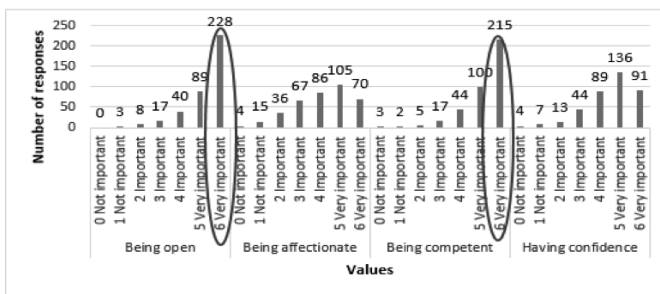
Very important

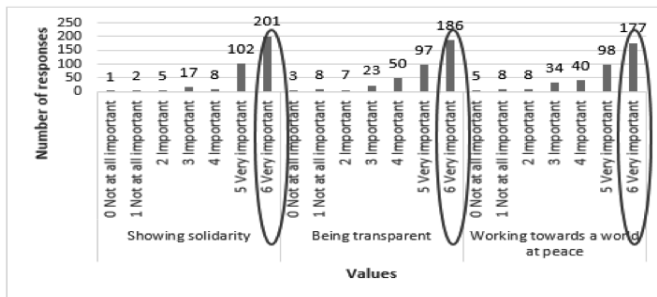
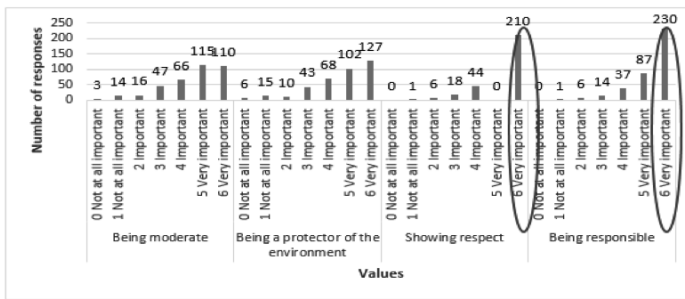
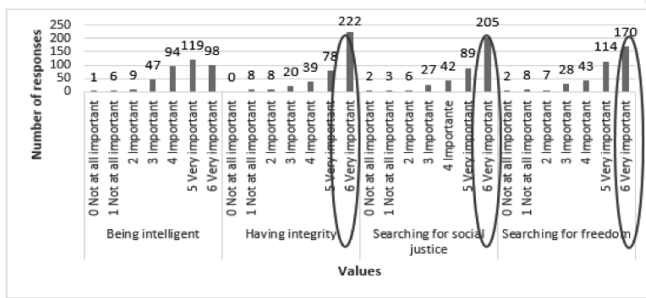
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- 1) BEING OPEN (tolerant of different ideas and beliefs)
- 2) BEING AFFECTIONATE (regarding affection as important in personal relations)
- 3) BEING COMPETENT (competent, effective, efficient)
- 4) HAVING CONFIDENCE (being optimistic regarding people and institutions)
- 5) BEING COURAGEOUS (being capable of handling risky situations)
- 6) BEING CREATIVE (being imaginative towards innovation)
- 7) ALWAYS KEEPING ONE'S DIGNITY (concern to "save face" for others)
- 8) STRIVING FOR EXCELLENCE (rigour, quality, effectiveness, efficiency)
- 9) BEING HONEST (sincere, authentic)
- 10) BEING HUMBLE (modest, not pushy)
- 11) SEARCHING FOR EQUALITY (aiming for equal opportunities for all)
- 12) BEING INDEPENDENT (in relation to governments, economic groups and political parties)
- 13) BEING INTELLIGENT (being logical, rational)
- 14) HAVING INTEGRITY (not tolerating behaviour that is illegal or on the fringe of being so)
- 15) SEARCHING FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE (correction of injustice, care for the downtrodden)
- 16) SEARCHING FOR FREEDOM (freedom of action, thought, association and expression)
- 17) BEING MODERATE (avoiding extreme sentiments, positions and actions)
- 18) BEING A PROTECTOR OF THE ENVIRONMENT (preserving nature)
- 19) SHOWING RESPECT (belief in one's own value and that of others)
- 20) BEING RESPONSIBLE (being trustworthy, reliable)
- 21) SHOWING SOLIDARITY (looking out for the welfare of others and oneself)
- 22) BEING TRANSPARENT (in behaviour, ideas and decisions)
- 23) WORKING TOWARDS A WORLD AT PEACE (free of wars and conflicts)

Annex 3

The values of those working in Portuguese Cooperation, in graphic term





Annex 4

Treatment of some of the data obtained through the questionnaire used

| Value | Not at all important/ Without importance (0) | Not at all important /Not very important (1) | Important /Quite important (2) | Important/Rather important (3) | Important (4) | Very important (5) | Very important/Of supreme importance (6) | Not mentioned |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------|--------------------|------------------------------------------|---------------|
| Being open | 0 | 3 | 8 | 17 | 40 | 89 | 228 | 38 |
| Being honest | 2 | 5 | 7 | 18 | 36 | 69 | 241 | 45 |
| Being responsible | 0 | 1 | 6 | 14 | 37 | 87 | 230 | 48 |
| Having integrity | 0 | 8 | 8 | 20 | 39 | 78 | 222 | 48 |
| Being competent | 3 | 2 | 5 | 17 | 44 | 100 | 215 | 37 |
| Showing respect | 0 | 1 | 6 | 18 | 44 | 0 | 210 | 144 |
| Searching for social justice | 2 | 3 | 6 | 27 | 42 | 89 | 205 | 51 |
| Showing solidarity | 1 | 2 | 5 | 17 | 8 | 102 | 201 | 87 |
| Striving for excellence | 2 | 5 | 10 | 21 | 50 | 91 | 198 | 46 |
| Searching for equality | 4 | 8 | 10 | 25 | 47 | 94 | 186 | 49 |
| Being transparente | 3 | 8 | 7 | 23 | 50 | 97 | 186 | 49 |
| Working towards a world at peace | 5 | 8 | 8 | 34 | 40 | 98 | 177 | 53 |
| Searching for freedom | 2 | 8 | 7 | 28 | 43 | 114 | 170 | 51 |
| Being independen | 5 | 8 | 17 | 35 | 61 | 81 | 166 | 50 |
| Maintaining dignity | 5 | 7 | 10 | 39 | 57 | 96 | 162 | 47 |
| Being creative | 1 | 5 | 10 | 24 | 73 | 111 | 161 | 38 |
| Being humble | 9 | 15 | 21 | 38 | 48 | 106 | 138 | 48 |
| Being a protector of the environment | 5 | 15 | 10 | 43 | 68 | 102 | 127 | 52 |
| Having confidence | 4 | 7 | 13 | 44 | 89 | 136 | 91 | 39 |
| Being inteligente | 1 | 6 | 9 | 47 | 94 | 119 | 98 | 49 |
| Being moderate | 3 | 14 | 16 | 47 | 66 | 115 | 110 | 52 |
| Being courageous | 8 | 17 | 20 | 41 | 91 | 109 | 98 | 39 |
| Being affectionate | 4 | 15 | 36 | 67 | 86 | 105 | 70 | 40 |

- PART II -

CLUSTER PRACTICE IN

PORTUGUESE COOPERATION

THE NEW TOOL OF THE PORTUGUESE COOPERATION: COOPERATION CLUSTERS

*Carlos Sangreman
Sandra Silva*

Summary

This work is part of the study conducted within the research work entitled “The cluster as a theoretical and practical tool of the Portuguese International Cooperation for the Development: the case of Mozambique, East Timor, São Tomé and Príncipe and Angola” and the PhD thesis entitled “The influence of the clusters in the cooperation for the development at the level of aid effectiveness. The case of good governance in Guinea-Bissau” in which the main goals regard the certification of the aid effectiveness of the cooperation clusters and the conception of a strategy of implementation of the cooperation clusters. In this paper we intend to reflect about the effectiveness of the clusters in the cooperation for the development by analyzing the opinions of previous and current political leaders, leaders of the autonomous state administration and of members of the civil society involved in the adoption and implementation of the cooperation clusters in Portugal. These preliminary results point out to the need of establishing a strategy of definition and implementation of the cooperation clusters so that the goals of aid effectiveness can be achieved.

1. Introduction

The importance that innovation has achieved in the context of aid effectiveness raises serious challenges to the governments that intervene

in the cooperation for development (Morris & Pryke, 2011). The Portuguese government has invested in new and innovative tools so as to increase the aid effectiveness after the signature of the Paris Declaration (2005) and consequent adoption of the Strategic Vision (2005). In this context, the cooperation cluster has been assumed as one of the main innovations at the level of cooperation for the development in Portugal, being thought of as “a tool which is composed by a set of projects, led by different institutions in a specific geographic area and with a common framework that promotes social and economic development of a target-region” (IPAD, 2005). Even though this tool has been conceived taking into account the advantages of the theoretical model of Michael Porter (Porter, 1990, 1998, 2000) and many other knowledge areas have successfully adopted it, such as New Mainstream Economics (Krugman, 1991), Regional Sciences (Scott, 1996), Innovation Studies (Braczyk et al., 1998), the effectiveness of the cooperation cluster in the aid for development as not been certified yet.

This study aims at preliminarily approaching the issues of effectiveness of the clusters implemented by the Portuguese Cooperation in Angola, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe and East Timor. More specifically, it tries to understand the subjacent criteria to their adoption and implementation strategies in order to assess the effectiveness of the cooperation clusters in the view of the donator. For the purpose, a series of interviews to former and current political leaders, leaders of the autonomous state administration and members of the civil society involved or with knowledge about the implementation of the cooperation clusters were conducted. As we will demonstrate, there is no such thing as a strategy of creation and implementation of cooperation clusters, being its definition considered to be crucial so that the goals of the aid effectiveness can be achieved.

2. The Cooperation Cluster

In this part of the study we will explore the emergence of the new concept of cooperation cluster through the revision of literature and the analysis of initiatives of clusters in developing countries. The first references to the cooperation cluster appear in the strategic document entitled “A Strategic Vision for the Portuguese Cooperation” adopted by the

Portuguese Cooperation in 2005. In this document, the cooperation cluster is considered to be “a clearly innovative tool” by the Portuguese Cooperation, presenting itself as one of the possible solutions for “the problems that result of the proliferation of random projects” (IPAD, 2011). The Portuguese Cooperation tries, this way, to mobilize a set of institutions around a common problematic. It is in this context that the concept of cluster firstly appears connected to the cooperation for the development, having been adapted from the economic area as the document of the Strategic Vision refers (IPAD, 2005). The cooperation cluster derives from the theoretical model of Michael Porter on the competitive advantage of the nations and on the international competitiveness which predicts the increase of productivity through the process of clusterization and through the intense interactions between industries (Porter, 1990, 1998). This model is later reinvented by the author when he incorporated location as a key-factor in a globalized world by the growing influence of the new technologies of communication (Porter, 2000). The clusters start being faced as “a new way of thinking about national, state, and local economies, and they necessitate new roles for companies, for various levels of government, and for other institutions in enhancing competitiveness” (idem: 16). Several actors start assuming a fundamental role in the competitiveness of nations through their participation in the clusters. The reinforcement of the role of the state as far as the competitiveness of the nations is concerned is a core issue of this theoretical model that is incorporated by the cooperation cluster in which institutions such as universities, schools and public utilities are beginning to play a fundamental role as well.

But if, on the one hand, the adoption of this concept by the Portuguese Cooperation seems to assume some of the premises of Porter’s theoretical model regarding the geographic concentration of the several actors in the competitiveness of the nations in spite of having been reinvented as far as the geographic concentration of the several actors based on factors that promote the aid effectiveness for development; on the other hand some innovations related to the sectorial concentration of the various participants around a common object are introduced. This accurateness in the definition of the cooperation cluster is essential since the obscurity of the concept due to its vast dissemination to several areas of knowledge without a concern with its definition is one of the criticism pointed at the cluster (Martin & Sunley, 2003; Motoyama, 2008), and with this in mind the different perspectives of clusters existent in literature on the initiatives in developing countries are analyzed.

In the last decade, a growing relevance has been given to the initiatives of clusters in developing countries by the donating countries and agencies of development since they can “generate employment, income and opportunities for the local community and become drivers of broad – based local economic development” (Dijk & Sverrisson, 2003; UNIDO, 2010). This interest, which was triggered by the success of the concentration of small companies in Italian industrialized districts (Schmitz & Nadvi, 1999), is reflected in the progressive increase of literature about the initiatives of cluster in developing countries which focuses mainly in the beneficial effects as well as in the collective efficiency they promote (Altenburg and Meyer-Stamer, 1999; McCormick, 1999; Schmitz, 1995; Nadvi, 1999). In this analysis a special attention is given to the initiatives of industrial or business clusters and not to the cooperation clusters since there are no references to the concept in literature. The concept of industrial or business cluster is not globally accepted due to its undefined use. It has however been “commonly held to mean that enterprises are physically close to each other and that this proximity creates opportunities for collaboration, other externalities, etc” (Dijk & Sverrisson, 2003). The experience with industrial or business clusters has testified that, in many cases, these work as “the outcome of the survival activities of very poor people who lack capital, markets, and skills for starting and running-type establishments” (Dijk & Sverrisson, 2003) for they allow “small enterprises to overcome growth constraints and compete in distant markets but there is also recognition that is not an automatic outcome” (Schmitz & Nadvi, 1999). Yet, researchers conclude that the developing countries need to acquire more technological abilities which allow the continuous improvement of the production and organization processes (Caniels & Romijn, 2003); they also need to break the vicious circles of low qualifications and investment through the creation of an environment that stimulates and supports learning and entrepreneurship; the policymakers should assume a catalyzing role so as to decrease the difference of competitiveness between small and medium sized companies (Altenburg & Meyer-Stamer, 1999); clusterization, in an initial stage when the risk for the small companies is bigger (Schmitz & Nadvi, 1999); and of collective action and efficiency since they seem essential to cope with the new entrepreneurship pressures (Schitz & Nadvi, 1999). These conclusions are drawn from the analysis of some of the clusters that have been implemented, such as the software cluster in Bangalore, India, being the software considered to be one of the sectors with more potential to generate economic growth, particularly in developing countries (Canie □ls & Romijn,

2003); the cluster of transforming industries in Latin-America which is presented as a very heterogeneous example (Altenburg & Meyer-Stamer, 1999); the shoes cluster in Guadalajara in Mexico and in Agra in India, which having been deeply affected by the dynamics of liberalization in trade in the decade of 90 had to reinvent itself in order to compete with a globalized world (Knorringa, 1999; Rabellotti, 1999). It is important to highlight that despite the fact that the initiatives with industrial or business clusters are very different from the initiatives with cooperation clusters, the goal of fomenting development is common to both types of clusters. In this review of literature we can also realize that collective action is another common trait to both types of clusters. The increase of cooperation between local actors through the establishment of vertical and horizontal bonds, including bilateral and multilateral relations, seems to be determinant for the success of clusters in developing countries (Knorringa, 1999; Rabellotti, 1999; Schmitz & Nadvi, 1999). The notion that the clusters should be faced as “an expression of social connectivity rather than mere spatial agglomeration” (Dijk & Sverrisson, 2003) is similar to the notion of the Portuguese Cooperation which considers that the cooperation clusters should involve a great number of actors, namely NGOs, universities, foundations, syndicates, employer associations, councils or companies.

Other resemblances may be found when analyzing the different experiences with industrial clusters which have been promoted by the UNIDO (United Nations Industrial Organization), USAID (United States Agency for International Development) and FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization for the United Nations) in developing countries. More specifically, the UNIDO started promoting initiatives of clusters in the mid-1990s with the goal of providing “cluster stakeholders with an enabling business environment that paves the ground for sustained growth” (UNIDO, 2010). UNIDO’s methodology of cluster implementation is based on technical assistance and thus the main participants must be deeply involved and compromised with the initiatives. Although UNIDO emphasizes the role of the private sector in the implementation of the clusters, the public sector also plays a fundamental role since the governance, along with the confidence, are the key-factors for the success of these initiatives. In the case of UNIDO, the resemblances with the cooperation clusters reside in the fact that there is a mobilizing and coordinating institution for the cluster on the scene where the initiative is being promoted. The UNIDO works as an intermediate between the different actors of the clusters,

even though it does not replace them, daily supporting them “from the formulation of a diagnostic study to planning and implementing private sector development activities” (UNIDO, 2010). Similarly to what happens concerning the cooperation clusters “providing network members with training, operational support, incentives and motivation as well as encouraging knowledge diffusion and providing exposure to best practice” (UNIDO, 2010) constitute fundamental factors for the success of these initiatives in developing countries. Some of the cluster initiatives promoted by the UNIDO are: the Rivas bananas cluster in Nicaragua; the metal and wood workshops cluster in Mekelle, Ethiopia; the clothing cluster in Atuntaqui in Ecuador. The USAID started developing initiatives with clusters towards the end of the 1990s beginning in Libya in 1998, and reaching a total of 2006 countries in 2003. The initiatives of clusters in developing countries include Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bolivia, India, Mongolia, among others (Ketels, Lindqvist, & Sölvell, 2006). To the USAID, the clusters represent a set of principles that make the increase of competitiveness possible. These principles include “the close interplay between firms, their suppliers, and the business environment; the importance of geographic proximity; building connections and relationships among firms and institutions within a cluster so that they can more effectively tackle the barriers to increased productivity; mobilizing people to re-think the way they do business; the momentum for change must be local” (USAID, 2008). And similarly to the cooperation clusters and to the initiatives promoted by the UNIDO previously mentioned, it is fundamental the existence of “honest and trusted broker to bring disparate parties with varied interests together” and “donor projects can credibly provide global perspective and technical expertise, but the cluster development process should be driven by the local private sector” (USAID, 2008).

Finally, the FAO only recently started to use the clusters as a tool to increase productivity in a period in which the challenges put to the “new agriculture” are immense. The agro-clusters are faced by the FAO as “a concentration of producers, agribusinesses and institutions that are engaged in the same agricultural or agro-industrial subsector, and interconnect and build value networks when addressing common challenges and pursuing common opportunities” (Gálvez-Nogales, 2010). This new tool is considered to be “an efficient way to develop and stabilize agriculture and agro-industry and to create an environment that improves the competitiveness of agribusiness, particularly small- and medium-scale companies” (Gálvez-Nogales, 2010). One of the examples of success of the

FAO is the case of the Bio Bio cluster in Chile which congregates around 40% of the myrtle production of the whole country. Once more, the similarities with the cooperation clusters are related to the fact that there is a cluster-mobilizing institution which controls the stages of implementation and the need to establish synergies and local partnerships.

It is important; however, to highlight other common particularities to the different cluster initiatives previously analyzed which seem to differ from the cooperation clusters, namely the promotion of collective efficiency and the adoption of small-scale firms (Schmitz, 1995). Here, the collective efficiency is faced as “the competitive advantage derived from local external economies and joint action” (idem: 530). We also emphasize that the designation of cooperation cluster was never used in initiatives promoted by the UNIDO, USAID or FAO, which makes the concept unique.

We finish this part of the study with a brief justification for the existence of these differences. The author (Perez-Aleman, 2005) refers in her study some of these differences, coinciding in this analysis with the absence of competitiveness and dynamics (Altenburg and Meyer-Stamer, 1999; McCormick, 1999; Schmitz, 1995; Nadvi, 1999) and of collaboration inter-companies (McCormick, 1999; Nadvi, 1999; Lara, 2002). What seems to justify these differences regarding the cooperation cluster is the absence of the search for economic profit as a decision-criterion (Sangreman & Carvalho, 2007). The in-depth analysis of the experiences of the Portuguese Cooperation, namely the cluster of Angola and Mozambique may allow the comprehension of the process of creation and implementation of new clusters.

3. Innovation in the Portuguese Cooperation

In this part of the study we aim at analyzing the innovation of the tool used by the Portuguese Cooperation: the cooperation cluster. This analysis derives from the investigation conducted as part of the project “The cluster as a theoretical and practical tool of the Portuguese International Cooperation for the Development: the case of Mozambique, East Timor, São Tomé and Príncipe and Angola”. In this section the cases of Angola and Mozambique will be analyzed in-depth since in these cases the field trips and the interviews to the main local actors were already conducted and the necessary information was already collected. The local actors interviewed are the cooperation – attachés, the diplomatic corps of

the respective embassies, the personnel attached to the projects and the direct beneficiaries.

The case of Angola focuses on the agro-pastoral activities developed in the cooperative COOPECUNHA which is located in the municipality of E Cunha. The municipality is characterized by a dense agricultural and commercial occupation in a development stage with tendency to broaden due to the growing reoccupation of the territory by the populations. The agro-pastoral activities involve a large part of the population highlighting a strong bond to the land. Agriculture is generally extensive with commercial goals mainly in the irrigated areas for the growing of potato and vegetables with main focus in the commune of Chi peio.

It is important to stress that these agro-pastoral activities are developed around a set of three projects promoted by the IMVF (Institute Marquis of Valle-Flor) with the support of two main financiers, the EC (European Commission) and the PIDS (Portuguese Institute for Development Support). The USAID participates in the area of specialized technical support and of capacity building. The interaction with the local political power organs and with a small number of CSO (Civil society organizations) at the level of reinforcement of local democratic governance in the Auscultation and Social Dialogue Committees of the Municipality of E Cunha and the commune of Chi peio is also promoted.

The projects in question are the Project of Sustainable Relaunch of Production and Commercialization of the Private, Familiar and Business Livestock Products Sector in the Municipality of E Cunha; the Project of Sustainable Management of Forest Natural Resources: Consolidation and Enlargement (PSMFNR); and the Project for the Promotion of Local Democratic Governance: Dinamization of the Auscultation and Social Dialogue Committee in the Municipality of E Cunha and Commune of Chi peio (PPLDG). According to the study conducted in loco, we have concluded that the projects are to some extent articulated between them at the level of rural development and of food security, being promoted in the territorial area of the Municipality of E Cunha. The Project of Sustained Rural Development of the Municipality of E Cunha (PSRD), which has already come to an end, was at the core of this IMVF intervention in the Municipality of E Cunha and it focused on the support to the relaunch and in the promotion of the private agricultural activity. Specifically this project has focused on the support to the increase of agricultural production and on the support and reinforcement given to the core associations

in the Municipality of Ecnha, being the creation of COOPECUNHA the most meaningful output that resulted from this support. COOPECUNHA is a cooperative of farmers which has members in two communes of the Municipality: Ecnha and Chipeio. It is currently considered to be a model of “good practice” in terms of effectiveness, efficiency and sustainability of its actions aiming at the development of the agricultural sector in the region. The success of this project has thus led to the extension of its philosophy and structure through the Project for the Promotion of Local Democratic Governance and the Project of Sustained Rural Development of the Municipality of Ecnha.

Taking into account the characteristics of the cooperation clusters previously mentioned and the preliminary conclusions withdrawn from the study conducted as part of this project, even though there is some articulation and some synergies between the three projects and different activities are being produced, in a limited territory, it seems that the institutional structure that shapes the projects implemented by the IMVF in the Municipality of Ecnha is closer to the logic of an integrated project rather than that of a cooperation cluster. It is, mainly, the absence of several financiers and of a strategic intervention based on a central project that points to the existence of an integrated project in the Municipality of Ecnha rather than to a cooperation cluster. There are, however, other perspectives namely of the IMVF which considers that the initiatives developed in Angola are part of a cooperation cluster. Further research will allow an explanation of the different perspectives.

Unlike Angola, the Mozambique case is recognized by the Portuguese Cooperation as a cooperation cluster, integrated in the Indicative Cooperation Program (ICP) 2011-2012 as a complementary intervention. This complementary intervention counts with 2% of the overall budget, around 1.2 million of Euros and it aims at “contributing to the sustainable and well-balanced development of the Island of Mozambique and of the surrounding continental region (human and economic, patrimonial and environmental)” (IPAD, 2012). This value is an indicator that even though the last ICP 2007-2011 predicted 10% of the overall budget, only 3% was achieved. More specifically, the main goal of this intervention is the sustained development of this region through the valorization of the historical and cultural patrimony, the promotion of income-generating activities and improvement of living-conditions of inhabitants. Thus, the concentration of efforts was thought of in order to implement an integrated project in the island financed by several bilateral and multilateral

actors and by the Portuguese Cooperation, designated as Development Plan of the Island of Mozambique DPIM (Sangreman & Silva, 2012). The activities are in consonance with the priority areas defined by the Mozambican Government in the pursuing of the fundamental goals of the Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty II (APRAPII), namely, the rehabilitation of the island heritage which will allow the development of the region and the increase of the income of the population (Sangreman & Silva, 2012). This intervention is also in consonance with the UNESCO intervention which has attributed the status of World Heritage to the Island of Mozambique in 1991 as well as the intervention of other international financiers like the UNDP (United Nations Development Plan), the ADB (African Development Bank) or of countries that have helped over time the Mozambican Government to intervene in the island (Sangreman & Silva, 2012). Since the beginning of the cooperation cluster, established after the signature of the last ICP between Portugal and Mozambique in 2007, little has been done. The adjudication of the elaboration of the Development Plan for the Island of Mozambique DPIM, whose main goal was the identification of the areas and main projects for the development of the region, was only formalized in March 2008. The DPIM which points to three stages with a duration of 10 years, has generated resistance from the Mozambican Government even when the several actors participated in its elaboration. Simultaneously, the evaluation report of the ICP 2007-2011 concludes that the implementation of the cluster has not been initiated yet “nor there were any efforts of mobilization or coordination regarding ongoing projects in the field”² (evaluation report). It is expected that the approval of the ICP 2011-2014, in which this complementary intervention is included, accelerates the intervention in the scope of the cooperation cluster in Mozambique.

This brief analysis to the cases of Angola and Mozambique allow us to conclude that the cooperation clusters are not achieving the expected results. We discuss the attempt of adopting an innovative tool with the goal of avoiding the duplication of efforts, of maximizing the impact of projects and ensuring their sustainability and finishing the random and disperse actions which have characterized the Portuguese action. Some constraints though like the change of government due to the legislative elections of 2011 and the nomination of the new State Secretary for Foreign Affairs and for Cooperation (SSFA) may be creating difficulties regarding the evolution of both initiatives, making a conclusive analysis of its innovation potential impossible.

4. The position of the government, state and civil society

In this part of the work we will analyze the interviews conducted to former and current leaders, leaders of the autonomous state administration and members of organizations of the civil society directly involved or with knowledge about the implementation of the cooperation clusters in the scope of the project “The cluster as a theoretical and practical tool of the Portuguese International Cooperation for the Development: the case of Mozambique, East Timor, São Tomé and Príncipe and Angola”. The goal is to retrieve information which may allow a better understanding of the problematic previously placed.

As one can analyze in Annex I, the structure of this guideline integrates questions that may allow us to gather opinions, information, perceptions regarding the effectiveness of clusters in aiding development. These are guiding-questions, and not closed-questions, which enable the interview to proceed as the interviewee considers being more pertinent.

The guideline was made available to the interviewees before of the interview. There are two different groups of interviewees, in the first group we find the formulators of the clusters, namely the former and current State Secretary for Business and Cooperation (SSBC), the former and current members of the Commission of Foreign Affairs and Portuguese Communities, the IMVF and the high and intermediate board of the PIDS (Portuguese Institute for Development Support)¹⁰; in the second group we find the executors of the clusters, namely the members of NGDOs. Each interview was preceded by a short explanation of its goals and theme of study. The interviewees were also asked permission so that the interview could be recorded and they were explained that the retrieved information will only be used for the purposes of the current study and investigation.

As we can observe in Table 1, so far six interviews were conducted: three in the group of the formulators of the cooperation clusters and three in the group of the executors of the cooperation clusters. We highlight the fact that we are finding it more difficult to schedule interviews in the formulators group than in the executors group, for in the first group 74% of the interviews are still awaiting confirmation.

¹⁰ PIDS – IPAD (Instituto Português de Apoio ao Desenvolvimento) in Portuguese

Table 1 – Interviews to the cooperation actors in Portugal

| Interviews | Formulators | Executors |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Requested interviews | 19 | 15 |
| Requested interviews | 3 | 3 |
| Scheduled interviews | 2 | 5 |
| Refused interviews | 0 | 2 |
| Awaiting for answer | 14 | 5 |

Regarding the first group of interviewees, the formulators of the cooperation clusters, everyone that participated in the formulation of the cooperation clusters from the beginning was contacted, such as the former State Secretary for Business and Cooperation (SSBC), the former adviser of the SSBC, the former members of the Commission of Foreign Affairs and Portuguese Communities, IMVF and the high and intermediate board of the PIDS. Yet, only the intermediate leaders of the Geographical Cooperation Services II and of the Evaluation and Audit Cabinet have answered to the interview so far. We would like to refer that no former or current leader has accepted to be interviewed, as expressed in Table 2.

Table 2 – Interviews to the Group of Formulators

| Institution | Carried out | Scheduled | Refused | Awaiting |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Former State Secretary for Business and Cooperation | | | | 2 |
| State Secretary for Business and Cooperation | | | | 1 |
| Former Commission of Foreign Affairs and Portuguese Communities | | | | 3 |
| Commission of Foreign Affairs and Portuguese Communities | | 1 | | 3 |
| IPAD (PIDS) | 2 | 1 | | 4 |
| Embassy of Portugal in Mozambique | | | | 1 |
| IMVF | 1 | | | |
| TOTAL | 3 | 2 | 0 | 14 |

In the interviews conducted within the group of formulators to the intermediate leaders of the PIDS we highlight the existence of two common elements. Firstly, the cooperation cluster is considered by both as a tool with potentiality to promote the development of countries. Secondly, the absence of a plan of action in which the coordination, the appropriation and the complementarity are present has contributed to the failure of this tool. The potentialities identified by the intermediate leaders of the PIDS are underlined in the guidelines of the clusters, namely the concentration of aid in a context of great dispersion of resources and efforts such as in the Portuguese case. The head of direction of the Geographical Cooperation Services II, Dr. Sérgio Guimarães, considers that, regarding the aid effectiveness of the Portuguese Cooperation, “the cooperation cluster is a good answer and the models available may contribute to the canalization of help so as to obtain larger coordination and complementarity of action between the actors”⁴. The Head of the Evaluation and Audit Cabinet, Dr. Manuela Afonso, believes the cooperation clusters are “an innovative tool which has potentialities in the light of what was produced in Busan”, namely, “the appropriation, the focus on results, the inclusive partnerships for development, transparency and accountability”. Some disadvantages were, however, identified and these are mainly related with difficulties in the start of the clusters. These difficulties are, according to Dr. Manuela Afonso, financial, since no other partners were identified; of appropriation of the concept of clusters by local partners; of absence of active leadership by the PIDS and of inexistence of a structure that ensured the management of the cluster. Dr. Manuela Afonso also considers that “there is no evidence of a clear implementation strategy as far as the cluster is concerned”, nor even “a plan of action, of coordination and of appropriation, i.e., these buzzwords which underpin the idea of a cluster”. According to Dr. Sérgio Guimarães, the NGOs end up by having a marginal intervention in the cooperation clusters. The NGOs have been financed through “a line of financing in which the right of initiative rules has been currently used and to which there is a random selection to the clusters”.

The interview conducted to the head of projects of the IMVF focuses mainly in the case of São Tomé and Príncipe, being, however, the perspective regarding the cluster favorable since it concentrates efforts in a specific geographical or sectorial area.

As far as the second group of interviewees are concerned, the executors of the cooperation clusters, we followed the criterion of representativity in the social organs of the Portuguese Platform of NGOs for the

selection of NGOs. As we can observe in Table 3, unlike what happened with the first group, 53% of members has given or has scheduled the interview. It is important to mention that two NGOs refused to give interviews alleging lack of knowledge regarding the cooperation clusters. The two NGOs mentioned are AIDGLOBAL (Action and Integration for the Global Development) and FEC (Foundation Faith and Cooperation) both represented in the social organs of the Portuguese Platform of NGOs in the Supervisory Board and with more than two decades of experience in the area of development in the case of FEC. The member of the FEC contacted to give the interview alleges that “due to the specificity of the theme [he won’t be able] to bring significant added value for the study” and the member of AIDGLOBAL states that he does not “have enough knowledge of the matter”.

Table 3 – Interviews to the Group of Executors

| Institution | Carried out | Scheduled | Refused | Awaiting |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| OIKOS – Cooperation and Development | | 1 | | 1 |
| MONTE – Development of Central Alentejo | | | | 1 |
| ADRA - Adventist Association for the Development, Resources and Assistance | 1 | | | |
| TESE – Association for the Development | 1 | | | |
| ACEP – Association for the Cooperation between Peoples | | 1 | | |
| ATA – Tropical Agricultural Association | 1 | | | |
| FGS - Foundation Gonçalo da Silveira | | 1 | | |
| CIDAC – Center of Anti-Colonial Information and Documentation | | 1 | | |
| ADPM – Association of Defense of the Heritage of Mértola | | | | 1 |
| GRAAL – Association of Social and Cultural Character | | | | 1 |

| | | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|
| AIDGLOBAL – Action and Integration for the Global Developmen | | | 1 | |
| Saúde em Português – Association of Professionals of Primary Health Care of the Portuguese – Speaking Countries | | | | 1 |
| FEC - Foundation Faith and Cooperation | | | 1 | |
| IEEI – Institute of Strategic and International Studies | | 1 | | |
| TOTAL | 3 | 5 | 2 | 5 |

What we stress as a common and central element to all of the interviews conducted, namely the ADRA, ATA and TESE is the fact that all of the interviewees who are members of the mentioned NGDOs believe the cooperation cluster to be an important tool for the development. More specifically, the member of ATA considers that “a politically, technically and economically well-built cluster is important for both parties but it is necessary that this is done”; the member of ADRA states that “the start idea sounds good, to have an action or geographical area which is priority because the funds are limited. If we manage to focus in two or three things which are well worked that will be better than having a huge dispersion and that is also in agreement with the Monterrey principles”; the member of TESE refers that he believes “the idea of the cluster [to be] positive. [He thinks] that for a kind of cooperation with our dimension the idea of a cluster makes sense, because it has to do with coordination, concentration and in-depth impact. The dispersion is not favorable, but that does not mean that there cannot be an ah-docs grant”.

Simultaneously, we realize that each of the previously mentioned NGDOs ended up by pointing out some essential criteria for the existence of a cooperation cluster. According to ADRA there is a need of establishing rules and to foment more transparency in the participation process of all actors. ATA defends that it is necessary to begin by a political agreement and to ensure financial stability. Lastly, TESE refers that it is necessary to create “a stem of coordination of the cluster / a structure and it does not need to be a structure with a general manager and a cabinet, but people from both parts who play responsible roles.”

Finally, some criticism has been leveled at the acting of the Portuguese Cooperation regarding the cooperation clusters. For instance, the member of ADRA mentioned that “the cluster is a positive strategy and a suitable one provided that it involves the actors and that all have access to the same information and it seems to me that that has not been happening”. However, he adds that “it seems [to me] that the cluster ends up by being for some who have privileged access to information and who can go directly to the source, so to say, or the source goes directly to them because it chooses them. It does not seem to me that it has been an open and transparent process of application that allows people to participate, people from different parts and not just NGOs”. In ATA’s words “it is a sign of fragility when a cluster involves a funnel-shaped structure of execution”. TESE refers that “it does not have any visibility, it is discussed but nobody really knows what the cooperation cluster is” and that “implementation has systematically failed, but that is the Portuguese paradigm” and “it is essential to define the scope of the interventions”.

We hence conclude that despite being considered as a tool with a lot of potential by formulators and executors within the framework of the Portuguese Cooperation, the cooperation cluster presents results far beyond the expected for there is no concerted plan of action, there is a lack of multiple financiers, a lack of coordination structures that involve the recipient countries and also due to the lack of appropriation. Thus we conclude that the issues related to management, coordination, appropriations and financing need to be reviewed in the light of aid effectiveness for an effective success of the cooperation clusters.

5. Conclusions

The recent adoption of the cluster in the area of cooperation towards development so as to improve aid effectiveness has proved to be an excellent idea. The several actors involved in cooperation from the formulation up to the execution consider it to be innovative; politically, technically and economically well built; and with in-depth impact in the countries. As far as the Portuguese Cooperation is concerned, this tool has revealed itself strongly adapted to the needs of the Portuguese Cooperation which had been criticized for a dispersion of human and material resources and for the absence of nexus between the projects or even for the lack of a visible strategy. The actors themselves, however, point out several faults, namely

in the acting of the Portuguese Cooperation which has had a negative impact upon the effectiveness of the cooperation clusters. Criticism is leveled at the lack of a concerted plan of action, the inexistence of multiple financiers; the inexistence of coordinating structures which involve the recipient countries and at the lack of appropriation. We consider that, the cooperation clusters being a tool adapted to the needs of the Portuguese Cooperation, it is important to define a cooperation cluster-identification and -implementation strategy so that aid effectiveness can be improved.

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**THE COOPERATION MODEL USED
BY THE MARQUÊS VALE FLÔR INSTITUTE
IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF ECUNHA
IN THE PROVINCE OF HUAMBO: CLUSTER OR
INTEGRATED COOPERATION PROGRAMME?¹¹**

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Summary

This article was written within the framework of the authors' participation in the project "O cluster como instrumento teórico e prático da Cooperação Internacional para o Desenvolvimento portuguesa: o caso de Moçambique, Timor Leste, São Tomé e Príncipe e Angola" ("The cluster as a theoretical and practical tool for Portuguese international cooperation for development, the case of Mozambique, East Timor, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Angola"). It was financed by the FCT (Foundation for Science and Technology). The aim is to look into the use of Clusters as a reference model and analyse the concept in the light of varied and complex activities such as those of cooperation. The test was carried out from an analysis of the work done by the Instituto Marquês Vale Flôr (IMVF), a Portuguese ondg, in the municipality of Ecunha in the Province of Huambo in Angola. The theoretical basis for the work came from a short revision of the literature on the suppositions, logic and working methods of Clusters and Local Productive Arrangements, followed by an analysis of how this fits into the conceptual matrix of Local Development and Decentralised Cooperation. The author then uses the documentary evidence

11 In memory of Manecas Barcelos

for a description deriving from direct observation and interviews with the actors involved in the work being done by the IMVF in Ecuinha. The conclusion was that it is more appropriate to talk of Integrated Programme than in Cooperation Clusters. The work also details on a secondary level the characteristics and good practices stemming from the model used by the IMVF.

Introduction

Analysing the cooperation sector from the point of view of the cluster concept is something practically pristine in the literature. The approach is a challenge in itself, to the extent that cooperation involves a wide range of activities with specific features in terms of their conception, structure, contexts and dynamics, all of which place hurdles in the way of a conceptual overview.

This aim of this article is to provide a contribution to this analysis through a description of the work and involvement of the IMVF in the municipality of Ecuinha in the Province of Huambo in Angola.

The aim is to see if the conceptual elements that underpin the notion of a cluster can be applied in the cooperation sector. The work also aims to detail, on a secondary level, the characteristics of the involvement of the Instituto Marquês Vale Flôr (IMVF), in the municipality of Ecuinha in the Province of Huambo in Angola in the period between 2005 and 2012.

The first step is an attempt to find points of contact between the theoretical corpus in the literature on industrial belts, economic transactions and the economy of innovation on the one hand, and on the other the characteristics of Local Development and the particular nature of Cooperation.

The second step focuses on the context of intervention in cooperation between the IMVF and the municipality of Ecuinha.

The third step consists of a short description of the work of the IMVF in the above-mentioned municipality between 2005 and 2012.

The fourth step is dedicated to a discussion of whether the cluster concept can be applicable to the cooperation programme of the IMVF in the municipality of Ecuinha.

Finally, the last part will set out the conclusions of the analysis and

highlight some of the lessons learnt with the cooperation programme put in place by the IMVF in the municipality of E Cunha.

The considerations expressed here were based on a revision of the literature and an analysis of the documentation, backed up by direct observation on the ground and in interviews undertaken with senior IMVF figures, with senior staff of the E Cunha municipality and the Communal Administration of Chipeio, and with various members of the Conselho Municipal de Auscultação Social (Municipal Committee for Social Affairs), along with senior figures and associates of the Coopecunha cooperative. Four visits to E Cunha were made at different times: the first lasted 5 days and took place between 28 November and 3 December 2011; the second lasted 4 days and took place between 22 and 25 January 2012; the third took place between 3 and 4 May 2012; and the final one was on 9 July 2013. There were 13 institutional interviews (2 with local IMVF coordinators, 1 with the E Cunha Deputy Municipal Administrator, 1 with the Chipeio Deputy Commune Administrator, 1 with the senior figure in Coopecunha, 1 with the senior figure in Gadoecunha, 1 with the senior figure in the Estação de Desenvolvimento Agrário-EDA (the Agrarian Development Centre), 1 with the senior local figure in the União Nacional das Associações de Camponeses e Cooperativas Agro-Pecuárias de Angola-UNACA (the National Farmers' Union), 1 with the senior figure in the Repartição Municipal da Educação (the office for education in the municipality), 1 with the senior figure in the Repartição Municipal de Saúde (the office for health), 1 with a senior religious figure in one of the churches, the Igreja Evangélica Congregacional in Angola-IECA and 1 with the senior figure in a trade union, the Sindicato dos Trabalhadores da Educação, Cultura e Comunicação Social. Lastly, there was an interview with the EU representation in Luanda. There was also a focal group held with a representative of the Associação das Autoridades Tradicionais do Município (ASSAT), where more than a dozen local leaders (the traditional authorities, or sobas) took part.

1. Getting to grips with the cluster notion: a short overview of the literature

The notion of a cluster can be found in the field of industrial politics and in academia. It became well-known in the Fordism crisis and with the emergence of flexible specialisation at the end of the 1980s and start of the 1990s. The concept became a solid point of reference as a result

of the works of Michael Porter on competitiveness among firms and regions (1989, 1990), along with a broad array of researchers, focusing on the dynamics of growth that flexibility and geographical concentration of companies provided. Examples were used of small and medium-sized enterprises operating in specialist sectors in the industrial district known as the Third Italy, along with the industrial belt of southern Germany or France, or the business groupings in high technology in the Silicon Valley area of North America (Becattini, 1991; Maillat, 1996, among others). The concept came to be used in many different place, among them for instance in Brazil, where there was a flourishing academic production of works on what was known as Local Productive Arrangements (LPAs), the expression used to identify a space where there was a concentration of SMEs and large enterprises specialising in a particular sector (SEBRAE, 2009; Cassiolato and Lastres, 2003, among others).

In fact, the notion goes back to the 19th century, when Alfred Marshall analysed the way that sectoral specialisation and division of labour increased efficiency and competitiveness in organisations, and this framework included concentration in specific spaces.

At the core of the analysis is the idea that positive externalities stem from the creation of specialist industrial spaces.

This was the success underlying the growth of the industrial district known as the Third Italy and the technological conglomerates of Silicon Valley. Here there were the positive spin-offs generated from proximity within spatial concentration, and in addition an awareness of the value of competitive cooperation and coordination as factors enhancing efficiency and the increase in productivity. As Czakon, W. (2007) shows, “co-opetition” in the world of enterprises is one of four types of relationship that can exist, depending on the relative position within an industry and the need for external resources from the other enterprise (the other relationships being: coexistence, cooperation and competition). The word “co-opetition” describes a relationship where cooperation and competition coexist between people and organisations. It normally happens when there is a common goal, bearing in mind the complementary nature of the resources and the possible reduction of costs in the product development phase, without forgetting the competition at the point where the product being developed is launched onto the market.

It was from this that a concept took form in Brazil, known as “Arranjo

Produtivo Local” (Local Productive Arrangement - APL). It is characterised by a substantial grouping of enterprises in a specific geographical area and individuals who are involved in a dominant productive activity. They share ways of cooperating and some measure of governance, and this can include SMEs and large enterprises (Oficina Regional de Orientação à Instalação de APLs - GTP APL, MDIC, 2006).

In the opinion of SEBRAE (2009), Local Product Arrangements are groupings of companies in the same geographical area, who have a productive specialisation and maintain certain bonds, such as working in conjunction, interaction, cooperation and learning processes, such bonds being with each other and with local actors such as government, business associations, credit institutions, teaching and research facilities.

The main features of an APL are, in the opinion of Cassiolato, Lastres and Szafiro (2000):

- (i) its territorial base (the APL actors are all found in a certain area where the interaction takes place);
- (ii) a diversification of activities and actors (entrepreneurs, trades unions, government, teaching institutions, R&D institutions, ngos, financial and support institutions);
- (iii) tacit knowledge interchange (knowledge acquired and shared through interaction, non-codified knowledge);
- (iv) interactive innovations and learning processes (innovations and learning that arise from the interaction of the actors); and
- (v) governance (leadership of the APL, generally undertaken by business people or by a representative group – trade unions, associations).

The APLs generate competitive advantages, mainly when they are built on a foundation of productive capacity, innovation and the increase in capital coming from the integration of local actors, a point that emphasises the role of what is local as opposed to what is global.

The most innovative among these groupings have the features summed up in the following table:

| Features | Cluster/ innovation-based APL |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Leadership | High |
| Size of enterprises | Micro, Small, Medium-sized, Large |
| Number of institutions involved | High |
| Capacity for innovation | Ceaseless |
| Internal confidence | High |
| Technological level | Average |
| Connections | Wide/diversified |
| Cooperation | High |
| Competition | High |
| New products | Continuously |
| Export capacity | High |

Source: adapted from Mytelka and Farinelli, 2000.

In short, the advantages of clusters/APLs stem from the combined effect of various determinants: geographical identity; high profile locally; resources generated; concentration spatially; large numbers and wide range of actors; cooperation; competition; productive specialisation; advantage taken of synergies and economies of scale; leadership and capacity for governance; a culture of sharing learning and innovation; flexible communication channels.

A Cluster/APL approach gives value to cooperation, to shared learning, tacit knowledge and the capacity for innovation in enterprises and local institutions as central issues and interdependent functions for the growth of sustainable competition, and a way of bolstering governance mechanisms. And it is geared to promoting a culture of cooperation and cooperative and collective learning, to promoting processes which generate, acquire and disseminate knowledge, to stimulating the building and bolstering of the capacity for governance, to stimulating the building and bolstering of local identity and the building of partnerships at national, regional and local level.

The philosophy, logic and methodology proposed for an approach based on Clusters/APL can be seen in terms of a matrix which has a lot to do with the approach defended by many authors in what has become known as Local Development. This also goes to a large extent for those operations undertaken in the cooperation sector, in particular those with the specific formulation that makes up what is known as decentralised

cooperation.

Swinburn, Goga and Murphy (2006), in the Primer for Local Economic Development put together for the Development Unit of the World Bank, set out the arguments for the adoption of policies focusing on local development when they state: “local development is a process of change centred on a community where geographic area is crucial. It starts from the realisation that there are unsatisfied needs, and response from local skills is sought as a priority. This assumes a logic and a teaching method that encourages participation, though work has to involve the fertile ideas that come from outside entities. This means the stance has to be on work in partnership, with an impact that would tend to encompass the whole community and with a wide variety of methods, people involved and solutions”. The author maps out the lines that characterise Local Development:

- (i) A process of change that presupposes destruction and creation;
- (ii) Focus on a community in a geographical area, where the same values and identity are shared;
- (iii) The basic idea being to satisfy the needs of the community, starting from a recognition of weaknesses or problems to be solved;
- (iv) Use of local potentials and skills: boosting the strong points and potentialities of the group to provide a response to unsatisfied needs of the group;
- (v) Participation building, calling on the actors to take high-profile roles, exercising active citizenship, getting them to question the concept of democracy as it stands and calling for ways of empowerment, consisting in the bolstering of the capacities of local actors to get actively involved;
- (vi) Work with outside resources (human, financial, material, information) and the environment to boost local skills;
- (vii) An integrated and multidimensional vision of the various components of life in a society and the relationship with the processes of change; and
- (viii) Work in partnership from an interdisciplinary and multisectoral approach covering the whole cycle of planning the projects, including

evaluation.

Decentralised Cooperation is a recent concept in the dynamics of international development cooperation. The EU was the first to include this form of cooperation in its programme from the point where the term was used in the 4th Lomé Conference, signed in 1989, with countries in Asia, the Pacific and the Caribbean.

In 1992, The EU Commission referred to Decentralised Cooperation as “A new approach to cooperation aiming to establish direct relationships between representative local institutions, as well as stimulating the capacity of these institutions to set up development projects with the direct participation of the people, taking into account their interests and points of view on development.”

By Decentralised Cooperation is understood international cooperation carried out not by central governments but by local actors (subnacionais). These, generally speaking, are state or provincial or municipal governments and their international counterparts, or public and private agents and institutions, from north to south, who put together agreements, twinings, cooperation networks and pacts. This is a new focus for Cooperation, characterised by decentralised initiatives, by their relationship with the south, by the arrival of new actors from civil society and by a greater participation from the civil society of the developing countries, involved in their own development.

Decentralised Cooperation (Sangreman, C. et al., 2009) makes it possible to:

- (i) Search for ways involving greater participation, more diversified and closer to the population for the promotion of development;
- (ii) Promote more democratic societies in both the north and the south of the world;
- (iii) Ensure greater flexibility and faster decision making processes through partnerships between equals;
- (iv) Increase the capacity to mobilise resources at low cost (one of the criteria of efficiency in this domain is that there are social as well as financial resources involved); and
- (v) Make possible a better adaptation to the dynamics and to the con-

texts according to the various real scenarios in question.

The new routes travelled by the actors/thinkers involved in the process of Cooperation in Portugal are along the lines of seeing the concept of Cooperation Clusters as a raft of projects, carried out by various institutions in a specific geographical area and in a common framework (IPAD, 2005). In fact, the description is sufficiently broad and vague and still relatively unspecialised, where other earlier cooperation models could be included, among them the *Programas Integrados de Cooperação* (Integrated Cooperation Programmes).

2. The IMVF in the municipality of E Cunha

*2.1. The municipality of E Cunha*¹²

The municipality of E Cunha is one of the eleven municipalities in the province of Huambo. It is bordered on the north by the municipality of Longonjo, to the east by the municipalities of Caála and Longonjo and to the west by the municipality of Ukuma. It is in the central part of the province and its limits are marked by the municipalities of Longonjo (North), Caála (South), Huambo (East) and Ukuma and Longonjo (West). It covers 1,677 Km² and its current population is estimated at 95,000 inhabitants.¹³ Administratively, it is divided into the commune of E Cunha (main commune), covering fundamentally the southern half of the territory (797 Km²), and the commune of Chipeio (or Quipeio), which covers the northern part (880 Km²). In the main commune, there are 14 neighbourhoods around the town of E Cunha and a total of 67 villages. In the commune of Chipeio, apart from the town of the same name, there are 11 neighbourhoods and 73 villages.

The land is mountainous, since the municipality is on the edge of the broad central high plains and of the next levels down, home to a “range

¹² This small point was based on written information collected by the municipal administration of E Cunha, and can be found in two main documents: the Diagnosis of the Municipality and the Profile of the Municipality, both written in 2010 with the support of the IMVF.

¹³ This estimate was given by the senior figure in the local registration, analysis and planning office (Repartição Municipal de Estudos e Planeamento da Administração Municipal da E Cunha). The data set out in the Municipal Profile in 2010 refers to 73,858 inhabitants for the municipality, of which 48,968 lived in the main commune and 24,890 in the Commune of Chipeio.

of mountainous outliers". This covers the central and north western part of the municipality, and gives a sharp edge to the relief, with deep narrow valleys, steep slopes and sharp drops, above all to the north west.

Most of the waters drain into the river Queve (or Cuvo), but the south and south east are within the Cunene basin. There are many watercourses finding their way into these two important basins. Water is therefore available in relatively abundant quantities and this allows for arable farming in small irrigated operations.

The Province of Huambo, where the municipality of Ecuinha is to be found, is inhabited by three ethnic groups only slightly distinct: the Huambos, Bailundos and Sambos; there are also small traces of Ganguelas and Quiocos, but they have no great demographic importance. Most of the population are part of the Umbundu community: a large section of the commune of Ecuinha and a small fringe of the commune of Quipeio with the sub-group Vauambu; in the remaining area the Vambalundu predominate.

The economy in the municipality as it stands now comprises "subsistence farming". Most of the people in fact live below this level. What they grow is fundamentally for their own consumption. Some smallholders/farmers have surpluses, generally slight, and can buy items to boost their production, including some commercial crops (potatoes and greens) which are sold in the markets in Ecuinha, Caála and Huambo.

The land in the municipality is mainly agricultural, usually extensive, with a commercial slant mainly in the irrigated areas, where greens and potatoes are grown. This is above all true in the commune of Chipeio. The main produce that is sold is made up of potatoes, onions and carrots. Corn is produced in quite large quantities, but it is not usually marketed, being mainly for household consumption. Beans, green cabbage and purple cabbage are produced, but in no great quantities. The only outlets for sales are the local markets:

- (i) Ecuinha, Calenga and Alemanha (the last two of these are in other municipalities) and here there are retail sales but most of the business is wholesale. The markets in Ecuinha and Calenga are the closest to productive areas, and exchanges are very often between producers and intermediaries, or between the first intermediary and the second or a candongueira (a lady who sells retail).

(ii) the markets in the city of Huambo (Himalaia, Mercado Central and Praça do Cruzeiro) where most of the business is retail.

Another source of income for many of the families in Chipeio is the production of charcoal to sell in the urban centres and on the roads going in and out, Ecunha and, above all, Huambo, Caála and Chitatamela

A substantial part of the municipality has the right edafo-climatic conditions for livestock breeding, but this is still in the early stages and is therefore small-scale. The municipality also has three other types of resources with reasonable potential: the forests, trees and bees.

There are 2 mills in the municipality, 30 stone grinders and 2 bread shops. The commercial network is made up of 30 stores, two of them wholesalers and the others retailers. Of the latter, 8 deal in rural business. There is one lodging house and 20 diners where the organisation and service are considered to be reasonable.

Formal employment comes through the municipal and communal administration sectors, along with education and health, and part of the populations ekes out a living through the inform bikes (kupapatas).

2.2. The Instituto Marquês Vale Flôr (IMVF)

The Instituto Marquês Vale Flôr is an ngdo which was set up in 1951. Its mission is to promote socio-economic and cultural development in Portuguese speaking countries.

It has now been in the field for 60 years, and it has more than 30 projects in progress in the areas of cooperation for development and education.

It has delegations/offices in all those countries where Portuguese is spoken, and the staff on the ground is mainly made up of Portuguese specialists.

3. The way the IMVF works in Ecunha

The IMVF has been in the Angolan province of Huambo since 1998, where its activity focused initially on emergency humanitarian aid. Its

work in E Cunha began in 2002. The IMVF programme is based on two thrusts, namely (IMVF, 2011):

- (i) – Economic Development, structured around 3 main areas: Arable farming, Livestock and Natural Resources (trees and beekeeping among others).

The work undertaken in this sector plays a part in the creation of ties between the local economy and the bigger markets. This reduces the economic and social isolation of the municipality. Integrated in this economic framework are activities in arable farming, livestock and natural resources (trees and beekeeping) the aim being to bring entrepreneurial management to the available resources, with a strong connection to the private sector and the local markets (IMVF, 2011).

In this sphere, the focus was on promoting good practices in terms of associative and/or cooperative approaches. Among these are:

- (i) Support for capacity building among the local people and their organisations, promoting their interest on the side of the struggle against poverty and good governance at a local level;
- (ii) Support for the promotion of networks, alliances, platforms involving other actors with the same interests, taking into account for instance the most logical domains (arable farming, livestock, forest resources).

Specific results from the work done can be seen, for example, in the creation of Coop ecunha – Cooperativa Agrícola da E Cunha (E Cunha agricultural cooperative) and more recently, the creation of Gado E Cunha – Criadores de Gado da E Cunha (livestock breeders of E Cunha).

Coop ecunha was created on 31/08/2005 as part of the Projecto de Desenvolvimento Rural Sustentado no Município da E Cunha (the E Cunha Municipality Sustainable Rural Development Project – PDRSME). As it works, Coop ecunha provides for its associates:

- (i) A support structure for production that can involve tractors, trailers, agricultural equipment and a supply system for the associates in fertiliser, seed and pesticides;
- (ii) A shop for the associates where they can get basic essentials and agricultural products at below market prices;

- (iii) Grinding equipment for the public in general at market price and at a lower price for the associates; and
- (iv) A marketing sector recently created with the aim of getting a better connection between producers and markets, using their own transport (financed by IPAD in 2009).

According to the Chairman, Sr. Félix, in 2012 Coopecunha, as an agricultural cooperative, had 373 associated farmers, 221 from the main commune in E Cunha and 152 from the Chipeio commune. In 2011, it had 14 salaried employees, including young people working on the grinding side, the ladies who worked in the shops and guards (from an interview carried out on 1/12/2011). The cooperative has registered premises in the municipality of E Cunha, comprising an office, a shop, a warehouse, a storage area and a bathroom. There is a similar set up in Chipeio. There is also a building where the marketing sector works.

The cooperative provides support for the agricultural production of its associates, including training, items for input, access to agricultural machinery and marketing:

«...one of the benefits is being able to rent a tractor at a reasonable price, and there are also benefits from the grinding operation, with associates paying 3 Kzs per kilo and non-associates 5 Kzs, and the cooperative also provides fertiliser at better prices...» (Félix, Chairman of Coopecunha, 1/12/2011).

Coopecunha manages a nursery which is able to produce quite a good number of plants, paid for with the sale of the plants that are grown there. The income covers operating expenses (people and materials) as well as the occasional investment that is needed. It produces and already markets citrus fruit, avocados, strawberries, eucalypts, cedar trees, leucaenas and others. Some members of the cooperative are also involved in bee-keeping, which is being carried out on an experimental basis on an extensive basis. The honey is marketed by Coopecunha, and has its own exclusive brand (Mbambi).

The local representative of IMVF at the time, M. Barcelos, described the logic of sustainability and the mechanism of interaction involved (29/11/2011) as follows: «...the intention was to work firstly on the productive side with the idea of giving a boost to development...one of the first projects was designed to support the agriculture. This led to the creation of Coopecunha and the capacity-building that was needed...at the

end of 3 years, the cooperative was self-sustaining and we no longer have any responsibility or involvement in the management...at times we get a request to provide some technical support...another project was geared to taking advantage of the natural resources (forests and bee-keeping)... and for this project Coopecunha was involved as a partner...at an early stage we set up a nursery to produce plants (trees and fruit bushes), and we have been providing support for reforestation campaigns...the logic of sustainability also underpinned the nursery, and it exists on the basis of what it grows, producing and selling plants...it generates resources for the cooperative, which is now managing the operation, given that after 3 years we handed it over... the plants are paid for by the cooperative and people go there to buy...».

The EU evaluation mission took place between 27 August and 2 September 2006, within the framework of supervision of food security projects in the provinces of Huila, Huambo and Benguela. The mission noted that «...The cooperative created as part of the project (Coopecunha) is very promising. Its statutes clearly define responsibilities, functions and funding mechanisms that are viable and effective. In this context, the project constitutes a valid example nowadays for other projects in terms of the issues raised about associative structures... The Coopecunha management set up is solidly rooted and the progressive move towards responsibility in the hands of the local team is at an advanced stage. There is a proven return on activities geared to income (grinding operations, tractors, shops) and the conditions to ensure financial sustainability of the cooperative are in place. The way that support is provided for the marketing of agricultural produce, however, needs to be well defined. The support for members of the cooperative is fundamentally related to arable farming (items for the production side, campaign credit).» (Extracts from the EU report - 27/8-2/9/2006).

The farmers with livestock were also brought into an associative structure set up by the IMVF in 2008 – Gadoecunha – Cooperativa de Criadores de Gado, and the institution has provided on-going technical support. Gadoecunha is a cooperative for livestock breeders and has 29 associates. Its head office is in the main municipality and its aim is to promote the development of the livestock business sector in E Cunha. It provides support for its members, specifically in terms of increasing the number of animals, assistance with animal welfare, improvements in foodstuff, training and marketing.

The IMVF notion was «...to present a project for the livestock sector because we noticed that there were farmers who already had 10, 20, 30 head...the idea was to change people who had livestock into breeders of livestock, give them ideas on improving the breed, to own livestock as a business...we provided support for setting up a cooperative... and now it is working. The results are not bad. We started with a group of 29 and we have 10, 12 which are better quality...we introduced better livestock...the project also created the capacity to provide veterinary assistance (which did not exist before) and it serves more than just the associates. They pay less but the services are available for non-members, who pay the market price...we work with the veterinary services of Huambo in vaccination campaigns, with payment per head, and now the cooperative is taking part in a disinfection programme, which is also a paid service...all the livestock acquired is sold on credit or cash to members and non-members and the money made goes into the cooperative fund to provide finance for the purchase of more livestock...we have occasionally bought poultry and pigs, which are then sold to members and non-members, with the profit going to the cooperative...and in this project, as in all of them, we always include training, specifically in the area of technical and administrative capacity-building...» (Manuel Barcelos, 29/11/2011)

Institutional and capacity-building reinforcement, geared to:

- technical assistance, and improvement in the institution-building and capacity-building of local authorities and non-state actors;
- drawing up development plans and monitoring them as they are put into place.

The aim of the work done in this field is to provide more space for dialogue, accords and a spirit of partnership between the municipal administration of Ecuinha and the communal administration of Chipeio (local authorities) and non-state actors.

«...The IMVF has helped us to organise what are now CACs...it helped us to include representatives of civil society, the Churches and trades unions in the structure...apart from the capacity-building, the support was practical, for example through taking part in meetings, in organising them, helping to write up the minutes, helping with resolutions and keeping a watching brief on the decisions taken...» (Deputy Municipal Administrator for Ecuinha, 30/11/2011)

Key elements in the process were (IMVF, 2011): strengthening the skills of these actors in crucial areas, improving competencies in terms of organisation, representation and the creation of consultation mechanisms, including channels of communications and dialogue, movements and social networks that could emerge from the groundwork and which represent the interests of citizens through structures geared to finding what people want and ensuring social harmony.


This focus has been on efforts to develop dialogue and partnership between non-state actors and local authorities through:









- (i) support for the municipal administration in drawing up development plans and following them up on the ground;
- (ii) support for decentralisation, with improvements to local government organisations, taking advantage of the added value stemming from the work in partnership with civil society;
- (iii) support for the promotion of spaces/meetings to support agreements and/or find out local feelings (forums, advice on specific topics and others).

This array of support work took its inspiration from the Plano de Reabilitação e Desenvolvimento Municipal (the Municipal Rehabilitation and Development Plan – PRDM) drawn up by the IMVF/municipal administration partnership in 2005.

The strategy for municipal development (the first actions of which were set out towards the end of 2002) has been periodically evaluated as the municipal development priorities have been adjusted, with the emphasis on economic development.

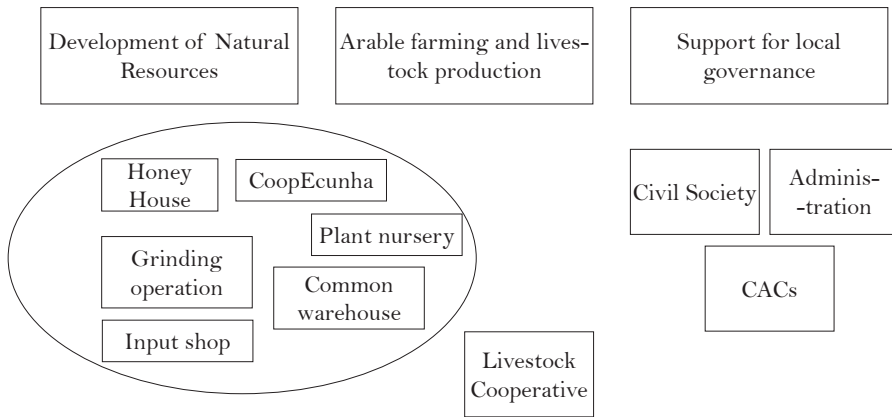
As part of its work, the IMVF carried out the following projects for the municipality of Ecnha (IMVF, 2011):

| Designation of the Project | Duration | Period | Funding source | Main focus |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|----------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Reinforcement of the marketing sector of Coopecnha – Municipality of Ecnha – Province of Huambo (PRSCC) | 18 Months | February 2009 to July 2010 |  IPAD Instituto Português de Apoio ao Desenvolvimento | Economic |

| | | | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Promotion of local democratic government: supporting the efforts of the Social Affairs and the Social Harmony Committees in the municipality of E Cunha and of the Commune of Chipeio (PGDL) | 34 Months | February 2009 to November 2011 |   | Institutional Reinforcement |
| Relaunch – in a sustainable way – of the production and sales operations of the private, family-based and entrepreneurial livestock sector of the municipality of E Cunha (RSPC) | 45 Months | January 2008 to September 2011 |   | Economic |
| Development of natural resources (PDRN) concluded | 39 Months | January 2007 to March 2010 |   | Economic |
| Project for sustainable management of natural forest resources: Consolidated and extended (PGSRN) | 32 Months | March 2011 to October 2013 |   | Economic |

Source: IMVF (2011)

The following diagram sums up the work of the IMVF in the municipality of E Cunha, with an identification of the main points of focus for the work, the actors involved and the main results obtained:



During the whole of its intervention cycle in the municipality of Ecnha, the work undertaken by the IMVF was built on two principles (IMVF, 2011):

(i) sustainability, understood as a guarantee that the results from the development process would be permanent, ensuring preservation of the productive capacity of resources, acting as a spur to the creation and distribution of income, and maintaining the political support of the Huambo provincial government, creating in this way the possibility for continuity of the actions and the results, impacting on the social, economic and environmental well-being of the local people;

(ii) complementary operations and synergies with other strategies, the objectives being aligned with the priorities defined by the main development partners, and set down in pivotal documents such as the *Estratégia de Combate à Pobreza* (the Strategy for the Fight against Poverty – ECP) of the Angola government, the Indicative Programme of the European Commission for Cooperation with Angola, the Indicative Programme for Portuguese Cooperation with Angola and the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Seen in terms of organisation, the IMVF programme took the form of a Geographical Cluster, by adapting a development strategy for a geographical area with a 15-year time horizon (IMVF, 2011). The close work with the municipality was based on the belief that sustainable development was a multidimensional concept and on the adoption of a holistic vision for issues of rural poverty. It was recognised that improvements

in the living conditions of the people of E Cunha would only be possible through a sustainable increase in their productive, social and environmental assets (IMVF, 2011).

Last but not least, the continuity of the IMVF actions in the municipality of E Cunha was called into question by the fact that continuity projects were not approved, and there were delays in the approval of funding from financial institutions for new projects. Added to this were certain collateral circumstances, among them the unexpected demise of the local coordinator (with everything that this implied in terms of the replacement process, the loss of social capital and the need to rebuild connections with other actors, since this was a figure with an unusual amount of prestige in the local areas and with great capacity for galvanising other people into action). Along with this there was the fact that the organisation had to move out of its local premises.

4 –Cluster or integrated cooperation programme?

In logical and conceptual terms, the IMVF approach in the municipality of E Cunha in the period under review is similar in many ways to the clusters/innovation-based APL models.

There was a purpose underpinning the way that the work of the IMVF was conceived and put into practice. It was to stimulate a culture of cooperation and cooperative and collective learning; promote ways of generating, acquiring and disseminating knowledge as well as sharing the knowledge acquired; incentivise the building and strengthening of capacity for local governance; build and strengthen local identity; and set up national, regional and local partnerships. Other features of the way that the IMVF worked locally involved geographical concentration, taking advantage of synergies with other projects, the creation of conditions to ensure the sustainability of the results obtained, the focus on capacity-building, the exploiting of local resources and the concern to get consensus on the priorities of the projects with national and provincial priorities.

In terms of purpose and methodology, the IMVF work in E Cunha has similar characteristics to the Clusters/APL model.

It is clear from this observation that the approach of the IMVF in the municipality of E Cunha fills some of the prerequisites of the Clusters/

APL model (adapted of course to the features of the area of cooperation). Among these are: the geographical concentration (all the projects were undertaken on municipality land); leadership (the IMVF was a prime mover in carrying out a diagnosis and a profile of the municipality, it was in on the set up of Coopecunha and Gadoecunha and it front-lined the process that led to the organisation and setting up of the municipal CACs); cooperation and internal trust (there was a very close relationship between IMVF on the ground and the representatives of the administrative institutions and civil society in the municipality, particularly visible in the open-door policy at the IMVF headquarters and the fact that the IMVF workers were always available to solve any kind of problem); and the capacity for innovation and taking advantage of synergies (for example, in the design of the model which meant that all the elements meshed together – a common warehouse, the “input” shop, the grinding facilities, the nursery, the marketing of the honey – as a factor of the sustainability of Coopecunha). Other requirements were only partially fulfilled, among them the intensity and nature of the connections (specifically in terms of working in harness with the provincial power and with other ngos operating in neighbouring municipalities), the technology (adapted of course to the local resources and the nature of the activities, on the basis of rudimentary technical quality) and specialisation in terms of produce (in spite of the concentration on promoting the economic development in the primary sector, with the variety of activities having only a relatively small scope). Meanwhile, competition, which is one of the fundamental elements of the model (the IMVF was the only ngo working in the municipality), was nowhere to be seen. Another requirement is the capacity to export, understood in the context as the sale of produce in other municipalities in the province or in other provinces, and this was very small, as a result of the poor maintenance of essential infrastructures (warehousing, product conservation and circulation routes for the goods).

Seen from this angle, one cannot realistically consider the IMVF approach in the municipality of Ecunha as conforming to the cluster concept.

But if we take the broader view of IPAD, the work done by the IMVF could be classified as a Cooperation Cluster: an array of projects (PRSCC; RSPC; PDRN; PGDL), carried out by various institutions (IMVF, Municipal and Communal Administration, Coopecunha) in one geographical area (the municipality of Ecunha) and within a common framework (promoting the development of the municipality).

The approach of the IMVF was within the framework of a recent trend, which has pointed towards projects gradually and wherever possible integrating a wide range of elements which make it possible to cover many different features. The main point of this option is that the synergies obtained make it possible to have a greater impact. It also comes into play as a natural consequence of a realisation that phenomena such as well-being, poverty and development are complex and multi-dimensional. And it suggests to us that there is a substantial overlap with the model of Integrated Community Development Projects, based on smaller projects which mesh together around the logic of the cycle of life. They are also created to respond to specific problems of the local people. From our point of view, the creative upgrade deriving from the IMVF's work in the municipality of Ecnha is in the nature of a transformation using the smaller projects as the common thread (the logic of the life cycle was replaced by the articulation between the development of the primary sector and the buttressing of institutions and capacity-building).

5 – Conclusions

It is possible to adapt the cluster/APL model, with any necessary adjustments, as an analytical matrix to use in the context of cooperation and, in particular, of decentralised cooperation.

The case of the IMVF in the municipality of Ecnha is very close to the philosophy, logic and methods of work associated with the approach of the Cluster/innovation-based APL, even though it does not take in all the suppositions. And it is in line with the model proposed by IPAD to identify Cooperation Clusters.

One lesson that has to be remembered relates to the way integrated intervention is conceived – it is made up of projects that generate cross-overs and synergies.

In the case of the IMVF in the municipality of Ecnha, its greatest success – the Coopecunha – takes us back to the design of models geared to building the work to last over time. The process of creating and growing Coopecunha has become a reference for good practices (highlighted by the EU as financing agency and sourced by other actors, such as ngos, who have visited Ecnha to get to know the experiment better and learn from it).

The autonomy and the sustainability of the cooperative stem from the process of generating many interconnected sources for income, through the grinding operation, the nursery project and the sale of honey; from the development of synergies deriving from the common warehouse and the shop for agricultural tools and other inputs; and from the work of the IMVF to build technical and administrative capacity. Another significant point relates to the importance of its statutes and its relationship with the management model for a cooperative: the top management has already changed hands, through an electoral process, without any intervention by the IMVF and without this rotation putting added hurdles in the way of normal operations. It should be added that the close relationship in terms of communication and cooperation between the cooperative, its associates and the IMVF continued after the end of the project that saw Coopecunha become an institution.

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Annex 1 – List of institutions where interviews were carried out

| | |
|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | Ecunha Municipal Administration |
| 2 | Chipeio Communal Administration |
| 3 | Association of Traditional Authorities (ASSAT)* |
| 4 | Ecunha Agricultural Cooperative (Coopecunha) |
| 5 | Livestock Breeders' Cooperative (Gadoecunha) |
| 6 | Agrarian Development Centre (EDA) |
| 7 | Evangelical Congregational Church in Angola (IECA) |
| 8 | Marquês Vale Flôr Institute (IMVF) |
| 9 | Municipal Office for Education |
| 10 | Municipal Office for Health |
| 11 | Trades Union of Workers in Education, Culture and Social Communication (STECCS) |
| 12 | Andolan National Union of Associations of Farmers and Agro-Livestock Cooperatives (UNACA) |
| 13 | European Union – Luanda |

***Where ASSAT was concerned, the contact was in the form of a collective interview/ focal group, since there were not only representatives of the association but also 17 traditional authorities (Sobas and assistants)**

Annex 2 – Photographic Record



Grinding in Coopecunha facilities



The head of IMVF in Ecunha, Manecas Barcelos, and the president of Coopecunha, Mr. Felix

**COHERENCE AND CONTRADICTIONS
IN THE THEORIES, THE TOOLS, THE PRACTICES
AND THE ACTORS IN COOPERATION
FOR DEVELOPMENT: THE CASE OF THE
ISLAND DE MOZAMBIQUE**

*Ana Bénard da Costa
Pedro Fraga*

Executive summary

This paper is based on research undertaken on the Ilha de Moçambique (Island of Mozambique), and is a reflection on the coherence and contradictions that are generated around the theories, tools, practices and actors whose paths cross in the processes of cooperation for development on the Ilha de Moçambique, which is a World Heritage Site. There is first, as a framework, a short history of the island and its demographic evolution, and this is followed by an analysis of the way the cluster concept is used for the Ilha de Moçambique, with issues raised as to how applicable this tool is for the purpose of cooperation for development. On the island, there is an array of specific interventions, aiming to conserve and restore many of the buildings put up over four centuries (from the 16th to the 20th). The fact is that the statute of World Heritage Site means that a whole series of standards condition the type of development envisaged for the island, and this translates into a series of challenges leading to the problem issues raised in this chapter. Mention is also made of some of the development plans that were conceived for the island and the diverse logic and reasoning that underpin the initiatives undertaken by the actors in the field who are involved in development. The paper ends with examples of the results from cooperation initiatives and a brief analysis

of some of the problems that are being debated on the island in terms of the conservation of its heritage and what is being sought: the sustained development towards which all the plans and projects aim to contribute.

This paper presents the findings from research carried out as part of the project “The cluster as a theoretical and practical tool for Portuguese international cooperation for development: the case of Mozambique and Angola”. The hub of the research was the Ilha de Moçambique and the central aim was to confirm whether or not the concept and the practical use of the cluster of cooperation for development constitute an effective response to the question regarding the effectiveness of development aid in this particular context.

This paper is a reflection based on field work using qualitative methodologies (interviews and observation) during January 2012 and May 2014 on the Ilha de Moçambique and in Maputo, as well as on the detailed knowledge of life on the island possessed by one of the authors of this paper (the coordinator of the Cluster), and also based on research and the analysis of bibliographies and documents. The reflection focuses on the coherence and contradictions generated around the theories, tools, practices and actors whose paths cross in the processes of cooperation for development on this small island region of Mozambique.

The analysis begins with a short history of the island and its demographic evolution. This serves as a framework, and is followed by a summary of the processes used to implement the concept of the Cluster on the Ilha de Moçambique, with questions raised as to how applicable this concept is for the field of cooperation for development which is underway there. On the island, there is a raft of specific works being carried out, aiming to preserve and restore many of the buildings put up over four centuries (from the 16th to the 20th). In addition, there is the fact that the statute of World Heritage Site means a whole series of standards conditioning the type of development that is envisaged for the island, and this translates into a series of challenges that lead to the problem issues raised in this paper.

The framework: a short history and demographic evolution

The Ilha de Moçambique is 2,000 kms north of Maputo, at the entrance to Mossuril bay. The inhabitants of the region are Mkhuwás. The island is 3.5 kms long and between 350 and 500 m across, and the average

annual temperature is 26°.¹ A bridge nearly 3 kms long connects the island to the mainland, specifically to the Lumbo administrative unit (Posto Administrativo do Lumbo), and the administrative district and municipal regions are made up of this area and the island together. On the other side of the bay is the Mossuril administrative unit, which is within the district of Mossuril.



Source: <http://novomoc.blogspot.pt/2012/01/ilha-de-mocambique.html>

The geographical importance of the island was recognised even before the arrival of Portuguese mariners. It was a thriving trading post, also important in geo-strategic terms, since it linked the markets of Africa and the Arab and Indian worlds. This meant that it drew in a considerable amount of profitable trade from various points on the continents of Africa and Asia, a fact that was recognised by Vasco da Gama, who stopped at the island on 2 March 1498, during his voyage to India. As the Portuguese settled along the Mozambique coast, the island became more important, not just because of its situation, but also because of the support it provided for the slave trade.²

¹ This information is taken from a paper written by Alexandre Braz Mimoso included in the guidebook “Ilha de Moçambique, Omuhipiti” published by the Government of Moçambique (s.d.).

² For a summary of the history of the Ilha de Moçambique, see the paper written by Alexandre Braz Mimoso and included in the Guide already mentioned “Ilha de Moçambique, Omuhipiti” (Government of Moçambique, s.d.).

In 1583, the building of the S. Sebastião fortress was concluded, and the capital of the province of Mozambique was set up on the island. As a result, the island was endowed with an array of infrastructures and a rich heritage, much of which has survived to today.

As and from the second half of the 19th century, the importance of the Ilha de Moçambique began to wane. Quelimane, in the Zambeze region, became more important for the slave trade, and with the growth of trade with the Transvaal, Lourenço Marques officially became the capital of the province of Mozambique in 1898. A further reversal in fortune awaited the island in 1935, with the transfer of the provincial capital to the new town of Nampula.

In 1991 UNESCO declared the island to be a World Heritage Site and in the period immediately before this (1975 to 1991), the political and economic conditions of the country led to serious dilapidation, worsened by an unusual influx of people displaced by the civil war ravaging the country.

During the last years of the colonial era, there were around 8,300 inhabitants on the island (Liesegang, 1999; Lobato, 1988), but during the war fought between the opposing forces of Renamo and Frelimo, the island's population grew exponentially with people leaving the mainland in search of a safe haven. In the 1980 census, the population stood at 6,837 (Hatton et al, 1994), but in 1997 the island was home to around 13,000. When the war ended in 1992, there was no let up in the growth, and according to the most recent census, carried out in 2007, the number of inhabitants stood at 17,356 (Município da Ilha de Moçambique, 2011). In 2009, the figure given for population density in the Plano de Desenvolvimento Integrado da Ilha de Moçambique (the Integrated Development Plan for the Ilha de Moçambique) was around 17,300 inhabitants/ km² (CESO CI 2009).

This over-population put a huge strain on social infrastructures, and also led to a low standard of living for those living on the island, with very few professional jobs that would allow them to improve their socio-economic situation.

It is, however, important to note that there was no even distribution of people between the two zones into which the island could be divided. These were called the *Cidade de Pedra e Cal* and the *Cidade de Macuti*.³ In the *Cidade de Pedra e Cal*, there is a predominance of buildings erected

³ Coconut fronds tied together and used as roof covering.

during the long colonial period, and the population density is relatively low; in the Cidade de Macuti, on the other hand, density is very high, with people living in houses made of wood sticks covered with macuti (straw), or in houses made of bricks and mortar, masonry or concrete blocks. Very often there is a mixture of these materials in the houses, an indication of successive building and rebuilding. This extended over time and moved in tandem with changes to the number, composition and type of relations between those living in one and the same dwelling (members of the same family from different generations and with various degrees of relationship, and frequently with tenants). Silje Sollien, a Norwegian architect who lived on the island between 2011 and 2013, while she was doing research for her doctoral thesis, mentions on her blog⁴ in relation to this topic:

*“The macuti neighbourhoods where most of the population lives, are probably the most dense square meters in the whole of Mozambique, one house accommodating many families in an economy based on letting and subletting. Here there is simply no space to build.”*⁵



City of Macuti

In terms of construction materials, the tendency is to gradually replace the macuti by other materials that are more accessible, longer-lasting and more “modern”. The same writer also mentions the following on her

⁴ <http://macuti.wordpress.com/> accessed in 18/05/2013.

⁵ in <http://macuti.wordpress.com/2011/03/08/2-a-mudhut-in-a-warehouse-a-kiosk-on-a-staircase/>, accessed in 17/05/2013.

blog relating to this topic:⁶

The houses in the 7 macuti bairros are undergoing continuous transformations. The aim of many people today is to change the walls built of organic material into sandcrete block walls. Many houses have a core made of sticks bound to a frame of larger wood members and different layers of stone, a clay mixture with lime and resin finish or a concrete wash completing the wall, depending on how old the house is, which resources the first owner had and which transformations it has been through since. If resources permit, the whole house may be demolished and rebuilt at once – another traditional house lost in Ilha. Or the house may be left to collapse for a long time until someone takes responsibility for it. A gradual transformation, where the parts of the walls in worst condition get changed first is another possibility. A transformation strategy exists, in which the bamboo and mangrove structure is left standing, while concrete block walls are erected around the house at the speed of which the owner has capacity to invest in producing blocks. When the new outer walls are complete, the inner structure may be demolished, and the windows and door transferred to the new walls⁷.



Cidade de Macuti

These changes, related to types of construction and the materials used in the *Cidade de macuti*, give rise, at least in theory, to the same type of

⁶ (<http://macuti.wordpress.com/>). Accessed on 18/05/2013

⁷ <http://macuti.wordpress.com/2011/03/25/5-slowly-changing-skin/>

problem in terms of heritage conservation as the rehabilitation of buildings in the *Cidade de perda e cal*. The whole island has been declared a World Heritage Site, and as such, it includes the *Cidade de macuti*, with its traditional roofs in macuti. Such roofs, however, are being replaced by zinc, which is cheaper and more durable, and the island authorities are focusing their limited resources for oversight on the *Cidade de pedra e cal*. There is a commonly held assumption that the people who live in Macuti, most of whom are taken to be poor and needy, will have to leave the island – “in one way or another, people will move (to the mainland)”, to quote the island administrator in an interview (26/01/2012). A more detailed analysis of this issue will be found later in this paper.

The Cluster on the Island of Mozambique

In 2007, the Indicative Cooperation Programme (Programa Indicativo de Cooperação – PIC) between Portugal and Mozambique (2007-2010) (IPAD, 2007), put the Cluster on the Island of Mozambique (Ilha de Moçambique) as the third thrust, its overall aim being to “give a boost to sustained development through an integrated and decentralized operation that creates synergies between various agents and areas where work is being carried out” (IPAD, 2007, p. 84). The point of creating the Cluster was: i) to encourage a greater concentration in the work to be done and the resources to be committed, with the aim of improving the effectiveness of Portuguese cooperation; ii) to mobilize an array of instruments to work on a common problem area in a coordinated way, avoiding isolated actions that are without economies of scale, without the advantages of an integrated approach and with little or no visibility, impact or long-term sustainability; iii) to support the rehabilitation of a noteworthy historical heritage built up over four centuries (the 16th to the 20th); iv) to use this rehabilitation as a spur to a growth in economic activity and a boost to tourism on the island; and v) to contribute to the Corredor de Nacala project (CEA -ISCTE-IUL e IPAD, 2010: 41).



Buildings in the Cidade de Pedra e Cal

The Indicative Cooperation Programme for 2007-2010 defines the development of a Master Plan for the island and support for the Millennium Cities programme as ways of working in the field so as to bring the Cluster of the Ilha de Moçambique into being. This implies creating a Millennium Village⁸ in the Lumbo area, on the mainland close to the island. The aim of the Master Plan was to provide support for a raft of projects focusing on the development of the island and the nearby coastal area. This would be based on the upgrade of the historical heritage, on the introduction of activities that could generate an income and on an improvement in the living conditions of the inhabitants. It was decided that these projects should be seen within one single framework, and this led to the CESO setting out an integrated plan for the Ilha de Moçambique, financed by Portuguese cooperation through its trust fund held at the Banco Africano do Desenvolvimento (BAD) (CEA -ISCTE-IUL e IPAD, 2010: 63). The idea was that this study would provide concrete information to make the development plan operational through the Cluster model. The Integrated Development Plan for the Ilha de Moçambique (CESO CI, 2009) was only ready in 2009 (which was one year before the end of the period when the PIC was in force, this being where the Cluster

⁸ The Vilas do Milénio project is based on the Millennium Villages Project (<http://www.millenniumvillages.org/>) designed by the Earth Institute of Columbia University. It was carried out by PNUD, the aim being to stimulate the development of the community that lives in the area around Lumbo (CEA -ISCTE-IUL e IPAD, 2010: 63).

is registered and budgeted for), but it was never approved (or rejected) by the government of Mozambique.

Within the scope of the Ilha de Moçambique Cluster, and still in the period when the 2007-2010 PIC was in force, Portuguese cooperation was also involved in the rehabilitation of the São Sebastião fortress, together with other donors and UNESCO; it provided support for publication of a brochure about the Ilha de Moçambique; for the restoring of heritage in the Museu da Ilha project; and it funded technical assistance for the Ilha de Moçambique Conservation Bureau (GACIM).

In 2010, however, when the 2007-2010 PIC was evaluated, it was accepted that the Ilha de Moçambique Cluster was at a standstill. It is mentioned elsewhere in this report that the period when the PIC was in force (2007-2010) corresponded to the planning phase that was to lead to the setting up of the Cluster itself, and the Integrated Development Plan for the Ilha de Moçambique (PDIM) had been written out and put forward. Although other projects had been supported (as mentioned above), they were not within the scope of the Cluster concept, neither in their design nor their implementation. It has also been mentioned that putting the Cluster into place needed clarification from the Mozambique authorities relating to the relevance of carrying out the PDIM (2010, p.129) and the recommendation was that Portuguese cooperation should update its strategy concerning the island.

Given this evaluation and the recommendation, the response from Portuguese cooperation in November 2010 was that the “intervention (of the CIM) has been in force since the coordinator of the cluster was sent to the territory and began on the first mission” (IPAD 2010).

Indeed, some months later, the CIM coordinator took residence on the island and started on a document entitled “Cluster Project on the Ilha de Moçambique”.

At this stage, the Cluster for the Ilha de Moçambique had been formally designed as a project because of procedural demands and formal documents indicated by IPAD, but the coordinator of the Cluster for the island thought of it above all in terms of a technical assistance programme. The overall aim of this project/programme was to support the Mozambique government in promoting the integrated development of the Ilha de Moçambique, and work began in May 2011. The fact that the Mozambique government had never approved (nor rejected) the PDIM, is

not mentioned in this document, but there is a reference to the Cluster as being in line with the main strategic policies of Mozambique, specifically those set out in the Government's five-year plan (2010-2014).

The strategic importance that Portuguese cooperation gave to the Cluster for the Ilha de Moçambique during the phase when it was being carried out (2007) was reflected in the funding earmarked for the whole range of activities scheduled. This came to 10 per cent of the total from the APD for Mozambique during 2007-2010. In fact, only three per cent of this amount (€1,697,140) was disbursed during this period, a fact that highlights the hurdles encountered at the time, as mentioned above.

In the cooperation programme for the following years (2011-2014), the PIC was signed by Portugal and Mozambique in February 2012, and the Cluster for the Ilha de Moçambique is considered as a Complementary Intervention, ancillary to the two Strategic Pivots, defined at that point in time. The amounts to be financed directly by Portuguese cooperation were substantially lower (€1,063,423.00, 2% of the total from the APD for Mozambique) as against the previous PIC budget, although an additional financing of €1,411,408.00 was set aside, €280,000.00 from the Ministry of Labour's Employment and Vocational Training Institute (Instituto do Emprego e Formação Profissional – IEFPP), and the remainder from unspecified donors (Camões IP, 2012). This may well indicate a change in the strategic priorities for Portuguese cooperation,⁹ but it also demonstrates that there is interest in giving continuity to the work begun in the previous PIC. From that point until the present date, the Cluster, backed by a specific document (IPAD 2011) is, for the first time, coordinated by a representative of Portuguese cooperation living on the island, who is the sole representative of international and bilateral cooperation (involving what is called the Mozambique donor community) permanently resident in this part of Mozambique.

The aim that is set down in the project document is for the Cluster, in the hands of the coordinator resident on the island, to act as a catalyst, bringing “energies and efforts that work together with pooled resources”

⁹ The same number of strategic pivots are maintained (3) as in the previous PIC, but there are also two new areas earmarked for intervention, “Capacitação Científica e Tecnológica” (Scientific and Technological Capacity-building) and “Empreendedorismo e Desenvolvimento Empresarial” (Entrepreneurship and Business Development) (Camões IP, 2012, pp. 3). It should be noted that the new PIC was signed when the so-called *troika* was in Portugal, in the midst of an economic crisis, and by a government from a different part of the political spectrum than the one which had signed the previous PIC.

(IPAD, 2011) for the promotion of an array of activities around four central pivots: (i) support for the Vocational Training School on the Ilha de Moçambique (EPIM); (ii) support for work carried out by local development agencies; (iii) consultancy work for local public services related with urban services and conservation; (iv) and support in restoring public buildings.

There is an interconnecting logic in the design of the activities that provide support for these pivots, and it follows the logic of integrated development which the Cluster concept presupposes and which “aims fundamentally to improve the effectiveness of Portuguese cooperation through a concentration of activities and projects that are interrelated” (IPAD, 2011). In specific terms, it is recognised that a number of buildings on the island that are classified as an integral part of the World Heritage are in a dilapidated state and in need of restoration and conservation. In tandem with the rehabilitation work, there should be a fostering of activities that generate income. For this phase of the Cluster, priority also goes to capacity-building in personal and organisational terms, along with training and skills development.



The Vocational Training School on the Ilha de Moçambique

Support for the Vocational Training School on the island is one of the fundamental pivots of this plan for Cluster intervention, and acts as an anchor for all the cooperation work that is intended to take place. This support includes an important component: to match the syllabus for the

school to the island's context (a point that is in fact set down in the legislation for vocational schools in Mozambique). The idea is to raise the level of local employability in a sustainable way, by ensuring that there are people with the capacity to maintain the built heritage on the island. Moreover, the support envisaged in terms of consultancy for public services (mentioned above) will ensure that the restoration work (and other similar tasks that may occur on the island) will be carried out in line with the standards of conservation demanded by being a World Heritage; and the restoration of public buildings – one of which is a hall of residence for teachers and students at the Vocational Training School and another a water tank – will guarantee employment for students trained at the EPIM. The main aim of this work through the Cluster is to provide a response to the short-term impact among people and communities in the struggle against extreme poverty.

It has been stated that the work involved should be undertaken by bringing in “local actors, public and private, individually or collectively, national and international bodies and institutions, on the basis of a partnership, which will boost the efforts and resources essential for a solution to the problems and the needs that have been identified” (IPAD, 2011). Among these problems and needs are: access to drinking water; bolstering capacities in local institutions and associations; developing vocational training courses and education in general; the creation of social and educational support structures and back-up for integration as a skilled worker; support for the creation of activities that will generate income; consultancy for State organisations; and the conservation and upgrading of heritage.

In the Ilha de Moçambique Cluster programme, support for the Vocational Training School is fulcrum, and one of the main problems that surfaced as this study was progressing was the guarantee that there would be the resources to underpin it. What actually happened was that this support only materialised recently (in May 2014), for reasons that we do not know. The funds are now available, and though they arrived late, when planned actions were at an impasse, it is possible for us to see that the delays can be overcome. In tandem, as already mentioned, the Cluster was based on the premise that local actors would be involved in a big way. From what we have heard, this process has also found a path strewn with obstacles. For various reasons, local human resources (both from civil society and from the State) have had little training and the island has not known how to retain those with better skills. Many of the most active as-

sociation members were at the heart of the training programme and they do not now live on the island permanently (or they never did have their home there); moreover, the senior figures in governmental structures do not come from the island. It has even been mooted that a placement here is seen as a downward move on the career path. In short, at this stage, the project which should have held up the structure around which the Cluster was supposed to develop did not have the resources to function properly in the first years that the coordinator was on the island. A start has only been made now and it is not possible yet to assess its impact; moreover, the involvement of local actors did not get the expected results, with their skills overrated in the plans that were put forward, plans that were to serve as a support for the Cluster project.

These points flag up a pertinent issue: that the training courses and local capacity-building, with support for the Ilha de Moçambique Vocational Training School, can have an impact, above all if they go hand in hand with support for other training courses (tourism) at different levels of schooling. This last point is highlighted in the proposal to put together a local syllabus that is transversal. This is in fact already being put into practice with the “Escolinhas” pre-school project, with support provided for the first years at school and in the Vocational Training School, slated to continue to the final years of secondary education and even to university level, in close collaboration with the Universidade do Lúrio (Unilúrio).

In spite of the impasses mentioned above, it is important to highlight the fact that over the past few years there have been positive aspects related to the Cluster for the island. One important point was the presence of the coordinator on the ground. This was fundamental for the process of unblocking a series of other essential actions. Among other things, the presence of the coordinator on the island (and the point that this was the only representative of a country or international organisation cooperating with Mozambique who actually lives there), and the permanent contact with the local people, with the local power structure, with business people and development agents, all of this led to synergies and partnerships; the support and consultancy work for public services strengthened these bodies with qualified Mozambican human resources, boosting the sustainability of the activities undertaken (with the support of Portuguese cooperation, the Conservation Bureau of the Ilha de Moçambique/GACIM could for the first time count on a Mozambique architect on its staff), opening up the possibility of knowledge transfer to local staff; and support for education and civil society, through the “Escolinhas” project

with links (although not always easy) to the Associação dos Amigos da Ilha de Moçambique (the Association of Friends of the Ilha de Moçambique), along with the strengthening of civil society, all of this had a multiplier effect on the development of the community through the children and the involvement of their families.

This raft of actions may not have produced many visible effects, but it forms the essential elements for the framework and sustainability of cooperation activities where what is aimed at is long lasting effects which do in fact foster sustainable development at the point where the action happens. Sustainable development demands certain components which are, unfortunately, absent from most local interventions in cooperation for development. Among these, there are the interpersonal and long standing relations with local actors (the communities, the local senior political personnel, local business people and so on) and the representatives of foreign organisations which provide finance for projects. The presence of a representative from Portuguese cooperation on the island made it possible to start a process which implies establishing relations of confidence, knowledge and mutual respect between actors from different backgrounds who may not be guided by the same logic or the same interests. However, the aim to develop an integrated cooperation strategy was impeded by the delays in financing one of the central projects around which the Cluster concept could be structured and by a shortage of local human resources with the necessary capacities. A lot of work has been done with a view to setting up partnerships between the various actors involved in the promotion of sustainable development on the island, and all of this is essential for the Cluster to be put in place. However, the material resources to bring into being the project that would act as a catalyst for these partnerships have only recently become available and it is therefore too early to analyse the results. There is also a scarcity of qualified partners to ensure sustainability, but there are promising signs that the situation could change, such as the support for contracting an architect to be on the staff of the GACIM and the proposal to take on specialist staff at the Municipal Council (if this in fact comes about).

In short, it is not possible to look at the results and try to assess whether the Cluster model can be applied in the field of Portuguese cooperation for development as it has played out on the Ilha de Moçambique because it has not been fully applied. The fundamental process of establishing partnerships between actors and agents in the field of cooperation has started, with work properly supported and activities set in

motion, but some of them – above all those which form the structure on which all the logic of the Cluster is based – are too recent to allow for an analysis of their results.

Plans and actors in the field of development

The Ilha de Moçambique was put on the UNESCO list of World Heritage Sites in 1991. As a result, a number of development plans for this part of Mozambique were set out over the ensuing decades. People in Mozambique and elsewhere became aware of the potential for the island. Some owners restored properties built of stone, and other Mozambican and foreign investors bought and restored properties to use as the basis for economic activities¹⁰ above all for the purposes of tourism but also just as holiday homes.

In terms of plans, reference must be made to the plan put forward by UNESCO and PNUD in 1998 (Ilha de Moçambique. World Heritage Site. A programme for Sustainable Human Development and Integral Conservation, global report),¹¹ the “Plano de Gestão e Conservação 2010-2014” (Management and Conservation Plan) put forward by the Mozambique Ministry of Culture in 2009 and the “Plano de desenvolvimento integrado da Ilha de Moçambique” (Integrated development plan for the Ilha de Moçambique) (PDIM) (CESO CI, 2009) with funding from BAD, from UNESCO and from Portugal, already mentioned here.

The PIDM has been set out in tandem with other projects, among them the “Projecto de Infra-estruturas de Abastecimento de Água, Saneamento e Resíduos Sólidos no Lumbo” (the Lumbo project for infrastructures, water supply, sanitation and solid waste) and the “Projecto da Vila do Milénio no Lumbo” (Lumbo Millenium Village project) which also includes funding from IPAD, and the rehabilitation plan for the S. Sebastião fortress, financed at different stages by UNESCO, Japan, UCLA, Holland, Flanders and Portugal, and a project to support 13 Municipalities, with Danish funding.

¹⁰ The economic activities in the Mossuril area as detailed in various studies are subsistence farming and some cashew nut harvesting on the mainland, along with quarrying, lime kilns, salt beds, small-scale fishing and some handicraft. There are also large quantities of mangos and a considerable amount of livestock.

¹¹ <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001207/120709eo.pdf>

The creation of the Cluster for the island has taken place at the same time as a number of other on-going interventions, involving international actors in this part of Mozambique. The logic is similar, but there has been no concern with collaboration between the financiers.

Both the PDIM and the Cluster project set out in 2011 (IPAD 2011) have identified a considerable number of actors involved in the development of the island. Among the most high profile are those related to government structures and local policies (the island administrative body - Administração da Ilha de Moçambique, the municipal council - Conselho Municipal da Ilha de Moçambique - the island's conservation bureau - Gabinete de Conservação da Ilha de Moçambique/GACIM); actors from organisations linked to culture, education and labour (the Nampula provincial directorate for education and culture - Direcção Provincial de Educação e Cultura de Nampula, the island's vocational raining school - Escola Profissional da Ilha de Moçambique, the island's museum - Museu da Ilha de Moçambique, and Nampula and Maputo education and vocational training institutes - Institutos de Educação e formação profissional/INEFP, from Nampula and Maputo); local civil society groups (the small-scale business people's association for the hotel and tourist trade - Associação de Pequenos Empresários de Hotelaria e Turismo/APETUR and the Friends of the Ilha de Moçambique association - Associação Amigos da Ilha de Moçambique), and international organisations (HELPO, Médicos do Mundo, OIKOS, MOVE - Micro crédito, Projecto Oceano), among them many which are Portuguese; and enterprises (Empresa Ferreira dos Santos, property owner on the island). Along with these actors, there are international networks such as the Organisation of World Heritage Cities (OWHC) and above all multilateral and bilateral organisations and financiers such as UNESCO, PNUD, UNIDO, BAD, the Holland and Japan cooperation agencies, and the government of the United States among others.

This profusion of actors and others playing a part in the development of what is a small island, divided into areas with very distinct urban characteristics, raises many questions that are directly related to the effectiveness of cooperation for development, which is the subject of analysis in this study.

Actors, rationalities and different logical approaches

The first questions that can be asked relate to the huge interest that the Ilha de Moçambique has awoken among the various international and bilateral cooperation agents, which have channelled huge resources for development and conservation into this small part of Mozambique, and the fact that this interest has not up to now led to coordinated action, in spite of the countless attempts to bring this about. Two of the most important of these efforts stand out: the International Donor Conference of 1999, which took place as a result of a UNESCO initiative, the target being to raise funds for 50 projects (Mutal 1998), yet without any result (Teixeira 2014), and the PDIM already mentioned here, which never got approval from the Mozambique government and because of this there were no concerted efforts to carry out any of the activities and projects slated.

There are many and varied reasons to explain the two facets of this: on the one hand there is the continuing interest in the island – and the fact that it is a World Heritage Site is clearly one of or even the most important reason – and this interest leads to a considerable array of projects relating to development and to heritage restoration with the support of donors; and on the other hand there is the frustration that this work has been and still is basically done on a one-off basis, with little or no sustainability and results that range from nil to debatable, though with some that are visible (more of these being projects aimed at conserving and maintaining the heritage and the rehabilitation of infrastructures than those that target sustained human development). The reasons underlying this situation can be seen in terms of three distinct groups of actors/interests¹² often working in partnership:

- i) the donors; ii) the central government of Mozambique and domestic institutions; iii) local actors at various levels (governmental, in civil society, business people, both from Mozambique and elsewhere, and

¹² The basis for this part of the text is not just the field work carried out within the research project and the experience of the authors on the ground. It was also inspired by a lucid and well-grounded article written by José Teixeira, originally dated 2007, and then updated in 2014 and published on-line on the site https://www.academia.edu/6182775/Ilha_de_Mocambique._Questoes_Sobre_o_seu_Desenvolvimento_como_Sitio_Patrimonial. We would like to thank the author for making his texts on the island freely available, in such a way as to allow all those interested in this part of Mozambique to benefit from his pertinent remarks and his extensive knowledge of the area, its history, its peoples and its current dynamics.

local communities).

Mozambique has an extensive donor community. The fact the country is considered to be a success story in terms of the peace process, and recovery followed by economic growth explains the inflow of resources and of international actors in the field of development. What turned this part of Mozambique into a place of particular interest for cooperation was the fact that the island is a World Heritage Site, along with the efforts of UNESCO to foster its international visibility – and the latter was more important than the resources that it managed to draw in for the restoration of its heritage. The development operations seemed to involve relatively little expenditure and were simple to carry out (the area is small and clearly delineated) and from the start they promised results that would be visible in a short time span (the short duration that development projects necessarily have). These projects were of interest to donors, since they would also, in principle, give visibility to the donors themselves. Among the donors, “emblematic projects” and “surgical interventions” were the terms that were repeated in Mozambique in relation to the island and the work that was being carried out or planned. However, two situations occurred which put paid to these expectations: bilateral and multilateral cooperation interventions that produced no results – two of the many were the failed cooperation project of the Swiss to relocate residents of the island on the mainland by building houses for them (Teixeira, 2014:10), and the Lumbo Millennium Village project (IPAD, 2010) – and the lack of any real will (capacity/possibility) to coordinate the various initiatives that were being put in place in this specific area. And this was an area where the much sought-after sustained human development that everyone wished to push would perforce have to work hand in hand with the concerns over conservation of its heritage.

Over and above the contradictions inherent in the terms development and conservation, the lack of coordination between the international cooperation initiatives can be explained, as in many other contexts where international aid plays a part, by the very characteristics of the system of cooperation for development. As José Teixeira puts it in the text we have already mentioned, what happens has to do with the “competition for visibility between the different national ‘cooperations’” with the “difficulties of coordination between them, both in terms of choice of projects to go for and how they are to be scheduled and carried out” and with “the different rhythms that get in the way of taking the task through”. Moreover, in this case, there are points at issue that come from “carrying

out in practice the suppositions underlying the safeguarding of historical heritage which is said to be the world's heritage" (2014: 10). In this field, as the author says:

We are faced with a real confrontation between a theoretical concept that affirms the universality of history (the said heritage to be preserved) and specific standpoints (nationalistic by nature; by nature institutional) participating in this intuition that calls itself universalist. And this is fundamentally a Gordian knot, whether it is seen from a practical point of view, which means putting into practice heritage projects, or from a theoretical point of view, which means the possibility of various social, institutional and intellectual contexts used for formulating the notion of universality and its content, if there is a successful articulation in the production of common concepts and content and activities carried out together with those articulated (2014:10).

In terms of the central government of Mozambique and its priorities and national political strategies and the way in which these have contributed or not to the development of the island, the first question that comes to the fore is related to the development of the country itself, and the fact that the island is not a separate piece of territory. It has the same kind of human and material shortages as the country itself and other municipalities. In other words, there are various priorities when it comes to allocating the country's scant resources and what is needed in the island – the land stretching three kilometres and a half plus the surrounding area on the mainland – is not, for obvious reasons, seen as a major priority. And this includes the restoration of its infrastructures and heritage, as well as investments in the development of its residents (in health and education for example) and the creation of conditions to make it attractive for staff to be permanently posted or co-opted here. It is for this reason that participation in the island's development and the restoration of its heritage at a national level (by the central government¹³) has been sparing (cf. Teixeira 2014:12).

This, however, does not mean that there is not a special interest in the island among members of the élite and the country's governing class. It is after all, a World Heritage Site. Something has been done by those in positions of political responsibility in terms of development and conser-

¹³ The Ministry of Culture plays the most active role in the island's affairs, and this ministry is a lightweight in the government and in terms of the other ministries.

vation plans and the allocation of resources from the international community, enough to ensure that the status of World Heritage Site has been maintained over the years (in spite of rumours often going around that there is a risk of the status being lost).

It is important to note that there are different interests playing out and these do not always fall in favour of the island, of the conservation of its heritage, or of its sustained development. Over the years, various attacks were made against its heritage - José Teixeira, (2014:13) remarks on the intervention of the MCEL, hunters of archaeological treasures welcomed as if there were archaeologists, the sports pavilion and gymnasium built in the square opposite the fortress, the sale of anchors, cannon balls, chains, wrought iron and so on as if it was all scrap metal. There have also been measures taken (or not taken) by central and local government which were (are) counterproductive, and indeed against what its status demands, when set against the projects aimed at economic and sustained development and at conservation of the island's heritage.

In short, the factors at issue include the gambits used for strategic national development policies for the country (and tourism comes into this), the development strategies for the region where the island is situated (the north and the province of Nampula), local political strategies (and the fact that for some years the island municipality was run by Renamo, one of the military forces in the civil war), the plans and the projects for the island played out among the representatives of the different policies (the actors) and the multiple interests they may represent (personal and business). This did not always (in fact rarely did it) translate into the possibility of measures that would lead to the development of coherent policies followed by actions that allowed the island and its inhabitants to enjoy sustained development.

Conservation of the heritage and sustained human development

This does not mean, however, that nothing has been done. Over the past years, the island, its heritage and some of its inhabitants have benefited from measures taken by the central government, backed by various donors, aimed at development and conservation. One of the most important decisions by the central government was the creation of the Conservation Bureau for the Ilha de Moçambique/ GACIM in 2006.

It is the responsibility of GACIM to plan, coordinate and issue guidelines for research, protection, conservation and the restoration of the built heritage of this city which is, by reason of its history and architecture, a World Heritage Site. The Bureau has weaknesses but it has (attempted to) coordinate the restoration of the island's heritage. Its weaknesses have to do with its human resources, and Portuguese cooperation, as mentioned here, has used the concept of the Cluster for the Ilha de Moçambique to try and fill the gaps, in the first stage by bringing in an expatriate specialist, and then by supporting the hiring of a Mozambican architect. This last point relates to the fact that the final decisions on rehabilitation of buildings and infrastructures are in the hands of the Municipal Council, which has the power to reject the opinions of GACIM,¹⁴ even without having a trained specialist, such as an architect or civil engineer, working as a member of its staff. There have been positive points worth highlighting in terms of the measures taken by central government and departments that depend on it with support from various donors, measures relating to work on infrastructures, specifically to improve the chronic problem of water supply, in terms of access (bridge, quays and a ring road scheme), repairs to streets, pavements, restoration of gardens, bandstands, statues, religious buildings, schools and government and municipal buildings (the "Edifício Girassol", for example).

Buildings have also been renovated on private initiative,¹⁵ either for private dwellings, or with the aim of welcoming tourists, or even for business and cafés or restaurants. As a final point, there are also some public buildings such as the island museum "with the capacity to organise and carry ideas through" (Teixeira 2014:14).

A lot of these central government initiatives – through the Ministry of Culture, which acts as the link with UNESCO – and supported by donors focus above all on the Cidade de pedra e cal, but there are also initiatives which come from local actors (civil society) where the focus is on Macuti. Among these is the recent measure which is being put in place by the Ilha de Moçambique Foundation, working with the ngo Tecno Serve

¹⁴ This information was given to us by the Director of GACIM in 2012. However, and according to what we were told later on, the fact that the island has the status of a World Heritage Site opens up the possibility of different interpretations in relation to the competencies of different local government bodies.

¹⁵ José Teixeira refers to the fact that "in the first dozen years of the millennium something between 70 and 100 houses have been renovated, in spite of scarce capital locally and a tourist demand that is still low" (2014:18).

on the “Macuti Homestay” project. This enables residents in Mácuti to have access to credit for buying macuti at a subsidised price to renovate their homes. According to an article published in the daily paper Notícias (03.06.2014), the project has provided the wherewithal for restoring 20 houses on this part of the island.

Another initiative worth a mention is the setting up of a documentation and study centre (the “Centro de Estudos e Documentação para Ilha de Moçambique/CEDIM”), linked to the Faculty of Architecture and Physical Planning (Faculdade de Arquitectura e Planeamento Físico – FAPF) of the Universidade Lúrio (UNILÚRIO). The aim of this is to study the cultural, tangible and intangible heritage of the Ilha de Moçambique and its influence, by means of collating, cataloguing, conserving and disseminating information on documents, courses that are put on, seminars, debates, research, studies and projects within the scope of urban planning, habitation, architecture, the supply of basic social services, physical planning and local administration.

Another example related to the recent decision (July 2014) by central government (the Ministry of Culture) to create on the island the headquarters of the Centro de Gestão do Património Cultural da Humanidade nos Países Africanos da Língua Portuguesa (PALOP) (Management Centre for the Cultural Heritage of Humanity in the Portuguese-speaking countries of Africa).¹⁶

All of these initiatives from central government, donors, local actors (local politicians and representatives of central government, ongs, companies and private individuals, and the university) are in principle worthy of praise, but when looked at in detail, doubts arise as to their capacity (financial, human, and legislative), to bring the measures about and doubts also as to whether these measures fit with the notion of sustained (environmental) development for the island and the zones around it.

There has been an increase in the specialist staff at GACIM in recent years, but in spite of this there are still weaknesses in terms of human, financial and legal resources (the legal side covering inspection and oversight). This situation needs to be rectified in order to guarantee that the official opinions and guidelines that are issued are unbiased and based on specialist knowledge; that they are accepted by the island authorities (the

16 In <http://noticias.sapo.mz/aim/artigo/10225308072014162155.html> Information published on 08-07-2014 and accessed on 12/08/2014

Municipal Council), and when they are accepted, the opinions and guidelines are actually respected by those involved in rehabilitation work. On this subject, the Director of GACIM stated in January 2012, before the Mozambican architect was contracted with the support of the Camões Institute:

We are fighting for a specialist here who will also work for the Municipal Council, one specialist so that conflicts can be avoided, acting as a bridge so that we do not issue opinions, addressed to the President [of the Municipal Council] and then rejected. In this way, the President cannot decide against our considered opinion (Director of GACIM, 25/01/201).

The question of renovating building for reoccupation using original materials (lime, wood and straw) raises serious ecological and environmental problems related to the depletion of materials at their point of origin (for example coral for making lime, ironwood for beams in houses) and the slow, difficult or even impossible task of replacing them. There are plans such as the use of lime from Matibane as an alternative to lime from coral, and reforestation, aimed at cutting down the perverse effects that stem from the preservation of historical authenticity (a more than arguable concept), but none of these plans has shown any great success.

The restoration of heritage also raises the complex issue of ownership of the properties on the island. The control and management of the built heritage has been in the hands of GACIM since 2006, but it was only in 2008 that the state property bureau (the Administração do Parque Imobiliário do Estado – APIE) handed over to GACIM the rental contracts for the houses where the State still has possession (Rodgers et al, 2012). When field work was still in progress (January 2012) the Administrator of the Ilha de Moçambique stated that “work was still proceeding on a law that would make it obligatory for owners to restore and maintain their homes” (26/01/2012), but even if this law is (or already has been) enacted, there is no guarantee that it can be applied – above all by the largest property owner on the island, the State – due to a lack of economic resources needed by owners to restore their homes.

We do not have any more information than what has already been stated about the “Macuti Homestay” project, and what we do know leads us

to believe that the effects will be limited. The people living in the Cidade de macuti stopped using this material to cover the roofs of their houses for a number of reasons: the price of macuti has been rising because of its scarcity, with palm trees in the region attacked by a disease; macuti needs to be replaced quite frequently; zinc sheets are seen as modern and (apparently) they last longer and are also more economical. Moreover, during the last years of the colonial regime, specific measures were taken to ban the use in this part of the island of any material that is long-lasting¹⁷ (and this meant that macuti was to be used). Such was the strength of feeling that even now the inhabitants associate macuti with the colonial era, hence its negative connotation (Sollien, 2013, p. 51).

As for maintaining the macuti, restoring the heritage and in general terms the support provided by international cooperation for development on the island, the Administrator of the Ilha de Moçambique says the following:

There are people living in Macuti who live well. They came because of the war and don't want to go back into the countryside because people have a better life here ... and they have children and they do not go back to the mainland. But there are also people who are ready to go back to the mainland, and somehow or other they will go. The museum stays, along with the heritage. (...) Organisations come along and they advise us to look after the houses and they tell us to be sure that Macuti is always like this, but what can we do to keep the houses as they always were in the past? (...) The ngos don't come back, other people have ideas, some say they are going to move and the years go by and nothing happens, the expectations of people are raised and then nothing (Administrator of the Ilha de Moçambique, 26/01/2012).

These words voice similar feelings to those we heard in informal conversations that we had about the island with people who lived there: expatriates working as agents for cooperation, foreigners (some of them architects) involved in building rehab, Mozambicans from other parts of the country, tour operators, shop-keepers, members of organisations in civil society and members of local communities. It was put to us in these conversations that the economic, social and cultural differences between the inhabitants of the Cidade de Macuti and the Cidade de pedra e cal

¹⁷ In colonial times, the ban on building with durable materials was enforced across the countryside and on the outskirts of urban centres.

were not as significant as might seem, because there were rich and poor in both areas of the island (although the richest live in the Cidade de pedra e cal and the rich who live in Macuti are considered rich for example, if they have a car); and, moreover, the state of the urban conditions on the macuti side, the standard of living of the inhabitants and the conditions pertaining in their homes were normal for Mozambique. In other words, they were no different from the conditions in many neighbourhoods on the outskirts of other urban centres in the country, where lack of basic sanitation and water and high population densities are the norm.

Another telling phrase, quoted above, relates to the need to keep the houses as they were in the past, which means conserving the heritage. Most of the inhabitants of the island do not feel this need in relation to the space where they live¹⁸ (and we include here the two parts of the island). Possibly they might only understand it as necessary for major buildings in the Cidade de pedra e cal and even then only because it awakens the interest of other people (tourists, foreigners living on the island, people from Maputo, members of the central government). They (the local people) will benefit from these visitors as a function of their place in the social and economic hierarchy and the power they wield on the island where they live.

As a final point, from the moment that the Ilha de Moçambique was given the status of World Heritage Site, huge expectations were created for changes in living conditions and development for the inhabitants. As the Administrator of the Ilha de Moçambique said, these expectations brought frustration in their wake among all the island's inhabitants, maybe even more visibly among those who were attempting to get things done (those involved with cooperation, expatriates living on the island and some senior politicians). Given this frustration, those that are able to – those who are young and have more training – leave the island and head for the big cities, looking for the change that they could not see coming about in the land where they were born.

And there is still no solution to the frequently mentioned problem of overpopulation in the Cidade de macuti and the need to ease the demogra-

¹⁸ The doctoral research of the architect Silje Sollien on the Cidade de Macuti, soon to be subject to a viva, looks into the issues of world heritage and its conservation in this part of the island and with the communities which live here. This research is sure to provide information and leads that are pertinent to the consideration of sustained development projects based on solid knowledge of the local situation involving all the communities on the island.

phic pressure by relocating part of the population on the mainland. There were plans, there were attempts, and even a reference in a recent report from the Ministry of Culture (2014) stating that the island's Municipal Council had identified 400 plots in the nearby area of the mainland (Lumbo) where families could be moved to. To date, however, the demographic pressure in this part of the island has not eased. According to information that we obtained, what often happens is that many of the families that have houses in the Cidade de macuti keep them even if they have a house on the mainland. Family members share them out and divide their time between both houses; and they even let parts of the house that they have on the island. This process is common: renting parts of their houses, subdividing and building outhouses on any free land (patios) and the result is very high population densities in this part of the island with all the problems that stem from this (in terms of sanitation, health and so on).

The island is a city and like any city it supplies goods and services for its population if they don't exist in the mainland areas where they come from or close to the island. Given this, the island has attracted and still attracts people; for the same reason, all the relocation plans for people involving rural areas on the mainland have borne no fruit (apart from the fact that the rural areas in question are relatively infertile for viable agricultural activities).

In terms of CEDIM, the information obtained mentions that lack of funds has meant that no specific plans have as yet been put into practice; and the idea of setting up the headquarters of the Centro de Gestão do Património Cultural da Humanidade nos Países Africanos da Língua Portuguesa (PALOP) is too recent to have produced any results yet.

These and other problems are found in the comments made by UNESCO's World Heritage Site committee in its last report on the state of conservation on the Ilha de Moçambique¹⁹ as set out by the Ministry of Culture (2014). The committee praises some of the efforts made, among them the hiring of specialist staff for GACIM, but it spotlights the challenges that persist with the continuing dilapidation of State properties, with the hospital and the court house picked out as examples, along with the lack of funds for the management of the heritage and the gradual disappearance of traditional construction techniques used in the houses with macuti roofs.

19 In <http://whc.unesco.org/en/soc/2863>, accessed 12/08/2014



Hospital

Conclusion

The effectiveness of cooperation for development involving countries from the north and the south is a much discussed issue. Associated with it are of course the debates on the best way to ensure the sustainability of projects and actions undertaken. The tool which is the Cluster for Cooperation arose as one more attempt to make these projects and actions more effective and sustainable. The politicians in Portugal responsible for policy believe this tool could be applied in a relatively closed off area such as the Ilha de Moçambique appears to be. It is clear from this analysis, however, that this area has never been (nor is it) closed off. It is intimately related with the country of which it is a part. It is also clear that the Cluster itself as a tool was and is intrinsically connected to the resources and the political will of those who structure and put it into practice. In other words, the Cluster is not a tool that is independent from cooperation policies in Portugal, nor is the island an autonomous territory that can be developed separately from the development processes in Mozambique. Any action involved in cooperation that is to be put in place has to take into account these two conditioning factors that act as structural pillars. For the case under analysis, there is another specific factor, and that is the fact that the island is a World Heritage Site, with challenges that do not exist in other fields of cooperation for development.

The population of the island needs to be seen as one of the essential actors in this process, precisely because the whole island has the status of World Heritage Site and the idea is for it to have sustained development at the same time. It can be seen from this study that there is still a lot to be done so that the people who live on the island take the heritage as their own, give it value and take to the hearts the fact that they are an integral part of the very same heritage – above all when the major measure that involves them is focused above all else on moving them out, and when the scarce resources for restoration of the heritage go to the monuments and major buildings made of lime and stone. It is not strange in these circumstances that local politicians in senior posts associate the status of the island with words and terms such as “museum” and “returning to the past”.

The fundamental importance of the local actors in the processes of development and the fact that it is impossible to make the actions and projects sustainable without them participating are two factors accepted unreservedly by all of those in responsible positions, whether politicians, agents or actors in the cooperation process. In fact, it is at this point that the concept of the Cluster, with the coordinator permanently in place, can make (and has made) a difference. The presence of a coordinator, the only representative of a country or international organisation in the field of cooperation with Mozambique who lives on the island; permanent contact with the people who live there, with those who have a role in the local power structures, and with business people and agents in the development field; all this has allowed for the start of a process that implies creating relationships based on trust, knowledge and mutual respect between actors with different roots, who are not guided by the same logic or the same interests. The coordinator can create synergies and partnerships that allow the people of the island to have a voice. Through this personal closeness between the actors in the development process (on the donor and the recipient side) there is inevitably a greater integration of the recipients in the whole process being put in place. Quite clearly this by itself is not sufficient, and much more could have been done in the process of restoration of the heritage and the island’s development if the resources initially foreseen had been made available in the time set down, especially those which targeted actions that formed structural pillars and vocational training. A start has been made, in fact, even though it was later than foreseen. With continuity guaranteed, there is likely to be greater involvement from the people on the island in its development and conservation.

It is their children who are being given the capacity to work in the future and earn money on the restoration of buildings. Employment in this field may be the beginning of an awareness-raising process among the community as to the value of the island heritage for the world. The “Escolinhas” project is another path where the Cluster concept can underpin community involvement; if replicated and carried through to other levels of schooling as set out, it could certainly give very positive results.

However, it is now nearly seven years since the Cluster for the Ilha de Moçambique was written in and budgeted for as a cooperation project between Portugal and Mozambique (PIC of 2007-2010 and PIC of 2011-2014). However, the lack of material resources means that it is not possible to see this relationship of proximity against a sufficient number of specific actions to make it possible to use the Cluster as a benchmark model in the field of Portuguese cooperation for development on the Ilha de Moçambique. The essential process of creating partnership relations between actors and cooperation agents has been started, but even if there were actions properly supported and a range of activities properly structured, no single one of them by itself could ensure the effectiveness of cooperation which the Cluster, according to the theory that started it off, was meant to bring about. It is true, however, as already mentioned, that the structure-creating nature of all this latest stage of the Cluster has already begun and it could well be possible to draw conclusions in a few years' time.

In more global terms, and taking an overview of the whole development process on the Ilha de Moçambique, it is clear from this study that, for many reasons, those development plans that presupposed a concerted intervention involving different donors/actions/projects did not materialise. It also became clear that there are still different interests playing out and these do not always play out in favour of the Ilha de Moçambique, the conservation of its heritage, and its sustained development. It can also be concluded, however, that something has happened in terms of conserving its heritage and stimulating its development, and this something is being bolstered by the economic growth development dynamic in this northern region of Mozambique, and by specific projects with the power of involvement of and capacity-building among the inhabitants of the island, along with the restoration of its heritage, in tourism, in research, in teaching and in training. All this leads us to one thought: “Is it possible? Yes, it is!”

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FINAL REMARKS

Although the set of chapters gathered in this book presents some thematic and indivisible analytical diversity, on one hand the specific objectives that led to their elaboration - some more theoretical and framing, others essentially focused on cooperation contexts' empirical analysis - and, on other hand, from the various disciplinary frameworks and the author's research experiences, it is possible to draw the final remarks that enable the verification of the hypothesis posed by the project and which constituted the guidelines of the research presented here has or does not have a positive feedback. That is, whether the Development Cooperation Clusters are an effective answer to the issue in terms of how to improve coherence, harmonization and alignment of cooperation practices.

However, this question can only be fully answered starting from the analysis of the existence of the initial conditions that the concept of Cooperation Clusters presupposes.

For its implementation in a partner country, it was defined that the Portuguese Cooperation Clusters presupposed and/or required: first, the identification of a geographical area; second, the creation of a partnership; third, the intervention terms of references' establishment (master plan); fourth, the definition of a coordination structure; and, fifth, a careful and thoughtful identification of the different actors. By analysing these different assumptions and requirements in relation to the different cooperation contexts, it is possible to conclude the following:

In terms of the creation of a partnership, it should be noted that this requirement implies an understanding between Portugal and the country where the Cluster is located, so to implement it. The analysis of the various experiences of Clusters points out the existence of different levels of understanding between the countries implied. In the case of Mozambique, this understanding was dragged on in time since the Central Government in Maputo did not approve (or disapprove) the master plan with the activities to be developed listed and prioritized. This attitude of the Central Government contrasted with the attitude of the local authorities of the Island of Mozambique that proved to be favorable to the Cluster since the first moment. In the case of Angola, it can also be concluded that the local authorities worked in permanent contact with

the coordinator (before he passed away); but there is also the idea that the central authorities simply ignored the existence of the project in the Angolan city of Huambo, not because they had not been informed but because they considered the local governor's attitude to be enough.

Regarding the third requirement: the terms of reference establishment for the intervention (master plan), it was concluded that the implementation of the clusters was preceded by the preparation of previous studies and project documents. In Mozambique, an integrated development plan was elaborated by CESO in detail that required a continuous investment over several years, with high amounts. As already mentioned, this report has never been approved by the Mozambican Government and has been the subject of public debates and controversies, being an important study on the area of the Island but with partial application. The Cluster ended up adopting a simpler and more limited program but also more viable to be implemented in this scenario.

From the point of view of what the research team was able to perceive, by analysing the multiple interviews and documents, the central structure in Portugal never promoted a deep reflection. It had consequences on the management model to be adopted in this new instrument for Cooperation, including the evaluation of the cluster of the Island of Mozambique in the general study commissioned by ISCTE to evaluate the PIC in the country. So, to the development of the Clusters as an instrument for cooperation have consequences also at the level of the central organizations – the 'boomerang effect' - they would have to be considered as an innovation and to be organized to correspond a working model that is not diluted in something is already done. This was not the case, once the team heard continuous references to the lack of attention that the coordinators obtained from the central structure and from the Portuguese Embassy, and how the central structure did not assume that Clusters are a dynamic area of knowledge production in Cooperation, they did not conduct a research based on what was done in the past and in the present or in what they do best. So, there was not an 'boomerang effect'.

Finally, in terms of the careful and thoughtful identification of different actors, the position of the research team is that this requirement has never been achieved if we consider the actors as the potential funding countries. Competition among funders was mainly expressed in the Island of Mozambique, where clearly the interest manifested over

time by cooperation that has never led to a practical coordination. In other words, each country continues to have its own cooperation policy that it considers as part of its affirmation in the world and is therefore not willing to be diluted in whatever structure it is unless it brings them advantages. Although very explicit in the initial project document, the need for international donor coordination is our conviction that not even the necessary (and not sufficient) condition of strong engagement of the Portuguese Embassy in Maputo has been fulfilled.

Focusing the local actors, in all the studied countries, it was found that there was a range of organizations that were either direct or indirect beneficiaries of the cluster that over time were gradually having a progressive intervention, constituting the “space” Cluster a common field, thought taking into account the activities, the funds involved and the credibility that the Portuguese Cooperation has been able to create in these countries.

To conclude about the coherence, harmonization and alignment of Development Cooperation and the Clusters for Cooperation, let us take the Coherence Law (“Lei da Coerência”), the part that states the following:

“The EU therefore aims to increase the effectiveness of its development aid by seeking to ensure policy coherence for development, by striving to create synergies between the objectives of development policy and the objectives of other European policies and preventing that decisions taken in other policy areas from having a negative impact on developing countries. At national level, it is also important to develop updated coordination mechanisms to increase the effectiveness of Portuguese public policies in terms of promoting the development of partners’ countries. “

The Clusters for Cooperation in their theoretical formulation correspond exactly to this objective of the Union taken as their one in Portugal 2010 in the Resolution of the Council of Ministers. The analysis that the present investigation presents, leads us to conclude that to comply with this legislation the existing Clusters would have to have a formal framework in the Portuguese Cooperation beyond the reference in PIC, but it does not exist and never have existed. In other words, the Clusters in the countries analysed clearly contribute to a greater coherence of Portuguese Cooperation in the areas where they are implemen-

ted, yet the contribution to global coherence, whether in these specific countries or in general, does not exist, since they have no status as an instrument for all cooperation practices.

In the “Portugal Plan of Action for Harmonization and Alignment” prepared by IPAD in 2005 to operationalize the commitments made in Rome in 2003 and with reference to the document of the DAC of 2003 :

“Harmonization refers to ‘donors’ efforts to unify and simplify aid delivery. To this end donors must: harmonize their policies, procedures and practices; intensify delegated cooperation; give more flexibility and decision-making capacity to their field representations; and, within Portuguese Cooperation institutions, develop internal incentives that will foster the general recognition of the benefits of harmonization.”

For IPAD, at that time, good practices and their dissemination covered three areas: Good Practices between donors and partner governments; Good practices among donor agencies; Good practices in donor systems. The IPAD considered that:

“These Good Practices are a point of reference and not an obligation for all development agencies in all countries. Adopting them in different circumstances in different countries requires a great deal of flexibility in donor policies and procedures in order to accommodate various institutional capacities, traditions and partnership histories.” (IPAD, 2003)

We cannot understand in this investigation whether, or not, the Portuguese Cooperation was concerned with the concrete application of these guidelines into the Clusters. In fact, there is still a significant difference between funders, even between European countries and the European Commission with regard to administrative forms, procedures and rules. We did not detect that there was unity among the reports to which we had access from the different Clusters, and in the debate carried out at the end of the project with presence of the Cluster coordinators and several “Camões” technicians, it was evident that the design of Good Practices was thought locally taking care in particular the appropriation by the beneficiary populations but not taking into account any other existing project in the country.

“Alignment relates to the articulation of donor aid with partner country development strategies and priorities. It assumes that, in providing aid, donors will progressively utilize the systems of these coun-

tries, including by promoting their capacity of building, where necessary, to the detriment of the use of parallel donor systems” (IPAD, 2006)

As seen, the research has found that Clusters have never had any specific treatment in cooperation programs between Portugal and destination countries. Even in Mozambique where it was considered one of the axes of the developed cooperation, we did not see that this had any differentiating consequence of other projects. As such, the Clusters were in line with the alignment that the country was already doing, linking project approval with the partner countries’ administrative cycles, although this is not very clear when bilateral projects are not included in PIC. We can also consider that the absence of a positive or negative response in Mozambique to the master plan, as already mentioned, which resulted in a long delay in starting up and always affected the rhythm of the Island Cluster projects, was a failure to apply this criterion of alignment.

To think about the conclusions of this investigation using the Soft System Methodology by Peter Checkland, we must first consider that the Cooperation Clusters are integrated in a soft system (with a paradigm defined under a very unstable form, susceptible to changes with facility). Our thesis is that Clusters did improve the system. To answer problematic situations that arise for it by the social and political environment where it is inserted, always finding a new cycle of activity, the system needs a pole of innovation that enables to think about all the elements of the system. In fact, having a stabilized analysis of the recipients of beneficiaries or partners (clients in the language of the SSM authors) such as the PALOP, the actors involved in Portugal in the other funding countries and the values pursued, it seems clear to us that Portuguese public entities have a consensus on the intended evolution soon. Also the questions synthesized in the letters PQR (What does the system do? How it does? And why it does? Or “Make P through Q to get R”) can give rise to different answers.

We cannot draw any other conclusion than that the problematic situation (or question) about whether Portuguese Cooperation should continue with the Clusters, placed in this systemic situation, is to decide whether this instrument can be a nucleus to a new cycle of cooperation or if it is simply a step in an evolution that has advances and setbacks according to the instability of the configurator actor of the system, which is SENE/Camões from the concept of Integrated Development Program, as clearly places the research conducted in Huambo, Angola.

The conclusion we can draw from the research developed is that the Clusters did not fulfill the function of innovation engine in the system of Portuguese Cooperation. Its conception, financing and implementation have met from the beginning a lack of acceptance as a central instrument for cooperation, whether from Portugal or from the countries of destination. This did not allow the Clusters to move from a practice that meets international requirements, to another where it is a transformation/innovation engine with change effects over the entire system. The Clusters are thus integrated in the development program of a new generation, but it is only in that sense that they constitute an innovation.

The project “The Clusters”: challenges for Portuguese cooperation: Mozambique Island (Mozambique) and Huambo (Angola) was conducted by a team of research fellows and consultants related, in some way, with the Center for African, Asian and Latin American Studies (CEsA), at Lisbon School of Economics & Management (ISEG), University of Lisbon, and with the Center for International Studies of the Lisbon University Institute, previously named CEA/ISCTE, with funding from the Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT), and was documentary supported by staff of technicians and directorates of Camões - Institute for Cooperation and Language and its predecessor Portuguese Institute for Development Support.

This project managed to fulfill a good part of the goals initially defined in the project application, despite personal conditionalities of the team of researchers. Also, it was able to progress in the construction of theoretical instruments for reading Portuguese Cooperation using the Soft System Methodology as an international methodology reference, in the concrete analysis of the different clusters, to support Ph.D. and Master Thesis, to build online databases on Cooperation, in the debate that led to the presentation of several papers in international and national conferences and the English edition of an e-book.

This book presents the outcomes of the project that can be expressed in a textual form. In addition, it reflects the taste for knowledge of all those who have collaborated in some way with it.

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