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**POLICY IMPLEMENTATION IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION:  
The Case Study of United Nations in Mozambique**

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**ABSTRACT:**

Policy implementation is a complicated process. Depending on the approach adapted, there are several, interlinked factors affecting it. The policy implementation has been studied, as such, since 1970's and approaches that scholars have adapted are categorized as top-down, bottom and hybrid. Each approach has identified the main factors that affect the policy implementation, emphasizing different aspects, stages and roles of actors in the implementation process. It is recognized that policy implementation has specific characteristics in the developing countries, due to the scarce resources, structure of political systems and the extent of the challenges.

United Nations implements public and global policies in developing countries, in cooperation with local governments and other actors. In Mozambique, UN has functioned since the independence, 1975, and have had great importance in the reconstruction of the independent state after wars. Since 2008, UN Mozambique has gone through a reformation after "Delivering as One" initiative, which aims at integrating the UN activities in the county under the ONE UN organization. The joint efforts for the development of the country are collected under United Nations Development Assistant Framework (UNDAF), which determines the priorities and strategic direction. The study aims at identifying the approach the UN has to policy implementation and factors that affect the achievement of the goals in UNDAF 2017-2020.

The central theoretical framework for the study is chosen from one of the classical top-down scholars; Mazmanian's and Sabatier's framework for implementation analysis, which incorporates 16 different independent variables that affect the policy implementation process as a whole and dependent variables as stages in the implementation process. It is noted that policy implementation in a developing country, generally follows the principles of the top-down approach, but there are also specific factors that affect the implementation due challenging socioeconomic conditions.

Methods used in the study are qualitative and the data is collected among the UN officials in Mozambique by using semi-structured interviews. In addition, relevant UNDAF documents are used for studying the UNDAF implementation process. The data is analysed by using Mazmanian's and Sabatier's framework for the identification of the main factors that affect the implementation process.

Findings indicate that there are major challenges in the implementation of the UNDAF, and factors that affect the process are related to the coordination, leadership, commitment of the implementing officials and agencies, engagement of other stakeholders, monitoring and local socioeconomic conditions. Deduced from the main findings, for successful goal achievement, UN Mozambique should revise the objectives in UNDAF, improve coordination among the agencies and other actors, increase the participation of the civil society and develop effective communication and monitoring system among the agencies. Despite of the many challenges that UN Mozambique has in the implementation of UNDAF, there are strengths that enable corrections to be done; UN still has authority and clear mandate in the country.

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**KEYWORDS:** implementation, public policy, global policy, international organization



## 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Background

Policy implementation has been deliberately studied since 1970's. Since the research started, researchers have established various approaches to the implementation and studied variety of factors that affect to implementation of public policies. Grindle (1980:2) mentions generally some factors; availability of sufficient resources, structure of intergovernmental relations, commitment of officials, reporting mechanisms within the bureaucracy, political leverage, opponents of the policy, timing, accidents, luck and unrelated events.

Implementation process is a complex process that involves much more than mechanical translation of the goals into routine procedures; conflicts, decision making and "who gets what in society" are fundamental for the process. (Grindle 1980:3) Implementation analysis is the identification of those variables which affect the achievement of legal objectives throughout the implementation process (Mazmanian & Sabatier 1989:21).

United Nations implements many kinds of policies that can be defined public in the local and global level, in developing countries. In Mozambique, for example, a part of the aid for the public services, is channelled through UN agencies. Although, aid agencies have been observed, not to have significant impact in addressing global challenges; They are important in informing the debate and to initiate pragmatic support for developing countries by producing information and interacting with local administration, civil society, public at large and to an increasing extent, with private sector (Mordasini 2012:6).

The problems connected with public policy implementation in developing countries are intertwined with basic economic and political conditions. Governments conducting public policies, to improve the quality of life, find that they are restricted by the weak extractive capacity of the state in relation to the economy as well as by the dissipation of any resources through corruption. Thus, the basic equation that regulates what governments

can do to improve the human predicament includes the negative impact from a low GDP as well as from political instability. (Lane & Ersson 1999:1)

More than 30 years ago, Smith (1985:129) pointed out that most issues and methodologies of programme evaluation has been developed in Northern America, in an open and competitive political process, unlike in Third World nations, which generally have a closed system with little consultation from target groups, suppression of criticism and severe weaknesses in policy implementation. He suggests that most useful form of evaluation is implementation analysis, which gives the answers for why policies succeed or fail. (Smith 1985: 129)

Grindle (1980:15) suggests that process of implementing public policies have a greater focus in political participation and competition in Third World countries than in United States and Western Europe. She justifies her claim by the characteristics of the political systems of themselves, like remoteness, inaccessibility of the policymaking process to the most individuals and the extensive competition caused by widespread need and lack of resources. She also points out that normally in Third World countries political activity, such as individual and collective demand making, the representation of interests, and the emergence of conflicts, occurs at the output stage, whereas in United States and Western Europe it focuses at on the input stage of the policy process. (Grindle 1980:15)

The studies from Third world countries indicate that local governments may be subject to special conditions that influence how program and policy goals are achieved.

*“Most are in a position of having to promise much to their citizens. The enormity of human and physical needs in poor countries, the desire to establish the legitimacy of the political regime by providing tangible evidence of improving conditions, the feeling that the deprivations of the colonial or neo-colonial past must be obliterated, the commitment to indigenous or “Third World” ideologies, the need for rapid development – all create a situation in which political leaders are likely to espouse policies that will lead to radical and rapid improvement in the conditions of life.”* (Grindle 1980:22)



## 1.2. Research question

The aim of this study is to analyse policy implementation in the UN system in Mozambique; which are the bottle necks, why they are there, and what could be the solutions to the challenges. The objective is to study the implementation from the perspective of practitioner and in the case of UN Mozambique, to understand which levers are needed to be pulled in order to make program work (Mazmanian & Sabatier 1989:18).

In other words, the aim of the study is to understand and explain what are the factors that affect the implementation. This information is potentially useful for UN to design and execute implementation strategies that aim to change relevant determinants in Mozambique.

The research questions for the study are exploring the implementation of the policies in the UN Mozambique system:

Question 1:

What is the approach that UN Mozambique has to policy implementation?

Question 2:

What are the variables that affect the achievement of objectives through policy implementation in UN Mozambique system?

## 1.3. Development in implementation research

As Cairney (2012:34-35) suggests, implementation research is based on the simple point that policies formed by policymakers may not be carried out successfully. The common aim of the research is to identify and analyse the conditions that must be met to ensure success of the implementation.

By Schofield and Sausman, (2004: 235) implementation research is a study at the intersection of public administration, organizational theory, public management research,

and political science studies. Winter (2003: 206) proposes that implementation studies are part of two sub-disciplines of political science public policy/policy analysis and public administration. By Jenkins (1978: 203) they can be characterized as study of policy change.

Winter (2003:205) suggests that implementation studies grew out of evaluation research, when researchers realized that the failures and problems in goal achievement might not be because of the wrong causal theory behind the policy, but the implementation might not have taken place as planned. This developed an interest to study relation between planned and actual implementation.

Hill and Hupe (2002: 42) propose that before end of 1960's political mandates were thought to be clear and that administrators implement policies according the initial intentions of decision makers. The issue of implementation of the public policies got more attention when policies seemed to fail in goal achievement (Barret 2004: 251). In the emergence of the implementation studies, researchers in United States started to give more attention to the implementation also due to concerns of the effectiveness of reform programs.

Even though the work of Pressman and Wildawsky in the 1970's, has been seen as foundation to the implementation research, Hill and Hupe (2002:18-20) argue that implementation studies were carried out also before, just with other terms. In 1956, Harold Lasswell suggested that policy implementation should be one of the necessary steps in policy process and even he was not the first who highlighted implementation, he entered the term into public policy lexicon. From those times policy implementation has been a field of scholarly research. (deLeon & deLeon 2002: 467)

Goggin, Bowman, Lester and O'Toole (1990: 13), distinguish three generations in the implementation research; the first generation of research started from the early 1970s to the '80s; the second generation from the 1980s to the 90s; and the third generation research from 1990 and onwards. The scholars of each generation and their approach to implementation analysis are listed in Figure 1.

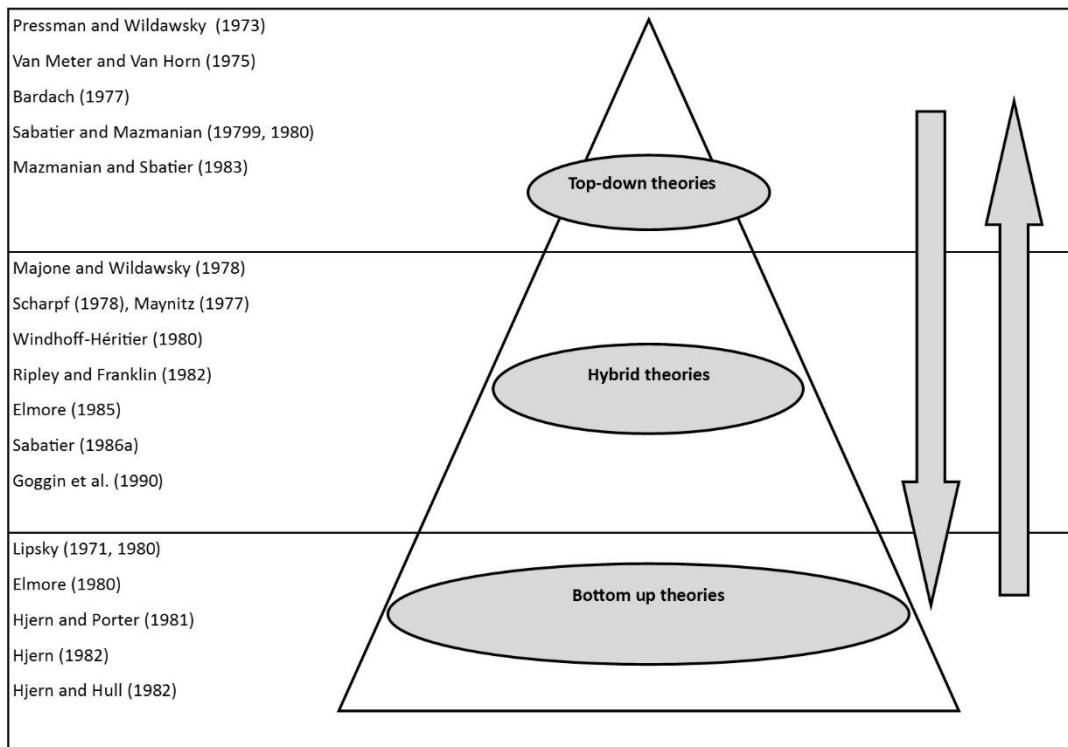


Figure 1. Scholars of top-down, bottom-up and hybrid theories (Pülzl & Treib 2007: 91)

The first generation of implementation research concentrated to number of case studies that were thought as an implementation failure and therefore also the research had a pessimistic undertone during 1970's (Fischer, Miller, & Sidney 2007:89). The most influential researchers of the first-generation scholars were Derthick, Pressman and Wildawsky, and Bardach. Their achievement was to raise awareness of the issue to the wider audience. As said, the first generation, concentrated to demonstrate implementation processes by case studies rather than theory elaboration.

The second generation of implementation studies aimed to form theoretical frameworks and hypothesis. Debate between top-down and bottom-up approaches started between different scholars, during the second generation. Top-down scholars emphasized policy implementation as hierarchical execution of centrally defined policies and bottom-up scholars saw implementation as everyday problem-solving strategies at the "street level bureaucrats". The representatives of the top-down scholars include, for example, Van Meter and Van Horn, Nakamura and Smallwood, and Mazmanian and Sabatier. Scholars

from bottom-up approach include Lipsky, Ingram, Elmore, and Hjern and Hull. (Pülzl & Treib 2007: 89).

Third generation of the implementation studies tried to compound the top-down and bottom-up approaches by combining ideas from both camps into theoretical models. Typical for third generation scholars is to emphasize clear hypothesis and find operationalisations and producing adequate empirical observations to test these hypotheses (Pülzl & Treib 2007: 89-90).

Winter (2003: 206) points out that implementation research is diverse and general implementation theory hasn't emerged. The research is also characterised by many different approaches.

#### 1.4. United Nations system and mandate

Since the foundation of United Nations 1945, after II World War, the organization has expanded and developed into complex and fragmented institution (see Figure 2.), which is present globally (Müller 2010: 2.). The United Nations was formed on the foundations of the one of the oldest International Organizations, The League of Nations, which did not survive the II World War (Barkin 2006:5).

From initial 51-member states, UN has now 193 member states and is one of the biggest international coalitions in the world and has pre-eminent role and responsibility to steer the political process to reach international consensus on global public policies and norms.

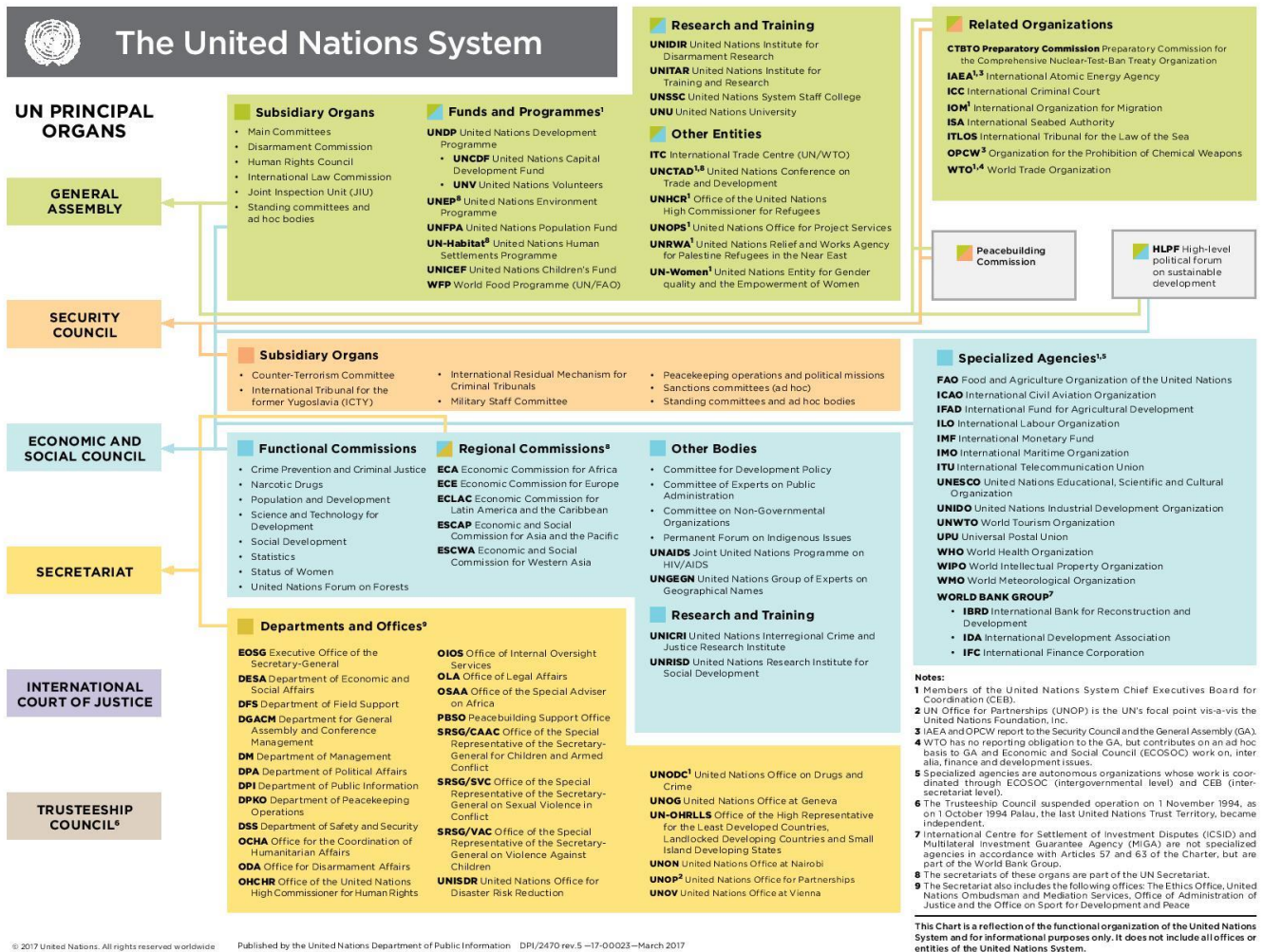


Figure 2. UN system chart (United Nations 12.9.2018)

Hanhimäki (2008: 33) describes UN as “structural monstrosity” for its different clusters of organizations, divisions, bodies and secretariats (see Figure 2.). The founders of the organization were faced with the dilemma of how to match the national interests with international ones. Although, Hanhimäki stresses out that the rationale behind the creation of this hybrid organization is simple; the UN system is established by people from many nations, with different background and goals. (Hanhimäki 2008: 33)

Since beginning, UN's central mission was to secure international peace and security, to develop friendly relations among the nations, to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character and promote human rights. (The Charter of United Nations)

Whittaker (2002: 7) remarks that after UN was set up, two thirds of mankind have born and since more and more developing countries have joined the UN, the gulf between economic situation of member states became obvious and therefor dependence of the one on the other also grew more significant. This development made necessary the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms, such as shelter, food, fresh water, hygiene and health through development and relief programs. (Whittaker 2002:7) Also Müller (2010:6) recognizes that after states from Africa and Asia have joined the UN, development issues have become more important, resulting increasement of the technical co-operations programmes.

As said, UN is known from its peace keeping missions and from humanitarian aid organizations, during the emergencies. Because of the expansion of the organization to the developing countries, UN implements also programs from various aspects of life, heading to sustainable development. International, regional and national policies are formed in the international negotiations among the UN member states, including the participation of variety of stakeholders from non-governmental and civil society organizations and other actors, who attend and, in some cases, contribute to UN decision-making processes (NGLS & Sidhu 2007:3)

Fundamental characteristics of UN development work are universality, neutrality and multilateralism as well as flexibility to respond the development needs of each country. (Müller 2010:49.) Therefore, UN country teams have to work closely with the local governments and other actors in the development field.

The UN has gone through many reform attempts, and many of them have failed or partially failed. The complexity of the UN system generates various challenges in all levels of the system, including in the implementation of the policies.

Mozambique was one of the pilot countries, where UN started the accelerated reform of “Delivering as One”, with the objective to overcome fragmentation and improve joint delivery through a stronger commitment and working together on the implementation of one strategy. (United Nations 2006) When studying policy implementation in UN Mozambique, this reform that was initiated 2006, plays significant role and strengthens the need of implementation analysis for the achievement of the policy goals.

#### 1.4.1. United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF)

Formulation of the UNDAF -process was result of the reform that Secretary General, Kofi Annan, initiated in 1997. The aim of the reform was to establish a new leadership and management structure, and greater unity among the UN, coherence in efforts and capacity to respond to the policy and programme goals. The key outcomes of the reform were UNDAF, enhanced harmonization of the procedures, strengthened resident coordination system and rationalization of administrative processes. (Balogun 2012:9)

The role of the UNDAF was described as follow:

*“In order to achieve goal-orientated collaboration, programmatic coherence and mutual reinforcement, the United Nations programmes of assistance will be formulated and presented as part of a single United Nations Development Assistance Framework with common objectives and time-frame. Programme funds managed by each of the programmes and funds will be included in the document but remain clearly identifiable. Preparation would entail collaborative programming and close consultation with Governments, including compatibility with country strategy notes wherever they exist.”* (Balogun 2012:9-10)

United Nations Development Assistance Framework for Mozambique (UNDAF Mozambique) 2017 – 2020 is statement of the Government of Mozambique’s and the United Nations’ priorities and strategic direction to support national development. It is aligned with national and international development instruments, particularly the Government’s Five-Year Programme, 2015-19 and the Sustainable Development Goals (Agenda 2015-2030). (UN Mozambique 2016)

The aim of the framework is to improve efficiency and coherence of the development work of the 21 UN agencies active in the country and complement the support of bilateral and other multilateral partners. The UNDAF represents exclusively the whole of the UN's activities in Mozambique and is the UN's One Program for Mozambique. (UN Mozambique 2016)

The UNDAF has been developed jointly among UN agencies and with Government institutions and partners in line with the principle of "Delivering as One" and Global Partnership for Effective Cooperation. The framework is based on a situation analysis of the main development issues in the country, reflection on UN's comparative advantages and lessons learnt from the implementation of the previous UNDAFs. (UN Mozambique 2016)

The UNDAF is divided to four results areas:

- Prosperity: contributes to economic development
- People: assists and develops systems and capacities for sustainable human development
- Peace: supports national unity, peace and sovereignty
- Planet: supports changes for sustainable management of natural and environmental sources

These result areas are divided into 10 outcomes, which are high level for better alignment between UN support and government's goals. The 10 outcomes are Food Security and Nutrition, Economic Transformation, Education, Empowering Women & Girls, Social Protection, Health, Water & Sanitation, Youth, Governance, Peacebuilding, Justice & Human Rights, Management of Natural Resource and the Environment, Climate Change and Disaster Management. (UN Mozambique 2016)



### 1.5. Structure of the thesis

The intention of this study paper is to examine the implementation theories and frameworks to find the answers to the research questions and further some proposals for recommendations. The study is focused on semi-structured interviews with UN staff members in Mozambique and relevant policy documents (UNDAF). Data analysis has been done by using Mazmanian's and Sabatier's framework for implementation analysis and Grindles notions on implementation in the developing countries.

First chapter introduces policy implementation and more precisely, policy implementation in developing countries and the development in implementation research since 1970's. For better understanding the conditions of implementation environment, the chapter gives also background information on United Nations mandate and relevant reform, as well as the policy examined in the study: United Nations Development Assistant Framework.

Second chapter is about the theoretical framework that is used to analyse the policy implementation case by first exploring the definitions from relevant literacy for implementation, public policy and global public policy. The chapter includes closer look to the top-down approach that is used in the analysis and approach to the policy implementation in developing countries.

Third chapter explains what kind of methodologies are used normally in the implementation research and which methodology is used in this study. There are definitions of qualitative research and justification, why it is used in the study. The chapter explains how data is collected, who were interviewed and how the interviews were constructed.

Fourth chapter is about data analysis based on the theoretical framework of the study and the data collected from the interviews. This chapter includes also background information on Mozambique and UN system in the country, for support of the data analysis.

Finally, the fifth chapter summarizes the main findings and how data responses to the research questions. There are also samples of solutions to the implementation and recommendations for better goal achievement.

## 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### 2.1. Definitions

#### 2.1.1. Implementation

One of the founding fathers of implementation studies, Pressman and Wildawsky (1984: xxi) define implementation as what it does: to carry out, accomplish, fulfil, produce, complete. According to them policy means a statement of goals and objectives as well as means for achieving them, in other words policy is a hypothesis containing initial conditions and predicted consequences. (Pressman & Wildawsky 1984: xxii) Further, Pressman and Wildawsky (1984: xxii-xxiii) describe implementation as ability to achieve the predicted consequences after the initial conditions have been met and can be viewed as a process of interaction between the setting of goals and actions for achieving them.

Mazmanian and Sabatier (1989:4) define policy implementation as follows:

*“...those events and activities that occur after the issuing of authoritative public policy directives, which include both the effort to administer and the substantive impacts on people and events.”*

They (Mazmanian & Sabatier 1989:20-21) formally define policy implementation process as carrying out of a basic policy decision, which is usually incorporated in a policy. They also identify that ideally the policies should identify the problems to be addressed, sets the objectives to be achieved and structures the implementation process, which consists of number of stages:

*“The process normally runs through a number of stages beginning with passage of the basic statute, followed by the policy outputs (decisions) of the implementing agencies, the compliance of target groups with those decisions, the actual impacts – both intended and unintended – of those outputs, the perceived impacts of agency decision, and, finally, important revisions (or attempted revisions) in the statute.”*

(Mazmanian & Sabatier 1989:20-21)

Van Meter and Van Horn (1975:447) see that policy implementation encompasses those actions by public and private individuals or groups that are directed at the achievement of objectives in the policy. This includes both one-time efforts to transform decisions into operational terms and continuing efforts to achieve the large and small changes mandated by policy decisions.

From the later scholars Hill and Hupe (2014:1) emphasize context, in which policies are formed:

*“...implementation inevitably takes different shapes and forms in different cultures and institutional settings.”*

Therefore from their view implementation should be always connected to the specific policies, which are responses to the problems in society. This means the contextualization of the implementation depends on how public policies are defined. (Hill & Hupe 2014:5)

Cairney (2012: 33) defines implementation as a part of policy cycle:

*“Establishing or employing an organization to take responsibility for implementation, ensuring that the organization has the resources (such as staffing, money and legal authority) to do so, and making sure that policy decisions are carried out as planned.”*

### 2.1.2. Public policy

As well as implementation can be defined many ways according different scholars, so can be policy. Cairney (2012:22) explains that the problem of finding definition for public policy is more than semantic and affects how policy issues are analysed and understood. Different definitions, made from different aspect of policy process, give multiple perspectives (Cairney 2012:22).

Hogwood and Gunn (1984:13-19) propose different ways that policy can be defined: a label for a field of activity, an expression of intent, specific proposals, decisions of government, a programme, package of legislation, staffing and funding, intermediate and

ultimate outputs, outcomes and process. They also identify elements when using term “public policy”:

*“...policies involve behaviour as well as intentions, and inaction as well as action. The elements include unexpected outcomes, changes in the purpose of the policy during the action, intra- and inter-organizational relationships, public agencies as main actors and subjectively made definitions.”* (Hogwood & Gunn, 1984: 19–23).

Anderson (2003: 2) defines public policy as follows:

*“...a relatively stable, purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern. This definition focuses on what is actually done instead of what is only proposed or intended; differentiates a policy from a decision, which is essentially a specific choice among alternatives; and views policy as something that unfolds over time.”*

Birkland (2016: 8) lists the key attributes that can be distinguished from the various definitions of policy:

- *“Policy is made in response to some sort of problem that requires attention.*
- *Policy is made on the “public’s” behalf.*
- *Policy is oriented toward a goal or desired state, such as the solution of a problem.*
- *Policy is ultimately made by governments, even if the ideas come from outside government or through the interaction of government and nongovernmental actors.*
- *Policy is interpreted and implemented by public and private actors who have different interpretations of problems, solutions, and their own motivations.*
- *Policy is what the government chooses to do or not to do”*

Hill and Hupe point out that public policy is defined with the purposive character what they are expected to have, and the way they relate to (societal) problems. Therefore, the contextualization is important because the implementation is always connected to specific policies which address the specific challenges in the society. (Hill & Hupe 2014:5)

### 2.1.3. Global public policy

Barkin (2006:3) points out that globalization is a result of changes in the society, for example changes in the technology, communications, and economics that make states more interdependent; this means that states need to do policy options that are more constrained by the policy choices made by other states.

The term “global public policy” has been used increasingly, but it is still under-specified and used without definition. Frequently, global public policy relates to the concepts of global governance, global public-private partnerships and equated with finance and delivery of global public goods. (Stone 2008:8)

Global policy processes have emerged among the governments, international organizations and non-state actors. The policies formed globally are trying to respond different types of global problems, such as transboundary problems, common property problem and simultaneous problem. (Stone 2008:12)

Globalization has led to the establishment of and expansion of collaboration among states and permanent intergovernmental organizations. The difference for the transnational organization is, that international organizations have their own offices, budget, staff and legal personality, separate from those of the participating states. Over time these institutions have acquired a relative autonomy from the states that first created them. United Nations is one of the intergovernmental organizations and addresses large scale of global public policy issues. (Scholte 2010:464)

### 2.1.4. International organization

Barkin (2006:1) defines international organization as inclusive, intergovernmental organization that are created by the agreement among states, rather than by private individuals. The United Nations is one of the international organizations that were created by treaties signed by the states. There are exclusive and inclusive international organizations, and United Nations is inclusive because all states can join it. (Barkin 2006:2)

International organizations can be seen as agents, which states use to promote the issues of globalization or to protect themselves from the broader forces of globalization. International organizations are ways that states deal with the interdependence that has occurred due the globalization. (Barking 2006:2-3)

Brühl and Rittberger (2002:7) remind that during the last decades, the demand for international cooperation and international governance has increased and therefor also international and intergovernmental organizations and international regimes have been established. While these international institutions have become more important, they have also become part and parcel of the international system and have constrained the states' behaviour. (Brühl & Rittberger 2002:7)

Müller (2014: 95) distinguishes the basic challenges for the international organizations are concerning the difficulties of aligning the different priorities, national interests. There can also be differences between the contributions and abilities of the members of the organization. (Müller 2014: 95)

## 2.2. Top-down approach to policy implementation

Top-down approaches, in policy implementation research assume that the policy implementation starts with a decision made by central government. Top-down studies are based on "Blackbox model" of the policy process, systems analysis (Parsons 1995: 463). Palumbo and Calista (1990:6) explain that implementation research has opened that black box, by explaining that the success or failure is part of the whole policy making process rather than administration alone.

Matland (1995) summons up the top-down models by explaining that they "*...see implementation as concern with the degree to which the actions of implementing officials and target groups coincide with the goals embodied in an authoritative decision.*" (Matland 1995:146)

Cairney (2012: 37) argues that the approach is labelled top-down because of descriptive and prescriptive assumptions: decisions are and should be made at the top and implemented at the bottom.

Palumbo and Calista point out that viewpoint that stresses the top-down approach to implementation, suggests that by giving importance to implementation in policy making process undermines the foundations of democratic politics. In this viewpoint, also the elected representatives are the only ones who can legitimately make policy, despite the problems implementers are facing. (Palumbo & Calista 1990:xiii)

The top-down scholars tend to think that there is direct causal link between policy and observed outcomes and that the implementers have no impacts on policy delivery. They also see the policy as an input and the implementation as an output factor. The most known scholars of top-down approach are Pressman and Wildavsky (1973), Van Meter and Van Horn (1975), Bardach (1977), as well as Sabatier and Mazmanian (1979, 1980 and 1983). (Pülzl & Treib 2007: 91)

By Pressman and Wildavsky (1973, xv). the policy objectives are set out by central policy makers and the implementation research concentrates to analyse the difficulties in achieving policy objectives. They see implementation as an “interaction between the setting of goals and actions geared to achieve them”. In their book “Implementation” they highlighted the importance of the number of agencies involved in the policy implementation.

Van Meter & Van Horn (1975) studies concerned the outcomes of the implementation and if they are corresponding to the policy objectives. Their model includes six variables, which describe the relationship between policy and performance. The variables they use are very like that other top-down scholars use, concerning for example organizational capacities and hierarchical control. Although, couple factors, they use, do depart the approach like; extent of policy change and degree of consensus. (Pülzl & Treib 2007:91-92)



Another top-down scholar, Bardach, published his book 1977, suggested that successful implementation was possible only if policy makers structured thoughtfully the "implementation games", as he called the action plans for the policy. Bardach acknowledged the political character of implementation and suggested usage of game theoretic tools for explaining implementation. (Pülzl & Treib 2007: 92)

One of the central scholars Mazmanian and Sabatier published their work in the end of 1970's, like other top-down approaches they separate clearly policy formation and implementation. (Pülzl & Treib 2007: 92) Their framework for implementation analysis incorporates factors that are deemed for determining the capacity for and constraints on social change. These factors include available resources economic capacities, technological know-how and prescribed political rules. (Mazmanian & Sabatier 1989:19)

Mazmanian and Sabatier believed that policy makers could secure successful policy implementation by adequate program design and planned structuration of the implementation process. Although they did recognize that achievement of perfect hierarchical control over the implantation process was hard in practise. (Mazmanian & Sabatier 1979: 489-492, 503-504)

### 2.3. Approach to policy implementation in developing country

Considering that the pioneering research of the implementation is mainly made in United States and Western Europe, it is necessary to take into consideration characteristics of the policy implementation in developing countries, which Mozambique also is. Lane and Ersson (1999:1) propose that in the case of Third World countries, it is not always clear whether to use top-down or bottom-up approaches, but if the country hasn't reached sustainable economic growth, the top-down approaches might be the only realistic way to analyse policy implementation.

Mordasini (2012:22) points out that allocation of scarce public funds and foreign aid in the poor country is sometimes difficult; many governments choose to allocate funds to

short-term, pro-poor needs rather than more sustainable future growth. This affects into a further constraint for successful implementation of global public policies.

Grindle (1980: 8-10) mentions factors that have an impact to the policy implementation that are connected to the content, context and other factors especially in Third World countries. She points out that issues in the policy content that can affect to the “implementability” of the policy, are the extent that the policy seeks to introduce changes to social, political and economic relationships; character of the benefits (collective/divisible), degree of behaviour change needed, timeframe of the objectives to be achieved (long-range/short-range), number and dispersion of key decision units in the process.

Grindle (1980: 10) argues that decisions during the policy formulation about executing agencies of the programs, can affect to the implementation, due the different standpoint of each agency. There is also impact of how the goals are stated in the policy:

*“Whether goals are stated clearly or ambiguously and whether political and administrative officials are in agreement about what the goals are will be shown to have been decisive for the implementation of specific programs...”* (Grindle 1980:10)

The impact of the policy context to the implementation, depends also if the policy is made in the social, political or economic settings, what are the “power capabilities” and the compliance of the different actors, responsiveness of the officials (flexibility, support and feedback) and the structure of political system (centralized/decentralized) and type of regime (authoritarian/open system), where policy is implemented. Other factors that Grindle mentions are ideology, culture, political alliances and payoffs, international events and other programs implemented at the same time. (Grindle 1980: 8-15)

Grindle (1980:16) distinguishes also some characters that have impact on policy implementation in Third World countries; The regimes especially single or dominant political party in power tend to have weak interest aggregating structures and exclusive elite controls the policy processes. Politicians can also use the parties as vehicles for the personal ambitions. She mentions that interest groups may also be ineffective, by concentrating single purposes, with limited communication facilities, dispersed potential

membership possibilities and lack of education as well as experience. The few organizations that can represent the interest of broad categories of citizens, are normally formed and run by wealthy and powerful members of elite.

According to Grindle (1980:37), what influences on the implementation, particularly in Third World countries, starts already when policies are initially defined. If there is disagreement among the political community about the fundamental goals and beliefs, the implementation has greater risks to fail. The guidance from leadership is important; They can also provide general guidelines about priorities among policies. (Grindle 1980:37)

Hoole (1979:129) notions on policy implementation in developing countries are similar; He mentions some factors that affect to implementation: high turnover of office-holders and bureaucrats, domestic conflict and strife, an inflationary economy, uncertain funding for the budget, changes in the international economic order, famines, and unemployment. These factors can affect to the process the way that development plans are not relevant, activities are not implemented as planned or changes are made during the implementation or the activities are not implemented at all.

#### 2.4. Framework for policy implementation by Mazmanian and Sabatier

The analysis framework of Mazmanian and Sabatier examines implementation performances by the dependent variable to be explained by process and organizational variables. (Winter 2003:207) Matland (1995:146) describes their framework for implementation analysis as the most fully developed top-down model.

For Mazmanian and Sabatier (1989:19), it is important for implementation analysis to be aware of the characteristics of the society, know the range of access points and recognize the overarching social and institutional factors that affect implementation. Their framework combines factors that determine the capacity for, and constraints on, self-conscious social change. (Mazmanian & Sabatier 1989:19)

Mazmanian and Sabatier (1989:19) bring up also the idea of Eulau and Prewitt that community's socioeconomic and other background characteristics can establish the boundaries for possible action. Therefore in their framework for implementation analysis are incorporated these broad social, economic, and cultural factors. (Mazmanian & Sabatier 1989:19)

Mazmanian and Sabatier (1989:39) see the implementation process as dynamic and complicated process, where number of independent variables interact throughout the process. In their framework the stages of the implementation process represent the dependent variables (Mazmanian & Sabatier 1989:25).

#### 2.4.1. Relationship between policy formulation and implementation

Mazmanian and Sabatier (1989:7), as most of the scholars of the implementation analysis at the time, made distinction between formulation/adaptation of a policy, implementation and reformulation. Whereas "adaptive" or "interactive" approach emphasizes the adjustments made to the goals during the implementation process and therefore makes formulation-implementation distinction meaningless. Mazmanian and Sabatier justify their approach to distinct the formulation and implementation by the arguments that the problematic cases are rather exception than rule, continuously evolving policy objectives make evaluation impossible and that division of authority among elected and appointed officials obscures if the policymaking is viewed as seamless web. (Mazmanian & Sabatier 1989:7-8)

#### 2.4.2. Perspective

Mazmanian and Sabatier suggest that the policy implementation can be viewed from three different perspectives: the center, the periphery or target group. The perspective of center is the view of initial policymakers, where the implementation involves the efforts of higher-level officials. Second perspective, the periphery view, implementation focuses on the way local implementing officials and institutions respond to the disruptions in their environment that are caused by the efforts of the outside officials to achieve the new policy. Third perspective, the target group view, are the private actors at whom the

policies and programs are directed and seeks information whether the services make any real difference in target groups lives. The perspective of target group is important to central authorities, because it enables them to anticipate political feedback and to be aware of behavioural assumptions. (Mazmanian & Sabatier 1989:12-13).

#### 2.4.3. Variables

Mazmanian and Sabatier (1989:21) suggest that it is important to identify the variables which affect the achievement of the objectives throughout the entire process. There are three general sets of variables or factors; the tractability of the problem being addressed, the ability of the statute to structure implementation and the net effect of variety of political variables on the balance of support for statutory objective, so called nonstatutory variables affecting implementation. These variables are independent variables of the framework model and are developed into a set of sixteen variables under the three general sets. The dependent variable in the framework are the stages of the implementation. All variables are presented in the Figure 3. (Mazmanian & Sabatier 1989:21-22)

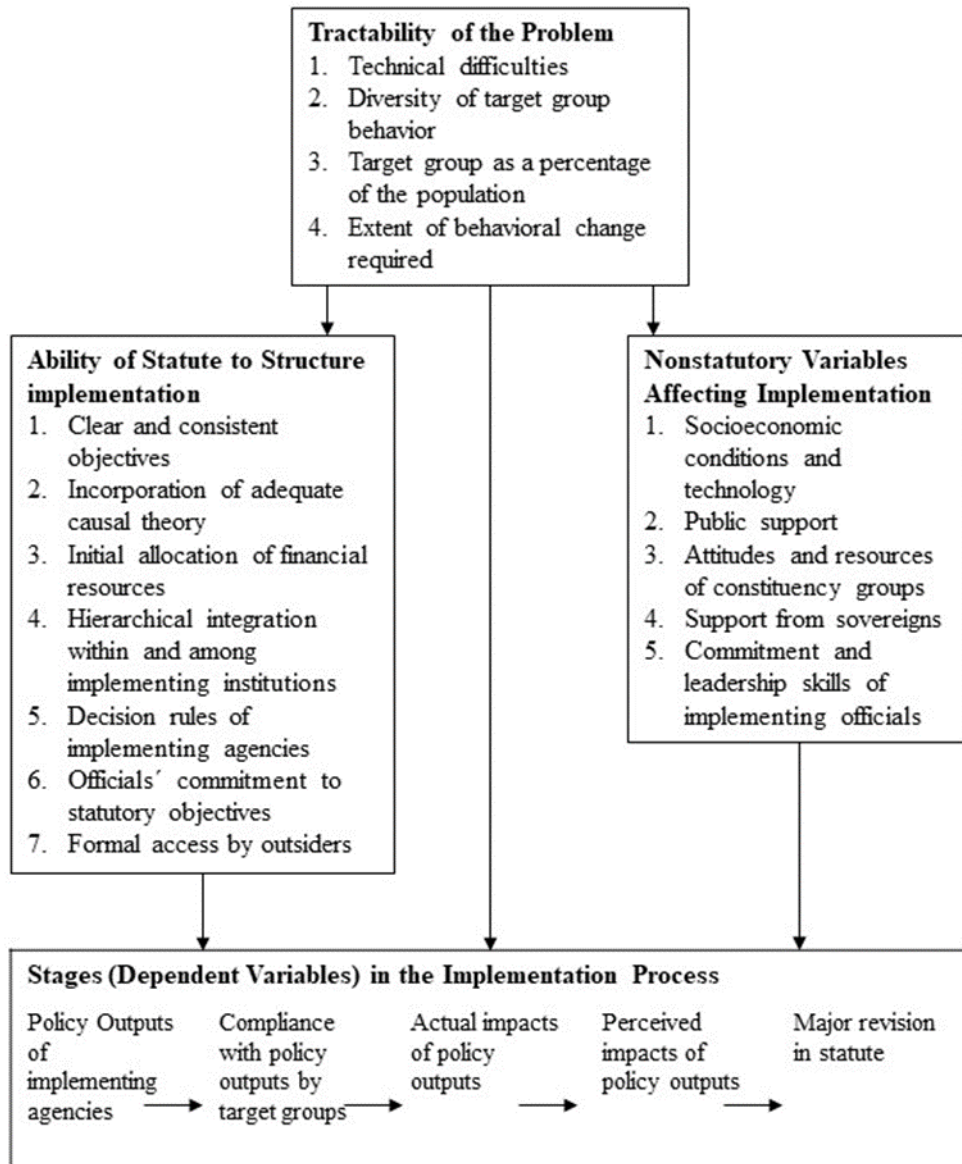


Figure 3. Variables Involved in the Implementation Process (Mazmanian & Sabatier 1989:22)

#### 2.4.3.1. Independent variables

##### **Tractability of the problems**

Variables in the category of tractability of the problems are connected to the fact that some social problems are easier to resolve than others and therefore create different kind of challenges to the implementation.

**Technical difficulties:** can be difficulties in ability to develop relatively inexpensive indicators and an understanding of the principal causal linkages affecting the development issue, difficulties in monitoring ambient, difficulties in availability or development of requisite technology.

**Diversity of target group behaviour:** Major differences in targets group behaviour being regulated or the service being provided brings more difficulties for framing the regulations and the field level implementors must be given more discretion. Because of the differences in implementers commitment to the objectives of the program, there can be considerable variations in the performance.

**Target group as percentage of the population:** The smaller and coherent the target group is, more likely the mobilization of the political support for the policy is and therefore more probable the achievement are the policy objectives.

**Extent of behaviour change required:** The greater the amount of behavioural change, the more problematic will be successful implementation. (Mazmanian & Sabatier 1989:21-25)

#### **Ability of policy decision to structure implementation**

The framework argues that original policymakers can significantly affect the success of policy implementation by utilizing the levers in hand to coherently structure the implementation process. There are seven variables defined in this category;

- **Clear and consistent objectives:** If the policy provides precise and clear objectives to the implementing officials and other actors, it is more likely that the policy outputs and the behaviour the target group will be consistent.
- **Incorporation of adequate causal theory:** Achievement of the objectives requires an adequate causal theory used in the policy formulation. Principal causal linkages between governmental intervention and the achievement of the objectives must be understood and implementing officials need to have jurisdiction over a sufficient number of the critical linkages.
- **Initial allocation of financial resources:** Threshold level of funding is vital for the achievement of the objectives and the level of funding above this threshold is proportional to the probability of achieving those objectives.

- **Hierarchical integration within and among implementing agencies:** The degree that the work of implementing agencies is coordinated affects to the degree of behavioural compliance among implementing officials and target groups as each respond to the incentives for modification within their local setting.
- **Decision rules of implementing agencies:** By stipulating the formal decision rules of the implementing agencies, the policy can influence the implantation process. Therefor it is crucial who is chosen for the implementation of the policy.
- **Recruitment of implementing agencies:** Without a strong commitment of the implementing official of the policy, the achievement of the objectives is unlike.
- **Formal access by outsiders:** Participation of external groups of actors, the potential beneficiaries and/or target groups of the program, and legislative, executive and judicial sovereigns of the agencies, is encouraged by liberalized rules of standing and provisions for independent evaluation studies. (Mazmanian & Sabatier 1989:25-30)

#### **Nonstatutory variables affecting implementation**

Nonstatutory variables in the framework are the major nonlegal variables that can affect the policy outputs. These variables can be external, intervening or directly affecting;

- **Socioeconomic conditions and technology:** Social, economic and technological conditions are some of the principal variables that can affect the implementation process and achievement of the objectives.
- **Public support:** Variations over time and jurisdiction in public support to the objectives of the policy, can affect the implementation at least in three ways; public opinion affects the political agenda, legislators are influenced by their general constituents and public opinion polls can be employed by administrators and sovereigns for the support of particular positions.
- **Attitudes and resources of constituency groups:** Changes in the resources and attitudes of the constituency groups toward statutory objectives and the outputs of the policy affect the implementation process.
- **Support from sovereigns:** Sovereigns of implementing institutions can provide support to the implementation process through amount and direction of oversight, provision of financial resources and extent of conflicting legal mandates. These



sovereigns normally include the legislature, chief executives, the courts, the intergovernmental programs and hierarchically superior agencies.

- **Commitment and leadership skills of implementing officials:** This variable includes two components; the direction and ranking of the objectives that are officials' priorities and official's skills in realizing those priorities. Generally, after initial period the degree of commitment tends to decline, and most committed officials become disillusioned with bureaucratic routine. Although, the commitment to the policy objectives will contribute little if the skills of using the resources are not adequate. Therefore the required leadership skills include political and managerial elements. (Mazmanian & Sabatier 1989:20-25)

#### 2.4.3.2. Dependent variables

Mazmanian and Sabatier (1989:25) suggest that the implementation should be seen as several stages: The policy outputs of the implementing agencies, the compliance of target group with those decisions, the actual impacts of agency decisions, perceived impacts of those decisions and the political system's evaluation of a statute. They argue that each of the stages is an end point of dependent variable and also an input in to successive next stages. These stages are the dependent variables of the framework.

- **Policy outputs of implementing agencies:** The objectives of the policy must be translated into more concrete outputs, which can be substantive regulations, standard operating procedures for processing individual cases and specific adjudicatory decisions. Discrepancies between the policy objectives and policy decisions can be reduced by taking account of the independent variables, mentioned earlier.
- **Target group compliance with policy outputs:** Individuals assess the relative costs and benefits of the legal directives and based on that behavioural compliance forms.
- **Actual impacts of policy outputs:** The main goal in policy implementation is to achieve the legal objectives defined in the policy, but implementation can have also substantive impacts that are not envisaged in the original policy and other

impacts that concerns long-term changes in the political strength of competing interests.

- **Perceived impacts of policy outputs:** Mazmanian and Sabatier (1989:39) argue that perceived impacts will be a function of actual impacts as mediated by the values of the perceiver.
- **Major revision in statute:** The revision or reformulation of the policy should be seen as the culmination point of the whole process. The amount and direction of the changes in the policy, depends of the perceived impacts of the past agency activities; changes in policy priorities among the general public and policy elites as a result of changing socioeconomic conditions, political resources of competing groups, and the strategic positions of supportive and opposing sovereigns. (Mazmanian & Sabatier 1989:35-39)

#### 2.4.4. Six conditions of effective implementation

In addition to the identification of the factors, the independent and dependent variables of the implementation process, Mazmanian and Sabatier (1989: 41) suggest a checklist of specific factors that are important for effective implementation and achievement of the goals. They list six conditions that must be met:

1. The enabling legislation or other legal directive mandates policy objectives, which are clear and consistent
2. The enabling legislation incorporates a sound theory, which identifies the factors affecting policy objectives and gives implementing officials enough jurisdiction over target groups
3. The legislation structures of the implementation process enable implementing officials and target groups perform as desired (adequate hierarchical integration, supportive decision rules, sufficient financial resources and adequate access to supporters)
4. Adequate management skills and commitment of the leadership
5. Supportive and organized constituency groups
6. Independence from the conflicting public policies or changes in relevant socioeconomic conditions

(Mazmanian & Sabatier 1989:41-42)

### 3. METHODOLOGY

The study follows the qualitative research methods. This chapter discusses the qualitative methods and justifies the application in this study. It is noted that implementation analysis is dominated by individual case studies, by using several data sources, to study in detail complex issue of implementation (Winter 2003:206). Therefore, to study policy implementation in international organization, UN Mozambique and its most central policy, UNDAF, was chosen as a case study.

There were 11 semi-structured interviews conducted among the United Nations Mozambique staff members. The interviews were recorded, transcribed and the data analysed by using the Mazmanian's and Sabatier's framework and Grindle's approach to the implementation in developing countries.

#### 3.1. Qualitative research method and justification

Denzin and Lincoln (2011:8) define qualitative as follows:

*“The word qualitative implies and emphasis on the qualities of entities and on processes and meanings that are not experimentally examined or measured (if measured at all) in terms of quantity, amount, intensity, or frequency.*

They argue that by using qualitative methods, the researcher stresses socially constructed reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and the object of the study, and the situational constraints that shape the inquiry. Qualitative researchers study how social experience is created and given meaning. (Denzin & Lincoln 2011:8)

In the organizational studies, qualitative researchers study the social conditions under which the work is done in organizations and if it is done effectively:

*“Both the descriptions and explanations answer questions about the how and why of organizational outcomes. They also often make fundamental components of*

*organizational processes visible to outside stakeholders like regulators or other public policy agents. (Miller, Dingwall & Murphy 2004:326-327)*

Compared to qualitative research, instead of studying the process, quantitative research emphasizes measurement and analysis of causal relationship between variables. (Denzin & Lincoln 2011:8) When studying organizational work, the quantitative research is useful when examining relationships between inputs and outputs, because they provide detailed and reliable information on how successful action was. However, quantitative study tells the probability of the outcomes of certain activities, they can rarely tell how the outcome was achieved or why action was effective. (Miller, Dingwall & Murphy 2004:326-327)

Van Maanen (1979: 9) described qualitative research as umbrella term for an array of interpretive techniques, which describe, decode, translate and otherwise explain the meaning, not the frequency, of the social phenomena.

Bryman (2008:366) defines qualitative research as follows:

*“...Qualitative research tends to be concerned with words rather than numbers...”*

He distinguishes three features that qualitative research has:

*“1. An inductive view of the relationship between theory and research, whereby the former is generated out of the latter 2. The stress is on the understanding of the social world through an examination of the interpretation of the world by its participants 3. Social properties are outcomes of the interactions between individuals, rather than phenomena ‘out there’ and separate from those involved in its construction.” (Bryman 2008:366)*

Denzin and Lincoln (2011:11) recognize three interconnected, generic activities that define qualitative research process: theory, method, analysis / ontology, epistemology and methodology. Behind these terms is the personal biography of the researcher, from the perspective of class, gender, race, culture, ethnicity and community:

*“The gendered, multiculturally situated researcher approaches the world with set of ideas, a framework (theory, ontology) that specifies a set of questions (epistemology), which are then examined (methodology, analysis) in specific ways” (Denzin & Lincoln 2011: 11)*

Denzin and Lincoln (2011) emphasize that the history of qualitative research is complex and has been defined in diverse ways during each moment. Although, they do propose generic definition:

*“Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. Qualitative research consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including fieldnotes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world.”* (Denzin & Lincoln 2011:3-4)

By this they mean that qualitative research studies phenomena in their natural settings and as also Bryman (2008) points out, qualitative research attempts interpret the phenomena in terms of the meanings people give to them. (Denzin & Lincoln 2011:3-4)

Qualitative research can use variety of empirical materials: case studies, personal experiences, introspection, interviews, artefacts, cultural texts and productions etc. that describe routine and problematic moments and meaning in the persons lives. (Denzin & Lincoln 2011:3-4)

Qualitative interviewing provides means for exploring the points of view of the research subject, while granting these points of view the culturally honoured status of reality. (Miller & Glassner 2004: 127) Brinkmann (2013:21) points out that qualitative interviewing is sometimes equated with semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews can make use of knowledge-producing potentials of the interviews by allowing more leeway for following up on whatever approaches are important to the interviewee. In addition, semi-structured interview gives a chance to the interviewer to become knowledge-producing participant in the process and has greater chance to affect the focus of the conversation that is important for the research project. (Brinkmann 2013 :21)

Qualitative research method is used in this study because of the aim to find how the policies are implemented and why the implementation is or is not effective. The research aims to understand how individuals, in this case the UN staff members, interpret the policy implementation process, what affects to it and if there is consistency from the

theoretic standpoint. By using qualitative research methods for studying the implementation process in UN system in Mozambique, the objective is also to make factors that affect the process, visible for all stakeholders for better understanding and enable improvements.

### 3.2. Data collection

The primary source of the data was collected during June and July 2018 in Mozambique, by interviewing 11 UN Mozambique staff members. The interviewees were chosen from one Outcome group of the UNDAF that concerns economic transformation.

Since the work group of the outcome consists mostly programme officials, also senior officials of each agency that pertain to the group, were requested for the interview. The group that was interviewed, included 5 international and 6 local UN staff members, from which 1 was female and age distribution 37-60 years.

All the interviews were recorded for transcription and accuracy purposes. The interviews were conducted in the premises of United Nations and took from 30-60 minutes, depending the interviewee.

Additional source of the data for the study are the UNDAF policy documents. Several policy documents and reports of the current and previous UNDAF were obtained online and from the Residents Coordinator's office in Maputo, Mozambique.

The challenges for data collection became clear soon after the first requests for interviews were sent. Some of the agencies that belong to the chosen outcome group did not respond at all, were not available or did not manage to point a person who could give the interview. Some of the staff members who had been listed as a member of the working group, had already left and the agency hadn't pointed a person to follow up the issue. Also, despite of many attempts, interview with Resident Coordinator was not possible at the time.

### 3.3. Semi-structured interviews

The interviews were conducted by using semi-structured interview method. The themes and guiding questions were chosen by following the Mazmanian's and Sabatier's framework and the three sets of independent variables: tractability of the problem, ability of statute to structure implementation and nonstatutory variables affecting implementation. Not all 16 variables (See Figure 3.) were included as such to the guiding questions, but three main themes were introduced in order to get information, which variables the interviewees bring up and see as most effecting to the implementation and goal achievement.

Firstly, the interviewees were asked to describe the UN Mozambique as work team and organization. The aim of this theme was to get information of the characters of the UN system in Mozambique that have impact to the implementation process. Additional guiding questions concerned the role of the UN generally in the country, for evaluation of the position and relationship of the UN compared to the other actors.

Secondly, the interviewees were asked to describe the UNDAF process (formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation) in order to see how they evaluate the process and the policy itself, what affects to it and which perspective is used.

Thirdly, the interviewees were asked to analyse Mozambique as an environment for implementation of the development programs. The aim was to find out the nonstatutory variables that they think affect most the implementation in the country.

## 4. DATA ANALYSIS

In this chapter the collected data is analysed by using the implementation analysis framework of Mazmanian and Sabatier (1989). As background information for the analysis, the chapter includes short descriptions of Mozambique and UN in the country.

Before analysing the factors affecting the implementation, the general views of the interviewees on the role of UN in Mozambique and the selected policy, United Nations Development Assistant Framework (UNDAF) are summoned up. In the end of the chapter, the data is contemplated by using Grindle's (1980) list of characteristics of policy implementation in Third World countries.

### 4.1. Background information on Mozambique

Mozambique has boarder lines with Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, South Africa, and Swaziland. It has long Indian Ocean coastline (of 2,500 kilometres). By the preliminary information of the latest census (to be published in October 2018), the population of Mozambique has reached to 28,9 million with the population growth of 41% since last census in 2007 (Instituto Nacional Estatística 2018).

About 70% of its population live and work in rural areas. The country has rich arable land, water, energy, as well as mineral resources and newly discovered natural gas offshore; three deep seaports. Mozambique is strategically located because it landlocks four of the six countries that has boarders with it and is therefore a conduit to the global markets. (World Bank 2018)

The Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (Frelimo) and the Mozambican National Resistance (Renamo) are the country's main political forces, followed by the Mozambique Democratic Movement (MDM). Frelimo won the most recent presidential elections in 2014 and has majority in parliament. Renamo, the biggest opposition party and former rebel group, has maintained the militia after the peace accord of 1992.



However, from time to time, in the parts of the central region there has been registered occasional armed conflicts. Peace talks are now underway, but no final resolution has been achieved. (World Bank 2018)

Since 2016 Mozambique has suffered from the effects of the hidden debt crisis. In 2017 the real gross domestic product (GDP) growth was 3.7%, which has declined from the average of the 7% GDP growth achieved between 2011 and 2015. The challenges in employment have increased since small and medium enterprises have fallen into problems and their capacity to generate jobs has been restricted even further. (World Bank 2018)

World Bank assesses that the biggest development challenges in Mozambique are restoring the whole macroeconomic stability and re-establishing the confidence through improved economic governance and increased transparency. Another challenge is to diversify the economy from capital-intensive mega projects and low-productivity, small scale agriculture towards more diverse and competitive economy and for all this strengthen the inclusion in social policies, such as education and health. (World Bank 2018)

Latest Human Development Index (HDI) report ranks Mozambique to place 181 out of 188 countries with the HDI value of 0.418— which put the country in the low human development category, below the average in the Sub-Saharan Africa. The HDI assesses progress in three basic dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, access to knowledge and a decent standard of living. (UNDP 2016)

Life expectancy in Mozambique is only 55,5 years and many social problems are evident throughout the country especially among the youth and women. Less than 50% of the population has access to improved water sources and 79% of the population do not have proper sanitation facilities. The quality and adequacy of education is a big challenge, especially after the economic crisis and cuts in the government budget. The adult literacy rate is 56% reaching in some regions over 70%. Health services are also inadequate. Malaria remains the most common cause of death, responsible for 35% of child mortality and 29% for the general population. HIV prevalence among adults is relatively high, 11.5%. (United Nations Mozambique 2016:3)

In 2018, Mozambique is still one of the ten countries in Africa that receives most Official Development Assistance, with the support of average 1,8 billion US dollars annually. (OECD 2018) Mozambique has attracted strong donor support for reconstruction and development after the independence and civil war (1977-1992) and continues to obtain high volumes of external aid (United Nations Mozambique 2016:2). However, due to Mozambique's internal problems, including budget and financial crisis that emerged as result of an unsustainable level of debt over 2 billion dollars and revealing of the secret debt scandal of former government, there has been a reduction of foreign aid. (United Nations Mozambique 2017: 11)

Weimer and Carrilho (2017) have analysed Mozambique from the perspective of political economy and in their analysis suggests that Mozambique doesn't differ from other fragile African states in general:

*“...competitive political settlements between elites, weak public institutions, and dependence on rents in various forms (including foreign aid, mineral resources, commodities and trade), with a culturally, ethnically and religiously diverse and stratified population linked to the elites via patron–client relations in a patrimonial system.”* (Weimer & Carrilho 2017: 10-11)

The Government of Mozambique is the most important counterpart of the United Nations in the country, therefore the systems of public administration are vital to the implementation of the policies made in UN system globally and locally. Weimer and Carrilho (2017: 36-37) describe the Mozambican public administration system as an inherited, highly centralised, also called “colonial civic public”. Despite of the decentralisation system submitted in the 1990s, the centralized administration system follows the principles of subordination and delegation. In 2004, after the deconcentration reform, some parts of the management and planning responsibilities have been decentralised to the district level. The deconcentrated model of management, with little autonomy or resources for the subnational levels is comprehensive and includes also public enterprises which deliver public services. (Weimer and Carrilho 2017: 36-37)

One of the biggest challenges for development in Mozambique, is corruption. Lawal (2007: 2) mentions that corruption is global phenomenon and especially in Africa,

relevant challenge for development. He argues that African countries must become more integrated into the global economy, to attract more investments and reduce poverty, and therefore there is a need for actions to limit and eradicate corruption is needed (Lawal (2007: 2).

Weimer and Carrilho (2017:51) analyse that the way the country is managed, and political economy is “owned” has produced state fragility instead of consolidation of the state, despite of the various reforms and generous foreign aid. They also emphasize that the recent debt scandal has damaged the fragile state even more and brought it close to financial bankruptcy. (Weimer & Carrilho 2017: 51)

For understanding the implementation challenges, it is also important to acknowledge other power relations that have an impact how changes happen in the society. In Mozambique, at the local level, there are visible, invisible and hidden forms of power, exercised by traditional and religious leaders or people who have gained power in the community due to beneficial incidents. Weimer and Carrilho describe them as follows:

*“They are powerful as autochthonic custodians of land and natural resources, and as institutions that maintain social and religious equilibria and relations of exchange with the outside world of the ‘civic public’ (i.e. the state and public administration, investors and traders). (Weimer & Carrilho 2017: 40)*

#### 4.2. United Nations in Mozambique

Mozambique joined the UN after independence in 1975 like many other African states when decolonization created rapid growth in UN membership.

*The UN in Mozambique carries out its mission through a programme of cooperation jointly developed and agreed with the Government of Mozambique, the UN Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF), which is jointly implemented by the different UN agencies operating in the Country. (UNDAF 2017-2020:2)*

Currently there are 21 UN agencies in the country, combination of funds or programmes (UNHCR, UN Women, UNICEF, UNCTAD, UNDP, UNEP, UN-Habitat, UNODC,

UNFPA, WFP, UNCDF, ITC), specialized agencies (FAO, IFAD, ILO, UNESCO, UNIDO, WHO), related organizations (IOM) and other entities (UNAIDS, OHCHR). Altogether 673 staff members, from which 115 are international workers, located around the country, in 27 locations, most of them in the capital, Maputo, South Mozambique. Generally, the head of agencies are hired for 4 years at a time and by the staff regulations, the head of agencies can't be national. (Records of the UN Resident Coordinator's office in Maputo)

The UN Resident Coordinator (RC) represents the UN system in the country. He/she is a chair of UN country team (UNCT) and provides overall leadership for the UN strategic initiatives and the operational framework for development. (UNDP web page)

As a part of UN reforms, 2006, the High-level Panel gave in its report "Delivering as One" recommendations to make UN more effective and better to deliver results. The need for the reform stemmed from the systematic fragmentation of the UN system and lack of ownership at the country level. (Müller 2010: 50). Mozambique was one of the volunteer countries that participated the "ONE UN" pilot initiative. One of the specific reform areas was to establish One UN Country Programme that would reduce overlapping functions, poor co-ordination, duplicated activities, inadequate funding, weak management and lack of focus on results. (Müller 2010: 50, 53-54).

The 'Delivering as One' initiative developed new operating principles through nine pilot projects starting in 2007. The reform involved institutionally primarily the Residence Coordinator (RC) and United Nations Country Team (UNCT) at the country level, UNDP/DOCO at the headquarters level and the UNDG, HLCP, HLCM and CEB.

The 'One Programme' is fitted, in Mozambique within the United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) -process, in cooperation of the local government and the UNCT based on national priorities. Other principles of the reform; 'One Budgetary Framework' is agreed on by the UNCT and describes the available and required resources of each organization in support of the 'One Programme'; 'One Leader' principle is realized as joint exercise between the UNCTs and Resident Coordinator; 'One Office' is a recommendation of the Joint Office model. The reform also aims at achieving more

harmonized business processes and at presenting a unified communication at the country level. (Müller 2014: 93-94)

The “Delivering as One” -initiative has had challenges, also in Mozambique. One of the challenges has been to change the mindset of different UN agencies to cooperate under Resident Coordinator (Müller 2014: 66).

The initial assessment of the reform, made by the pilot countries was positive; increased the government leadership and ownership was aligning the UN’s and local priorities, increased participation of agencies to the joint activities. The problems reported in the assessment included difficulty of balancing the need for greater inclusiveness with greater strategic focus and aligning the initiative with ongoing government and UNDAF programme cycles, slowness of the reform process at the headquarters level, the heavy workload, high start-up costs and too ambitious expectations. (Müller 2014: 67)

#### 4.3. Perceived role of the United Nations in Mozambique and UNDAF

One of the interviewees summoned up the three general roles that UN plays in the country from his point of view: 1) advocacy, policy development and resources mobilization 2) capacity building of implementing agencies and 3) monitoring and evaluation. He didn’t, however, evaluate the current performance of UN in these roles.

Generally, most of the interviewees thought that UN is respected and known in the country but described the role of the UN as technical, instrumental, operational and “...More in the same line as NGOs are doing”, as one local staff member described.

Three interviewees mentioned that the role of UN in Mozambique, after the civil war has changed significantly. A couple of officials described as follows:

*“And if I think about, what was the role of UN in this country after the civil war. I would say that it has changed a lot. We were more prominent, we played the key role in the peace process. While now we have been very silent in all the situation, in the tension, low intensity conflict between Frelimo and Renamo and most of the*

*time we are supporting the government that has questionable records of the democracy and respect of human rights.”*

*“We feel that UN in Mozambique is having some challenges to keep that very good image that has created in the past and keep the leadership promptly to responding to the challenges like security and humanitarian challenges...UN is still providing significant technical assistance, so more over assistance than influencing decision making...”*

A couple of interviewees mentioned the financial role of the UN in the country is small compared to some other aid agencies like the World Bank and investments from private sector, therefore neither the government nor the public sector are that committed to the policies and strategies that are implemented in the country. It was mentioned that there is need for an oversight of what is happening in the country, authoritative voice and vision that only UN can do. Despite of the lack of the political influence due to scarce financial resources, and fragmentation of the institution, the interviewees thought that UN has potential if the leadership is strong and the goals among the agencies coherent.

One of the interviewees mentioned that in the case of UNDAF and the Outcome 2: Economic transformation, the role of the UN is even less than in other Outcomes, because there are more powerful actors involved, than in other Outcomes: *“...in the economic arena, you have multinational companies coming here, you have all the financial situation international and the national, you have the region economic zone, the SADEC and you have different actors and many actors, and of course less power to us.”*

United Nations Development Assistance Framework for Mozambique (UNDAF) 2017 – 2020 states that it is the *“expression of the Government of Mozambique’s and the United Nations’ priorities and strategic direction to support national development.”* Congruently, the policy was described by the interviewees as programmatic document between the UN system and the government, a policy document, document about the process transaction, platform or framework for the agencies and *“just paperwork, precooked document”*.

#### 4.4. Perspectives of the implementation analysis in UN Mozambique

Mazmanian and Sabatier (1989) suggest three perspectives for the policy analysis: center, periphery and target group. In the case of UN these perspectives can be seen as the General Assembly and other principal UN organs where global policies are formed (center), the country teams and individual agencies at the field (periphery), and beneficiaries of the programs that are implemented in the country (target group).

Most of the interviewed staff members assessed that the UNDAF is formed from the perspective of UN, in two levels: globally, at the UN main organs and headquarters who make the decisions and policies at international (Sustainable Development Goals, Agenda 2030) level and locally, at national level in UNCT and individual agencies (UNDAF, joint programs, country programs, strategies).

A couple of interviewees mentioned that the approach is more top-down than bottom-up and even though it was said that the civil society was participating the formulation process, none of the interviewees mentioned how and there is no evidence on that in the policy document either.

#### 4.5. Independent variables affecting the implementation of UNDAF and Outcome 2

Implementation of the UNDAF and its outcomes is done individually by agencies, except some joint programs. Each agency has its own approach to the implementation: some are implementing directly, some through government and other implementing partners, like civil society organizations. Overall assessment of the implementation of the UNDAF, by the interviewees was not flattering, one described it even weak. The challenges mentioned most times, were connected to coordination internally in the UN system as well as with partners. This is also mentioned by the Mazmanian and Sabatier (1989:27) as one of the best documented findings in implementation literature and one of the most important attributes.

#### 4.5.1. Tractability of the problem

The Mazmanian's and Sabatier's framework lists four factors connected to the tractability of the problem. The interviews showed that there are challenges connected to these factors and affect the "implementability" of the UNDAF and more precisely Outcome 2.

**"Technical difficulties"** was the most mentioned problem in the interviews. About a half of the interviewees mentioned that there were problems collection of needed data which affects the usage of indicators. There is also missing data, collecting is difficult and existing data is weak, not accurate, updated nor reliable. The indicators in the policy were described inadequate and the formulation process complicated among the agencies.

Other technical difficulties that came up in the interviews were connected to the availability of needed consultation in Portuguese and technology. While the internet including email, has been launched in Mozambique several years ago, the UN's main counter partner, the government, has difficulties in introducing them effectively.

The second listed factor, **"Diversity of the target group"**, can be traced from the interviews to the mentions that there are many different actors in the Economic sector and therefore there are diversity of objectives as well as behaviour that also has impacts to the other sectors under the UNDAF. Another factor that can be connected to the behaviour of the target group which was mentioned a couple of times by the interviewees, was the changes in the priorities of the government, for example: how the government's priorities mentioned in the 5-year plan, have changed due to the financial crisis which has occurred since the plan was made.

The third factor, in this set of independent variables of the framework, **"Target group as a percentage of the population"**, came up also in the interviews. It was mentioned that problems are big in Mozambique and affecting the majority of the population. Especially the issues connected to the economic transformation are touching the most vulnerable people, women (more than 50% of the population) and youth.



The fourth factor in the set of tractability of problem, “**The extent of behavioural change**”, was also mentioned couple of times. By the interviewees, the challenge is that the problems people are facing in the country are big, the needs are many and there is a lack of means for surviving. It was also mentioned that many social problems are connected to the cultural and social norms that are difficult and very slow to change, as well as many times connected to the economic problems. One specific challenge mentioned by an official who was well-oriented to the political system of the country, was the difficulty in understanding the political environment implementing the policies and the analysis of that environment is not done properly. For example, decisions in the public finance are made in very specific political circles in Mozambique, and understanding this, is important for effective policy implementation.

#### 4.5.2. Ability of Statute Structure Implementation

As argued by Mazmanian and Sabatier (1989:25), the original policymakers can affect the achievement of policy objectives, by coherently structuring the implementation process. Independent variables under the set of Ability of Statute Structure Implementation describe the factors that affect implementation.

First variable, “**Clear and consistent objectives**” came up in every interview. Most of the interviewees, except two, thought that the objectives of UNDAF, in Outcome 2 and generally, are clear. The goals were described as generic, ambitious and well aligned with the government 5-year plan. Even though they thought that UNDAF and Outcome 2 are consistent with the country’s own priorities, they recognized that since the government’s 5-year plan was made, the priorities have changed due to the financial crisis. The most critical comment was that UN should have adapted those changes, too. Other critical comment about the clarity and consistency of the UNDAF’s goals, was justified by the insufficient data that the goals are based on.

Even though the goals were seen to be mostly clear, the interviewees thought that there are major challenges in the timeframe for the goals and how the goals are implemented. There was recommendation to simplify the goals more and to set them less ambitious. At least two interviewees brought up examples from the past in which cases the coordination

and implementation worked better when the goals were clear and aimed at responding to the actual needs of the beneficiaries, for example programs aiming at emergency relief and social protection.

Issues that can be categorized under the second variable of the set of “Ability of Statute to Structure Implementation, **“Incorporation if adequate causal theory”**, were not mentioned many times in the interviews, but the interviewees were aware of the information that the policy was based on. In the policy document itself, it is mentioned that besides of aligning the objectives with the government’s 5-year plan and global policies, like Sustainable Development Goals, the development challenges are assessed from the human rights-based approach:

*“Nevertheless, aligning the UNDAF exclusively with government priorities and strategies, could limit the degree to which the UN family, in some areas, can critically assess development challenges from a human rights-based approach to programming. Thus, whilst the UNDAF gives primacy to national development goals, the United Nations must simultaneously frame its interventions and development work within the context of wider global commitments, goals, targets, and standards, focusing in particular on people living in vulnerable conditions and addressing growing inequality and exclusion, particularly for women and girls and young people. In this way the UN’s mandate and comparative advantages can be fully realized through resourcing, technical expertise, and strategic positioning for enhanced development results that are anchored in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, the SDGs and other global commitments. (United Nations Mozambique 2016)*

A couple of interviewees brought up that when forming the UNDAF, a consultant had been hired to compile Country Context Analysis that was guiding the process, but they did not assess if the analysis was sufficient and useful. Two other interviewees appraised that the analysis is not enough and should be strengthened as well as done more regularly. One brought up a critical point that tells more about the survival fight of the agencies but also generally lack of causal theory and therefore failure in the goal achievement and results:

*“Unfortunately, a lot of agencies are concentrating on projects, because they have to pay the salaries of the people, so they prefer to have a project that are less relevant to the country, but are more relevant to their staff, so I can hire more people because I have that two million project. Even if that project doesn’t make sense and that’s the tricky part.”*

Third variable in the set is **“Initial allocation of financial resources”**. Outcome 2, “Economic transformation”, falls under result area of “Prosperity” in the studied policy, UNDAF. In the policy document, the overall summary of Resource Availability (UN Mozambique 2016:15) shows that the funding gap in this result area is about 29%. The annual progress report of the UNDAF 2017-2020 also mentions that one challenge was the scarcity of funding for some core Agency outputs which affected implementation (UN Mozambique 2017:22), although the disbursement of the funds was just 51% (UN Mozambique 2017:19).

Only a couple of interviewees evaluated the UN funds for UNDAF insufficient, while others said that the activities are pretty much funded and that financial resources have never been limitations to the implementation. One interviewee thought that funds for Outcome 2 were low compared to other outcomes, but when viewed the first-year progress report, Economic Transformation has as much or even more funds than other Outcomes (except Food Security and Health). Although it was acknowledged also by other interviewees that resource mobilization for activities under the Economic Transformation, is more difficult than for many other Outcomes, such as Children or Education, which are easy to “sell” for donors.

It was unanimous opinion among the interviewees, except one, that the activities that were funded, didn’t have enough resources for the monitoring of the UNDAF. One interviewee suggested that if the monitoring was coordinated jointly, the overall funding for the monitoring would be lower:

*“If you want to have good monitoring and evaluation, UNDAF is a process that reduces the funds on monitoring comparing the sum of all the monitoring that each agency supposed to have put.”*

Here the challenge could be divergent monitoring requirement by the agencies, which have to report to their regional offices and headquarter level as well as different donors, and different communication the agencies need for their advocacy and reporting.

It was brought up that generally, compared to other actors in the development field, UN is poor and therefore engagement with government is difficult; The government tend to give more attention to the organizations that have more financial resources. A Couple of interviewees mentioned experiences from previous programs, which have had joint funding, like ONE Fund, the implementation process has been more effective and better coordinated.

Fourth variable in the set of “Ability of Statute to Structure Implementation” independent variables, Mazmanian and Sabatier (1989) list, “**Hierarchical integration within and among the implementing agencies**”, is the factor that is best documented in the implementation literature. UN staff interviewed for the study also brought up many challenges in coordination among the UN agencies and with other implementing agencies. All the interviewees mentioned that the coordination doesn’t work among the UN agencies; there is no coherence, the ideal of working together as ONE UN does not function in practice.

Competition over resources and visibility was mentioned couple of times and the interviewees thought that it hinders coherence between the agencies, the implementation and achievement of the objectives. One interviewee also mentioned that because the issues and target groups are overlapping and lacking coordination, agencies are hampering the functions of ministries involved in the implementation. Coordination problems between agencies and other actors were seen as result of missing communication between the agencies and miscommunication with government agencies.

At least three interviewees expressed clearly that there are leadership issues in the UN system in Mozambique that affect the coordination and eventually the implementation. One of the senior officials described the UNCT before the “Delivering as One” -reform as “*very exclusive club*” which after the reform was managed to change a bit, for more inclusive, due to the integration of smaller agencies;

*“...fortunately, we managed to demystify, and we managed to change it from the club of representatives for the sake of representing to team of people who are coming together to brainstorm and to produce some sort of transformation.”*

The current role of Resident Coordinator was also seen problematic in terms of relationship with high level government officials and representation of UN as one organization in the country. This appeared also in another interview; individual agencies collaboration with relevant ministries is working very well but not as ONE UN.

Most of the interviewees thought that the UNDAF formulation process started well, the group was together and strengthened the collaboration among the agencies. Couple of interviewees did mention that there were also fights over control, which created divisions among the agencies. One interviewee brought up that the formulation process didn't include the implementing agencies and other suggested that UNDAF should be a more inclusive and democratic process.

Even though the UNDAF process had a positive start, the interviewees agreed that the implementation of UNDAF is poorly coordinated; there is no implementation plan, how to achieve the objectives as ONE UN. There is no common ground for specific issues in the policy and each agency has its own approach. One interviewee did argue that more concrete implementation plan is not needed, because UNDAF is just process transaction.

One reason for weak coordination that was brought up was differences in the administrative levels of different agencies and even though the “Delivering as One” - reform did leave some good mechanisms for coordination, they still need to be strengthened. One interviewee suggested that UN needs more coherent visibility in the country and UN officials should understand that collaboration and achievement of more results means sometimes compromises over individual expectations.

Monitoring the implementation of the UNDAF was also seen by the interviewees very problematic. In addition, to the lack of resources, as mentioned previously, the coordination of monitoring is not clear. One official said:

*“Monitoring framework of this (UNDAF), is not clear. Monitoring is not just receiving report and comparing them and crafting with the nice buzzwords. No, is not about that, development is more than about buzzwords.”*

There were expectations for more evidence of working together, joint monitoring, field visits and feedback from beneficiaries for better planning and coordination.

Issues concerning the fifth variable, **“Decision rules of implementing agencies”**, were not mentioned much in the interviews. When viewed the UNDAF document itself, there is also very little about the rules for implementation. The whole document includes only half a page of chapter about the roles of each actor in the process; Steering committee, United Nations Country Team and Results Groups. These are the organs that oversight the actual implementation:

*“While the actual implementation of UN programming activities will be done by state and non-state actors with support from the respective UN agencies, interagency Results Groups (RG) will serve as the operational mechanism for sectoral coordination, management and monitoring of UN interventions around UNDAF outputs and outcomes and the mainstreaming programming principles throughout the entire UNDAF. Each RG will be chaired by a Head of Agency in line with the Delivering as One Standard Operating Procedures.” (UN Mozambique 2016: 17)*

What became clear from the interviews is that agencies have very different approaches, guidelines and operational rules and since UNDAF doesn't define in detail the rules for implementation, each agency is using its own procedures.

Specific challenge that came up in the interviews were the different policies of the agencies in terms of their approach to government. Other issue concerning collaboration with government was that the policy consultation and decision process is only a legitimating process and not a participative and effective one which would improve the government's ownership of the policy.

As said by couple of interviewees, UNDAF is just a framework, a platform or a process transaction for the interagency work in Mozambique, and therefore there wasn't a separate,

new agency created for the UNDAF implementation, which, by the Mazmanian and Sabatier (1989:28), would be the most beneficial situation for the achievement of the implementing official's commitment to the policy objectives and therefore successful achievement of the goals. One interviewee did suggest, as improvement, the hiring of monitoring officials only to the UNDAF purposes.

This sixth variable of the set, "**Recruitment of implementing officials**", which, by the framework, affects the officials' commitment to the statutory objectives, was mentioned only by two interviewees. One comment confirms Mazmanian's and Sabatier's hypothesis:

*"...for many of us, we are hired to work for the agency. So, working in the interagency groups is something like added, is not my priority."*

It was also argued that local staff hired for the UN come from a very selective group of people, because of technical and linguistic requirements of the UN positions; The people who have enough competence are from the higher social class and many times from the ruling political party.

Commitment of the officials in the other implementing agencies for example government agencies, was also seen challenging since the posts are changing often and the officials in charge are using the resources for their own purposes.

Seventh and last variable, "**Formal access by outsiders**", came up in the interviews as an unanimous opinion that the UN should work more with beneficiaries, also in the case of UNDAF. They thought that even though the UNDAF formulation process was involving other actors, it should have been more participatory. The interviewees saw that work in the community, at grass root level, is important for understanding the real impacts of the policies and activities. One interviewee described the work in the community level, with families and religious leaders, for example, difficult but very important. This point is especially important if the change towards positive development requires social changes in the society; as described earlier there is a lot of hidden power in the local leadership structures, in Mozambique.

The participation of the government in the formulation process is clear, both by the UNDAF document itself and by the interviewees, but the interviewees saw the level of participation more technical and the participation overall passive. One of the local officials with experience from the government, assessed that the local governance was not prepared to understand what the objectives and activities are and generally they sign the international policies just because they have to, even without means for implementation.

#### 4.5.3. Nonstatutory Variables Affecting Implementation

In this section the data is analysed by viewing five nonstatutory variables of the Mazmanian's and Sabatier's framework. Interviewees mentioned many issues that can be categorized under these variables and were consistent with their assessment.

Issues concerning the first variable in the set, "**Socioeconomic conditions and technology**", came up in the interviews plenty. All the interviewees thought that Mozambique is a challenging environment for the implementation of development programs.

Biggest challenge that was mentioned by all, was the economic situation of the country. International financial crisis, severe issues in transparency and accountability of state funds, including the hidden debts by previous government, has led to deceleration of growing economy, increasing unemployment, growing inequalities and deteriorating relationship with the donor community. A couple of interviewees mentioned that there are resources; money and natural resources, but at the moment those resources are not transformed into positive, sustainable development in the country. Instant challenge that the economic crisis creates for the policy implementation is that when goods get more expensive the budget of the programs is not valid anymore. Also, the cuts in the budgets of the government due to the economic crisis, have had direct impact on the implementation of the UNDAF as the objectives are aligned with the government's 5-year plan.



Challenges in political situation were also mentioned by the majority of interviewees as one of the factors that affects the policy implementation in the country. The political conflict between Frelimo and Renamo was seen as one of the restricting factors as it creates instability and security issues for implementation, especially in the provinces. Other security issue that interviewees thought, can affect the implementation (if not solved), is the radicalism movements that have taken place recently in North Mozambique. A couple of interviewees stated that the government of Mozambique is not very democratic, has questionable records in respecting human rights and is a very closed political system.

Many social issues which were mentioned by the interviewees are strongly linked to the economic situation, for example child marriages, increasing crimes and radicalization. Other social issues are partly connected to the economic situation but also to the cultural norms like polygamy, early pregnancies, gender-based violence. For the implementation to achieve the goals, many interviewees thought that UN should work more in the communities and with the people who have the power to affect to the cultural norms, for example the religious and traditional leaders.

A couple of interviewees mentioned also the lack of adequate technologies especially in communication with the government and in the delivery of services at local level.

Generally, the interviewees thought that the socioeconomic conditions for the implementation is not encouraging and is not helping translate the policies into results. In addition, one interviewee mentioned that Mozambique is one of the five countries in Africa that is more exposed to emergencies and humanitarian situations.

Second variable of nonstatutory variables, “**Public Support**”, was not brought up by the interviewees much. It was mentioned that UN is respected and accepted in the country, and everybody knows it, meaning government and donors. One senior official brought up that people in the communities are not interested in the strategies and policies unless they bring some concrete means for survival and visible results, especially in the areas of nutrition, education and health.

Although the UN is known among the government agencies and donor community, it seems that the large public is not very aware of the institution. Some of the biggest agencies, for example UNICEF and WFP are recognized better in the local communities, because of the nature of the programs that they implement in the field. One official mentioned that he has never seen any kind of coordinated feedback system about the activities from the beneficiaries. This could be the reason why UN officials, especially in the senior level, are not aware of the support UN has among the public.

Issues the interviewed mentioned of the third variable of the nonstatutory variables, **“Attitudes and resources of constituency groups”**, were mostly about the issues in governmental institutions. Governmental institutions were described as arrogant, difficult to communicate with, very protocol oriented, but also open for criticism, friendly and working with good intentions. It is notable that in this case the more negative observations were made by the international staff members and that the local officials had more positive picture about the local government.

Two interviewees had similar ideas about the mindset that government has towards the aid. Other one described as follows:

*“Mozambique rhetorically is very good, because they (government) approve everything, they buy most of the forward-looking ideas that UN brings, are easily approved by government and supporting entities. But when it comes implementation, we realize that is not a same thing. Maybe because the country is sort of addicted to donor support, to donations, grants and less enthusiastic about challenging its own resource for good causes. In fact, the UN systems, the donor systems, is used as substitute for government responsibilities.”*

It was mentioned that government is not prepared to understand the objectives and activities that UN is supporting in the context of UNDAF and it is not seen as their own policy, even though the formulation process was a joint effort. One official assessed that maybe it is because objectives are not responding their actual needs.

One interviewee pointed out that the country had generally good laws but no capacity to implement them, and this applies also to the UNDAF in the government institutions. Due

to the financial crisis the public budgets, especially in the social sector, are cut heavily. This has affected the level of impact that implementation UNDAF could have.

Concerning the Outcome 2, it was brought up by a couple of the interviewees that Economic transformation is sometimes difficult to “sell” to the donors. Donor community is often more interested in funding programs that have direct impact on the lives of beneficiaries.

One interviewee pointed out that better impact could be achieved if the development efforts and initiatives would come from the community; then the ownership and attitudes would be more favourable for the changes needed, especially in the cases where transformation of the social and cultural norms is needed.

Fourth variable of the set is “**Support from Sovereigns**”, and by sovereigns Mazmanian and Sabatier (1989:33) mean institutions which control the legal and financial resources of the implementing agencies. In the case of UN Mozambique these institutions can be seen various: UN main organs at the headquarters level control the intergovernmental legal issues as well as overall financial participation of each member state, the individual headquarters of each agency provide core funding to the local offices of the agencies, donors provide financial resources for the programs and local government provides the legal control in the country context as well as co-funding for the implementation of the programs. In addition, there is a group which is very important, especially for Outcome 2: private sector, which can provide financial resources but increasingly manoeuvres the policies in the economic arena.

Most of the comments on the support of sovereign groups are about the government. In the case of UNDAF, the local government is a bit problematic to categorize since the government institutions also implement the activities of UNDAF. Nevertheless, a couple of interviewees pointed out that support from the higher-level governmental officials is problematic while cooperation between individual agencies and relevant ministries functions better. One official mentioned that government usually buys most of the forward-looking ideas that UN brings, but don't have capacity to co-fund. Three interviewees thought that the lack of support at the higher level in local government is

due to the size of financial resources of the UN compared to the other actors in the development field.

Two international officials mentioned that the core funds for the UN activities in the country are very small and therefore agencies are more dependent on the funding from the donor community. Another interviewee analysed that the recent economic events in the country have led to changes in the support of the donors to UN:

*“Actually, the UN, I would say benefits of the financial crisis, because donors are moving away from the direct budget support, but they still have budget for that year to spent, so if they can't give to the government, to whom to give if not to UN.”*

One official, working closely with Outcome 2 activities, emphasized the meaning of the private sector for the implementation of the policies in the economic arena; multinational companies affect increasingly the economy of Mozambique and therefore their support gains more significance compared to the government.

As said in the case of UNDAF the government is problematic to categorize, and one interviewee pointed out that sometimes UN agencies are not necessarily seeking the support and working with the governmental institutions that have the real power to make decisions. This leads us to the point which Mazmanian and Sabatier (1989:33) argued in their framework; the difficulties in intergovernmental programs where implementing agencies are responsible to different sovereigns:

*“Often, in such situations, when an intergovernmental subordinate is faced with conflicting directives from its intergovernmental superiors and its coordinate sovereigns, it will ultimately lean toward the directives of the sovereign who will most affect its legal and financial resources over the longest period of time.”*  
(Mazmanian & Sabatier 1989:33)

UN has rules and regulations about the political unconstitutionality, but as one interviewee pointed out, for the effectiveness of the activities in Mozambique, it would be beneficial to work with the political entities that have the real power, in this case the political circles of Frelimo, the ruling party in the country.

However, what came up in a couple of interviewees, UN has kept quiet in recent years during some events in the country, even though intergovernmental alignments would have required otherwise. This proved to be true also in the case of hidden debt scandal, which has major implications to the implementation of the UNDAF and Outcome 2.

Issues about the fifth variable of the nonstatutory set of variables, “**Commitment and leadership skills of implementing officials**”, was mentioned several times in the interviews.

At least 7 out of the interviewees argued that there are leadership issues in the UN Mozambique. The Resident Coordinator was seen ineffective and not responding to the emerging challenges timely, not enough strong and inspiring the UNCT, not enough focused, driving the agenda and communicating it to the government. Resident Coordinator’s role in the UNDAF process was seen important, but for the current UNDAF the interviewees stated that UN leadership hasn’t managed to engage the high-level officials in the way they should have, therefore the government’s commitment to the UNDAF is not evident. It was told by a couple of interviewees that the formulation process had started well, and government engagement worked somehow in the technical level but not in the higher level. One interviewee mentioned that the Steering Committee of the UNDAF doesn’t function either.

Other challenge that the interviewees thought to affect the implementation of UNDAF and Outcome 2, was UN staff members’ low attendance at the interagency meetings and passive communication which is especially hampering the coordination and monitoring. Low attendance was seen as sign of missing commitment of some agencies and that priorities are somewhere else. One interviewee argued that the technical skills of the UN staff are not adequate and the average staff managing the projects don’t have capacity to understand local political environment.

Overall, it was seen that the implementing agencies of UNDAF should be more engaged and the ownership of the programs among the target groups and government should be strengthened. It was also stated that capacity of the implementing partners to manage the implementation should be assessed and followed up better.

#### 4.6. Dependent variables affecting the implementation of UNDAF and Outcome 2

In this section the data is analysed shortly from the standpoint of dependent variables of the Mazmanian's and Sabatier's framework. Since UNDAF 2017-2020 is still an ongoing process it is difficult to analyse all the variables under this category.

**“Policy outputs of implementing agencies”** is quite clearly defined in the UNDAF document, although they are quite general, and the document does not specify the responsibilities of each actor. There is another document, Annual Joint Work Plans for each Outcome, which is a more specific tool for the definition of each one's, but it is only an internal document and sometimes not updated timely. One interviewee mentioned that it would be good to have a more concrete plan for the implementation than only the UNDAF policy document, while a couple of other interviewees argued that it is not necessary since UNDAF is just a framework or platform for the activities that UN is carrying out.

**“Actual impacts of the policy outputs”** are still difficult to evaluate and analyse in the case of UNDAF, but the first annual progress report describes the impacts in a very positive tone, while the interviewees didn't evaluate the results that efficient. Most of the interviewees thought that monitoring of UNDAF is not adequate and therefor also the real impacts of the activities can be missed. One official, with long experience working in the field also mentioned:

*“...for maybe the reason of trying to be politically good, these target groups are mentioned in all of the documents, I mean programmatic documents, but it would be important to see how that political will in the papers is been translated into concrete people targeted in the field, so not your intended target groups but the groups that you have influenced and impacted at the field. And there is, where I feel improvement can be done.”*

**“Target group compliance with policy outputs”** in the case of UNDAF, was mentioned a couple of times in the interviews. It was suggested that beneficiaries were more interested in and complied to the activities that concerned the basic needs and concrete, visible results than activities that have more long-range objectives. Other experience from

the field was that due to the economic situation and cultural norms, some social changes are hard to achieve without solving the economic problems first or engaging the local leadership in the communities.

Issues concerning the “**Perceived impacts**”, within the implementation of the UNDAF can be seen from the interviews through lack of commitment that was mentioned by the interviewees; Low attendance of the UN staff at the interagency meetings shows that managing the UNDAF process is not their priority and that can be a sign of the low credence to the impacts that UNDAF can achieve. Although it was mentioned a couple of times that due to the low core funding, agencies are concentrating more on the activities that can secure their survival, i.e. individual, small projects that donors are easily willing to fund.

Government’s perceived impacts of the UNDAF can be seen low, due to their low commitment in the high-level management. As said by a couple of interviewees the government’s commitment to the UN activities is low because financial resources to the development are relatively very low compared to the other actors in the development field, for example World Bank and private sector.

As said, the UNDAF process is still ongoing so dependent variable “**Major revision in statute**”, is a bit early to be analysed. Although, as one interviewee mentioned, the economic events that have happened after the UNDAF was formed, has questioned the relevance of the UNDAF, especially Outcome 2:

*“This was done before crisis. I mean the time crisis was unfolding. You make a document and if the country changes completely and you keep having the document.”*

This could be seen as a sign for major revision needed in the policy, since the operational environment has changed.

#### 4.7. Implementation of UNDAF in a developing country

For the notion that implementation analysis has been developed in the western world, it is useful to analyse the UNDAF from the approach of a developing country and what is characteristic of the implementation in that context. In this section the data is analysed with the approach of Merilee Grindle (1980), and her hypothesis how content and context of the policy and some other factors in a developing country affect the implementation.

##### 4.7.1 Policy content

**The extent that UNDAF, Outcome 2 specifically, seeks to introduce changes in the social, political and economic relationships** in the country is outlined as follows:

*“The UNDAF seeks to create conditions for sustainable, inclusive and sustained economic growth, shared prosperity and decent work for all...”* (UN Mozambique 2016:7)

Given weight to the term inclusive, the change that is introduced is extensive, considering that the recent politics practised in the country has been contrary. Opposition for the inclusion might come from the politicians and officials that use the public system for their individual benefit. Generally, the biggest issues under UNDAF also require big changes in the social relations, for example gender issues and women’s rights, and therefore achievement of the goals is more challenging.

The activities that were implemented during the first year under Outcome 2 in UNDAF 2017-2020 were mainly concerning the collaboration with the government in the analysis of and collection of the data, advocacy, awareness raising, contribution to the strategies, technical assistance and support to the government. In these activities the **Characters of the benefits** can be seen generally as collective, since they are benefitting large public, not specific communities or individuals. There might be some smaller projects that are classified under the Outcome 2, which have more divisible benefits, targeted to smaller groups of beneficiaries.

**The degree of the change needed in behaviour** considering the Outcome 2 the objectives vary and as mentioned by a couple of interviewees, goals are too ambitious.



First two Outputs are considering the coherence in the national, subnational level and development of the public and private sectors:

*OUTPUT 2.1: National and sub-national systems and institutions enabled to enhance economic policy coherence and implementation*

*OUTPUT 2.2: Public and private sectors enabled to enhance business environment, competitiveness and employment creation (UN Mozambique 2016:7)*

The changes required in the behaviour of these objectives is huge and since including many kind of actors with their individual interest, the progress will take more time than the timeframe of one UNDAF.

Third output is more realistic:

*“OUTPUT 2.3: National capacity to collect, analyse and use high quality data on poverty, deprivation and inequalities to inform economic policy is strengthened”*  
(UN Mozambique 2016:7)

This is also recognized in the first annual progress report of the UNDAF, where the biggest activity of the third output, the realization of the census in cooperation with government, was described as success story. The extent of the change in behaviour is not remarkable and the activities under this output are more technical than political, advocacy or connected to the social behaviour.

**The timeframe of the Outcome 2 objectives** can also be seen in the same way as the extent of behavioural change needed. As said, the two first outputs are objectives that can be achieved only after a long period of time, so they are long-range objectives. The third output, on the other hand, is short-range and there is a possibility of achieving the objectives within the UNDAF process.

**Number and dispersion of the key decision units** in the context of Outcome 2, is also a challenge. As mentioned by one interviewee, the economic field has many different actors, including international as well as national, and some of them with more power than the UN. Despite of many actors, government has a lot of power to control the economic event of the country and interviews also showed that there are good laws and policies in Mozambique, but implementation and monitoring is weak.

Another point mentioned by Grindle (1980) that can affect the implementation are the **decisions (considering the selection of implementing agencies) made during the policy formulation**. In the case of UNDAF, it became quite clear from the interviews as well as viewed at the policy document that it is not defined officially who implements what. The annual progress report does indicate the responsible agencies and agencies who implement or coordinate the implementation of each outcome. Previous UNDAF for years 2012-2016 did have action and management plans, which defined more closely the implementation processes.

Last point of the policy content, by Grindle (1980), is the way that **goals are stated in the policy** and if the officials are agreeing about the goals. It became clear that there are dissenting opinions about the goals of UNDAF among the interviewed UN officials; some thought that the goals are not clear and responding to the real needs and priorities of the country, while others expressed them to be clear and consistent with the real needs.

#### 4.7.2. Policy context

**Power capacity** of UN agencies of implementing Outcome 2 was seen weaker than that of other actors, because there are many other more powerful organizations in the economic field in Mozambique.

**Compliance of other actors** in the case of Outcome 2 was also seen problematic, especially concerning the local public governance. The recent economic events including the extensive economic frauds, are indication of the lack of compliance towards sustainable economic development in the country. One interviewee pointed out that: *“...the simple fact that Mozambique remains one of the poorest countries in the world after so many development projects of support, including the presence of the UN, is question mark.”* This indicates that the actors who have power to change things are not committed to the goals that UNDAF is trying to achieve.

Schofield and Sausman (2004) have also noted the compliance and they mention two challenges that can be consequences of policy implementation of corporate public

governance organized via a system of assurance; implementing becomes for compliance means only:

*“What happens then is a form of regulatory capture, thus ‘what counts becomes what matters’, rather than, ‘what matters counts.’”* (Schofield & Sausman 2004: 245)

And this leads for measuring only outputs rather than outcomes and then implementation becomes matter of compliance rather than solving problems. (Schofield & Sausman 2004: 245)

In the case of UN Mozambique and the findings from the interviews, also reveal this kind of signs in the implementation process. Especially the local UN staff members, who have extensive career and experience from the government system, pointed out that the objectives of UNDAF are not necessarily corresponding to the priorities of the country. Therefore, the policies that are made under global mandates of UN are implemented, but for the sake of delivering what is asked and not what are the real needs in the country.

**Responsiveness of the different officials** was seen by the interviewees in some extent weak, both in the UN and government; The communication with government officials was described slow and even from the government side arrogant. It was mentioned a couple of times that individual agencies do have good relationships with the relevant ministries. Again, the responsiveness of high level officials in the government was seen insufficient.

**The structure of political system** in Mozambique and how it affects the implementation, came up several times in the interviews. Despite some decentralization efforts, the country’s political system is still quite centralized and as mentioned by one interviewee there is no autonomy among the state officials.

Other factors in the Grindle’s (1980) approach to the policy implementation in the developing countries, are accurate in the case of UN Mozambique and implementation of the UNDAF; characteristic to the developing country in Africa, also Mozambique has one dominant political party, and this was also recognized by a couple of interviewees as a factor that affect to the implementation. The society is controlled by exclusive elite and

politicians use the system for personal ambitions. Corruption and frauds reach from the highest level with 2 billion economic scandals to the implementing officials at the local level with misuse of state assets and corruption.

Grindle (1980) mentions also interest groups that can affect the policy implementation. In the case of Mozambique and UNDAF, the civil society organisations are interest groups which also the interviewees acknowledged and agreed on that the decision making should be more participative. The civil society in Mozambique is active and this can be seen from the amount of different non-governmental organizations (NGOs) registered in the country. The local NGOs are still lacking the resources and the majority of the population is uneducated and interests are concentrated on the activities that provide instant solutions for survival. Grindle's (1980) suggestion that civil society organizations that do have power and authority in developing countries are usually accommodated by the elite, is congruent in the Mozambican reality.

Grindle (1980) emphasized also the guidance from leadership, which in the case of UNDAF seems to be lacking, both in the UN system as well as at the government side.

## 5. RESEARCH FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

In the final chapter of this study paper, the main findings from the data analysis are summarized and discussed how they respond to the research questions. For the conclusion, the research findings are digested through checklist of the six conditions for effective policy implementation listed by Mazmanian and Sabatier (1989: 41) and if the collected data indicates all six points to be met. Finally, the chapter suggests solutions and recommendations for improved policy implementation within the UNDAF and UN Mozambique.

### 5.1. Main findings

Main findings from the data analysis show that there are significant challenges in the policy implementation within the UN system in Mozambique. The factors that affect the implementation can be found from all three categories of independent variables of the Mazmanian's and Sabatier's framework that affect throughout the implementation process; Tractability variables, Nonstatutory variables and Statutory variables. In the case of UNDAF 2017-2020 the stages of the implementation process (dependent variables) are still pending, and therefore there is room for revision and corrections towards successful achievement of the goals.

Findings from the interviews show that the approach the UN has, for the policy implementation in Mozambique, follows as assumed, the top-down approach generally. Decisions are done, and policies formed mainly by the senior officials. Implementers or target groups don't participate to the definition of the policy goals or design. The background information and data from the interviews show that the local government, with whom UN implements the UNDAF, functions as well from top-down approach.

Factors that affect to the policy implementation can be categorized under all independent and dependent variables of the Mazmanian and Sabatier theoretical framework for the implementation analysis. Some factors were mentioned and emphasized more often than

others. The findings from the analysed data, indicate the main factors that affect implementation of the UNDAF:

Missing and outdated data hampers the formulation and accuracy of indicators, that measure adequately the impacts of UNDAF. It was also mentioned that some of the social challenges which are addressed in the UNDAF are more difficult to solve than others, including issues under the Outcome 2.

The most emphasized factor, which creates challenges for the implementation of the UNDAF, are related to insufficient and weak coordination among the UN agencies and other actors. The coordination of the UNDAF is poorly operated and the policy doesn't determine the responsibilities of the implementation. There are differences in the approaches and administration among the agencies. Coordination has worked better in the joint programs with concerted funding and where objectives have been clearer.

The objectives of the UNDAF were seen also problematic; Staff members did not agree if the goals in UNDAF are clear and consistent with the priorities of the country. Although narrow majority of the interviewed staff members, thought that the goals could be clearer and less ambitious as well as corresponding better to the actual needs of the target group.

Another factor that was mentioned by most interviewees, was participation of the implementing agencies and civil society organizations to the policy formulation process. Lack of participation of these groups to the UNDAF formulation process, hinders the achievement of objectives by reducing the commitment and ownership of the implementing agencies and target group.

Challenges in the leadership and engagement of the government in the high level to the objectives of the UNDAF, came up as one of the factors that affect to the implementation. Current role of the Resident Coordinator was seen too weak and response to the challenges too slow.

Commitment of the UN staff members to the joint activities around the UNDAF was told to be low and commitment of the government officials good only at the technical level and between the individual agencies and their relevant ministries.

Competition between the agencies over resources and visibility hinders also the achievement of the goals in UNDAF. Since the target groups and mandates of the agencies are overlapping and coordination of the activities is not put into practise effectively, the competition has remained despite the “Delivering as One” -reform that has been obtained already ten years.

Socioeconomic conditions in Mozambique were mentioned as one of the most substantial factors that affect to the implementation of UNDAF. Especially, for the achievement of the objectives in Outcome 2. It was seen that the current economic situation in the country causes big challenge to the goal achievement. Social and cultural norms in the community level were mentioned also as one of the factors that affect to the implementation.

The issues mentioned above are all factors that affect to the implementation throughout the implementation as a whole. But as Mazmanian and Sabatier (1989:35) argue, the process must be seen as several stages. These stages are introduced in the theoretical framework of this study paper.

Overall findings from the data show that especially the evaluation of the actual impacts of the UNDAF 2017-2020 is still early, since the process is ongoing. The policy outputs of the UNDAF are quite ambitious and coordination of the implementation of the activities, as a whole, is uncontrolled.

The data shows that the target groups' compliance to the objectives in the UNDAF is depending on a lot of the nature of the objectives; Programs and projects that provide fast and visible results among the communities and offer quick means for survival, are most accepted by the beneficiaries. Policies that target long-term solutions and sustainable development are less complied and supported.

The data doesn't really show if interviewees know, what are the stakeholders' perceived impacts of the UNDAF. Although, it was mentioned that, generally, the UNDAF as a policy, is not well known even by the implementers in the field. Consequently, the implementers implement activities that are under UNDAF but are not aware of the policy and the objectives that are set at the outcome or even output level.

## 5.2. Conclusions

Considering the main findings from the data, it seems that the policy implementation in the UN system in Mozambique is facing major challenges and the objectives of the UNDAF might not be achieved without revisions in the objectives, solving the leadership issues, enhancement of the coordination among the agencies, increasing the participation among the constituency groups, and introducing more effective and appropriate monitoring.

Major revisions to the UNDAF might be relevant in the near future after evaluation of the altered socioeconomic situation of the country and changes in the priorities of the government. To find out the changes needed and actual impacts, coordination of the monitoring must be enhanced.

Considering the Mazmanian's and Sabatier's fundamental thought, from the top-down approach to the implementation that policy makers should plan and structure the implementation in the policy formulation process in order for goal achievement, also in the process of formulating the UNDAF 2017-2020, more detailed implementation plan should have been included. Should require further studying to find out if the implementation plans (action plan and management plan) for previous UNDAF 2012-2016, made difference in goal achievement and why staff members consider them unnecessary.

The challenges for the implementation of the UNDAF, indicate that the top-down approach might not be the most effective for the achievement of the goals. There are several scholars who have justified the use of bottom-up approaches.



The intra-department conflicts and interdependence of the agencies should be recognised better when policies are implemented by multiple organizations (Cairney (2012: 37). This applies to the UN Mozambique substantially. When programs are implemented through “implementation structure” where there are many public and private actors, it is difficult to force decisions made solely by the central actor, while other organizations have their own interests (Cairney (2012: 37). In the case of the Outcome 2 this manifests itself clearly.

Generally, the implementers have expertise and knowledge about the technical details needed and influence over other stakeholders and networks which support, and commitment is needed for the successful implementation (Palumbo & Calista 1990:10). If considering the fact mentioned above, the statement of the Mazmanian and Sabatier themselves, would require switch to the bottom up approach for successful implementation:

*“...the ability to change the behaviour of target groups is contingent upon and adequate understanding of their incentive structure.”* (Mazmanian & Sabatier 1989: 13)

Pursuing the bottom up approach to the policy process requires participation of the implementers to the formulation process; this is fundamental because it improves the management skills of the implementers and increases the motivation and ownership (Schofield & Sausman 2004: 243).

As a summary, for final conclusions, it can be said that the six conditions that Mazmanian and Sabatier determined for effective implementation and achievement of the goals are not met all in the case of UN Mozambique and implementation of UNDAF:

1. The enabling legislation does exist, but the policy objectives are not clear and consistent.
2. The enabling legislation of UNDAF does incorporate a sound theory, which also identifies the factors affecting policy objectives.

3. The legislation structures of the implementation process of UNDAF doesn't guide the performance of implementers; there isn't adequate hierarchical integration, supportive decision rules, sufficient financial resources are lacking in some areas and are small compared to other actors in the economic field, and access to supporters, mainly the governments high-level officials, is not easy.
4. Management of the UNDAF is not strong enough and commitment of the leadership at the government level is problematic.
5. Constituency groups are supportive only for the activities that have short-term, visible results.
6. UNDAF is depending closely on the public policies and changes in relevant socioeconomic conditions can have, and already have had, a great impact to the goal achievement.

### 5.3. Recommendations

As said, changing the approach to the implementation of the UNDAF from the top-down to bottom-up, would improve the achievement of the policy objectives in UNDAF. More concretely, in the basis of the main findings from the data the recommendations and solutions to the existing difficulties are as follows:

- The goals in UNDAF 2017-2020 should be revisited and evaluated, considering the changed socioeconomic conditions and current priorities of the government. The goals should be evaluated according the timeframe and extend of behavioural change needed for the goal achievement.
- To improve coordination among the agencies, better and more efficient communication should be introduced, for example by using new technologies, platforms and joint events. The platforms for interagency communication should be low threshold and some part unofficial, lest the communication become slow due the bureaucratic processes.

- Another proposal for the better coordination of the UNDAF, would be hiring additional staff member(s) exclusively for the UNDAF. Accountability of the coordination and monitoring would be strengthened.
- Participation of the civil society to the policy formulation, evaluation and revision, should be introduced as regular practice. Feedback from the beneficiaries should be collected for better understanding the real impacts of the activities as well as the real needs in the communities.
- Among the UN system and individual agencies, the officials should be given more discretion, for better accountability and effectiveness. Add democracy, as a whole to the decision-making processes.
- The leadership should be given “fresh start”, by making collaborative strategy among the agencies; How to engage local high-level governance to the UNDAF objectives and regain the role of influencer in the country. There should be also strategies (if not existing already) how the leadership can react promptly to the emergencies and politically sensitive events.
- Joint communication as ONE UN should be strengthened by harmonizing the communication strategies among the agencies and creating joint strategy as well as platforms (for example UN Mozambique website) for better visibility and access to information.
- Interagency activities should be added to the Description of Assignments for better accountability and commitment of the UN officials to the UNDAF activities.
- UN agencies should aggregate their strengths and resources for more efficient and accurate collection of information and support the local institutes that produce data.
- UN should study carefully and regularly the causes behind the socioeconomic challenges and take account in the policy formulation process. In addition, within the UN regulations, acknowledging the power relations in the country would be essential.
- UN Mozambique should also remember and exploit the strengths it already has; positive image in the country among the elite and donors, existing networks with civil society organizations, as well as public and private sector.

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