

**Consultancy on the Evaluation of the INTERPEACE Voz
di Paz Programme in Guinea-Bissau (2009-2010)**

Evaluation Report

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Acronyms

CSO	Civil Society Organization
EC	European Commission
EU	European Union
INEP	Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
PR	Public Relations
RSD	Regional Space for Dialogue
TOR	Terms of Reference
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNIOGBIS	United Nations Integrated Peace-Building Office in Guinea-Bissau
USAID	United States agency for International Development
WANEP	West Africa Network for Peace

Executive Summary

In 2005 Interpeace started a pre-research on request of UNOGBIS (now renamed UNIOGBIS) to launch a programme working for a peaceful transformation in Guinea-Bissau. This was a response to the long lasting conflict situation of the country, which culminated in a civil war 1998-1999 between the military and the government. Until today the struggle for power within the military-political elite is continuing. This is causing the neglect of economic and social development of the country.

In 2007 Interpeace in co-operation with the local research Institution INEP designed and started a programme called Voz di Paz (Voice of Peace). The overall aim is to contribute to the peaceful development of the country. The programme comprises the following components:

1. A conflict analysis based on a broad nation wide consultation process with a broad representative range of stakeholders, called the 'peace- mapping' phase.
2. A so-called 'formulation of peace visions and solution phase' in which the nation wide consultation process will be continued to discuss and find solutions for the previously identified prior causes of conflict in form of policies, laws and public programmes.
3. As the first evaluation was carried out in 2008, this evaluation is covering broadly the project period of 2009-2010. The aim of the evaluation exercise was to identify the achievements, constraints and challenges with the focus on the four evaluation criteria relevance, effectiveness, impact and sustainability. Research methods were the review of all relevant project documents, field visits and semi-structured group and individual interviews.

Although it was a challenge to measure the effects and impacts of a comprehensive nationwide programme aiming at a complex sociopolitical transformation towards peace, the evaluation could gain some insights and indications for strengths and challenges of the programme, but they can only be regarded as initial guidance.

In general it was found, that the peace programme has developed valuable approaches to address the conflicts in Guinea-Bissau. The major achievements are as follows:

During the programme period in question Voz di Paz succeeded in broadening and strengthening a nationwide debate on the causes of conflict and on dialogue as nonviolent mean of negotiating interests. Overall 23.100 people have directly participated in the activities and about 85 % of the total population is informed on the ongoing debate and the content of the programme via multi-media tools, mainly a weekly radio programme.

The programme has a high degree of relevance as it addresses two main factors of the conflict scenario within the country: The lack of a culture of dialogue and the disregard of the perspectives of the population.

The consultations including all parts of the population have led to consolidated research findings on 17 sources of conflict in Guinea-Bissau, out of which four were identified as the most urgent for the consolidation of peace: Lack of governance, lack of a justice system, tribalism and poverty.

The methodology of consultations with representative composed regional panels in form of a participatory action research approach as brought new positive experiences to the population: The population feels to be taken seriously and is empowered to formulate and discuss their demands, which was not possible beforehand due to decades of limited freedom of expression.

The programme has already punctual influences on the political-military elite, which is involved in the most serious conflicts of the country. For example Voz di Paz was nominated into the governmental Commission of National Conference for Reconciliation. The latter has influenced the government to use a similar approach as Voz di Paz for the National Conference.

One main achievement of the programme are the regional permanent structures, the Regional Spaces for Dialogue (RSD), which present a highly valuable instrument of the programme as it is enhancing an ongoing debate on peacebuilding and nonviolence on the local level, reducing local conflicts by acting as mediators and as such acting as role models for nonviolence and good governance. Moreover these institutions show already sustainable aspects as all of them are willing to continue even if the programme will come to an end in future.

The success of the programme is partly a merit to the consequent application of two crucial principles of peace programmes: The inclusiveness and the status of neutrality. This is as well an achievement as these are challenging moments within project implementation.

Apart from the overall positive results, there are a few constraining factors due to the challenging nature of the programme aiming at a nationwide peacebuilding process.

In terms of reaching the military-political elite relevant sectors and stakeholders are not yet involved into the process such as highest ranks of the security sectors, especially generals, the police, political parties, and the business sector. Especially on this level a critical mass as well as a specific strategic approach is necessary to have a significant impact on the conflict scenario within this circle.

One major weakness is the information gap on the Regional Spaces for Dialogue among the local population: From 25 persons interviewed at random on the streets, no one has heard of this institution. However, this was of course not a representative sample. The coverage of large territories of an average population of 200.000 per region, which has to be covered by 5-15 RSD members, it is obviously not sufficient to keep in touch with large parts of the populations.

Concerning the enlargement of the process to the broad population by using the media, mainly community radios, one challenge is the lack of education and a passive attitude among the people.

Finally, regarding the coordination of the work it was found that Voz di Paz has high-level contacts, but is not systematically addressing those departments of the international donors, which are in charge of the conflict relevant reform processes. Furthermore within the local civil society a few organizations feel a

distance to the most visible Voz di Paz programme. In order to balance these challenging factors the following recommendations are made for the next phase:

1. In order to strengthen the process on the level of the political military elite the following measures should be taken:
 - Starting consultations with the political parties.
 - Continuing and intensifying the dialogue with the security sector.
 - The most relevant focus is a dialogue between representatives of the military and the government. However this is a very demanding task and would afford intense preparation.
 - Consultations with the business sector are also relevant, as important and influential stakeholders are involved in this area.
 - Voz di Paz should reflect how the original plan to set up a Regional Space for Dialogue in the capital could be implemented.
2. The valuable local structures of the Regional Spaces for Dialogue should be further supported by:
 - RSDs should be visited regularly by the Voz di Paz. These visits should be used to inform the RSDs on the future planning of the Voz di Paz programme, to discuss the work, find solution for rising problems such as replacement of former members, the representative function, the strengthening of the public awareness on RSD, the coverage at the village level etc..
 - Additionally it could be considered to offer from time to time attractive events for the RSDs such as yearly workshops in Bissau with all RSDs to exchange experiences and strengthen the cooperation between them, Training to extend the skills and meetings with other experienced peace organisations in the neighboring countries.
3. In order to increase the debate and influence of the programme to the broader population Voz di Paz should take the following measures:
 - The already planned radio emissions in local languages should be implemented. Secondly the local journalists should be supported to add something on actual events of the region to the already prepared 30 minutes emission (which are sent by Voz di Paz on CD).
 - Voz di Paz can also consider possibilities of interactive programmes, in which people can call during the programme, ask an advice or participate in a discussion.
4. Regarding the cooperation and coordination Voz di Paz should:
 - Use opportunities such as public awareness campaigns to include all stakeholders of the civil society in order to strengthen the network and to balance feelings of competitions to certain degree.
 - Voz di Paz should meet regularly with the departments of international donors in charge of conflict relevant reforms and should try to be invited to respective coordination meetings.

1. Introduction and Background

This report presents the findings, conclusions and recommendations of the evaluation of the Voz di Paz programme, undertaken from 20. April until 30. May 2011. The report is in three main sections. The introductory part gives an overview of the situational analysis in Guinea – Bissau, background information on the Voz di Paz programme, as well as the evaluation methodology. This section draws upon an inception report prepared prior to the field visit. Section II presents the findings of the evaluation and features assessments of programme relevance, programme effectiveness, sustainability and impact. The final part, Section III, treats the main conclusions and the recommendations on the way forward.

1.1 *Situational Analysis*

Guinea-Bissau has been affected by violent conflicts since its struggle for independence from the Portuguese Colony in 1963. This struggle lasted a decade until 1974 and divided the country between those who fought with the Portuguese and those of the resistance. After independence the military became one major force within the country and its politics.

In 1980 Nino Vieira, an Army General, led the first coup d'état and ruled for over eighteen years in an autocratic way promoting further the privileges of the military forces within the governmental institutions. Oppositions and grievance grew among the population. In 1998 a dispute between the chief of staff of the armed forces Ansumane Mané and the President resulted in a rebellion and escalated into a civil war which lasted until 1999.

The struggle for power within the military-political elite is continuing until today: Since the year 2000 Guinea-Bissau has had 9 different governments. This is causing the neglecting of economic and social development of the country. Guinea-Bissau is categorized as a fragile state and its human development index is with rank 164 among 169 countries one of the lowest.

After the civil war in 1999 the UN Security Council established a UN Peacebuilding Support Office (UNOGBIS). Interpeace became engaged on request of the UNOGBIS (now renamed the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Guinea-Bissau –UNIOGBIS) to launch a programme working for a peaceful settlement of the ongoing conflict in 2005.

1.2 *Overview of Voz di Paz Peace Programme*

Interpeace started a pre-research to find an appropriate partner organisation in Guinea-Bissau meeting the criteria of neutrality and having the capacity of developing a high level peace programme. The local research institute INEP was found to be capable to fill this role. In close cooperation with INTERPEACE, INEP designed and launched a programme in 2007, called Voz di Paz (Voice of Peace). In February 2010 Voz di Paz facing organizational challenges within INEP, became independent and is since then acting as an autonomous organization.

The programme comprises the following phases:

A conflict analysis based on a broad nation wide consultation process with a broad representative range of stakeholders, called the 'peace- mapping' phase.

A so-called 'formulation of peace visions and solution phase' in which the nation wide consultation process will be continued to discuss and find solutions for the previously identified prior causes of conflict in form of policies, laws and public programmes.

The overall programme objective is as follows:

'The aim of the programme is to make a tangible contribution to the consolidation of peace and stability in Guinea-Bissau as pre-requisites for sustainable development.'

The programme has the following outcomes:

- 1) Formulation and consideration of policies, laws and public programmes that take into account the solutions suggested by the population and key stakeholders;
- 2) A culture of debate that is adopted by the Bissau-Guinean society as an effective way to consolidate peace;
- 3) The relevant actors and a large percentage of the Bissau-Guineans have a better understanding of the critical issues which are stumbling blocks to peace, and they are committed to building lasting peace.

1.3 Scope of work and Methodology

1.3.1 Definitions and Concepts

Within the international debate there is a lot of confusion over the terms 'peacebuilding' and 'peace building programmes'. There is a need for a clear definition and a common understanding as they provide the conceptual framework of this evaluation as well. Some of the key ones are 'peace', 'peace building' and 'peace building programmes'.

Peace: Various definitions of peace are used in the scientific world and in the context of international cooperation. A milestone within the debate was Johann Galtung's concept of peace distinguishing between 'negative peace', the absence of physical violence and a 'positive peace', describing a society without physical, structural and psychological violence based on positive relationships with a common understanding. The latter describes an ideal state, which can be reached only to a certain degree. Due to practical reasons the evaluator is using the definition of peace describing 'peace as a state without physical violence'.

Peacebuilding: The United Nations Agenda for Peace of 1992 laid the ground for the increasing use of the term 'peace building' defining it as a 'broad range of activities that are associated with capacity

building, reconciliation and societal transformation. Peace building activities identify and support structures and systems that intend to strengthen and solidify peace.'

Peacebuilding and Conflict Prevention Programmes/Projects: Development agencies sometimes attribute their programmes in conflict zones per se as 'peace building work'. Researchers argue that interventions can only be regarded as peace building programmes, if they are based on specific peace building and conflict prevention methods. Others are following a broader understanding distinguishing peace building and conflict prevention programmes and those of development by their goals and objectives. In this evaluation the author follows the latter definition 'peacebuilding or conflict prevention programmes or projects are interventions, which primary purpose is to promote peace and prevent violent conflict.'

1.3.2 Scope of Work

According to the Terms of Reference¹, the main objectives of the evaluation are firstly to draw lessons that will contribute to improve the future performance of the Voz di Paz Programme and secondly for accountability purposes towards the funding agencies.

According to this purpose the evaluation exercise presents a combination of a formative and a summative evaluation.

The primary audience of the evaluation is INTERPEACE; Voz di Paz and the funding Agencies.

However, the evaluation results will benefit all stakeholders, the Voz di Paz personnel, members and participants of the programme in the eight administrative regions of Guinea-Bissau, INTERPEACE, the funding Agencies as well as associated organizations and beneficiaries.

The evaluation covered the programme period from 2009 to 2010 since the last evaluation, which was carried out in 2008. The focus was the whole programme comprising the second part of the first 'peace mapping phase'.

The evaluation sought to elaborate the evaluation criteria of relevance effectiveness, impact and sustainability. The definition of these criteria and how they are understood during this evaluation are outlined in Annex 3.² Under these criteria the summarized key questions were:

Relevance

- Are the programme and its methodology relevant regarding the overall goal of the programme, which is to reinforce Bissau-Guinean capacities and to strengthen and consolidate lasting peace?

¹ Terms of Reference, evaluation of Voz di Paz , page 4

² The evaluation is using the evaluation criteria according the EU evaluation guidelines, because the definitions are described very precisely.

- How has Voz di Paz reacted/adapted to changing contextual circumstances that occurred in the country in 2009-2010? Evaluate the capacity of flexibility in programme implementation in an unpredictable and evolving context. Please elaborate.
- How has Voz di Paz interactions and alliances with different actors shape/create synergies with other programmes/organizations?

Effectiveness

- What are the strengths and weaknesses of the programme in terms of the added value it brings to the consolidation of peace in Guinea-Bissau?
- Is Voz di Paz able to create spaces for debate and dialogue in which Bissau Guineans of different status and opinion can constructively discuss key challenges in their society?
- Is there a broader sense of 'ownership' of the Voz di Paz programme beyond the core team?
- Considering the extremely complex political situation in Guinea-Bissau, is the Voz di Paz programme making a contribution to peace building in Guinea-Bissau?
- What type of relationship and collaborations has the programme developed with the youth?
- What effects and influences has Voz di Paz had? (planned or unexpected; illustrative stories)

Impact and sustainability

- Has the Programme had influences and impacts on the relationships between the national, intermediary and local levels of the society?
- Has the Programme had influences and impacts on strengthening the dialogue within the society and on peace and reconciliation?
- What changes were brought about by the Programme? Are these changes sustainable?
- What can be learned from this period of the programme (2009-2010) that would be useful to the next phase?

Additionally there was a special focus on the achievements and challenges of three important programme activities: The Regional Spaces for Dialogue, the used communication tools such as video and radio and last but not least the dialogue with the politico-military elite.

The detailed questions are outlined in the Terms of Reference in Annex 1.

1.3.3 Methodology

The methodology was based on qualitative research tools, mainly semi-structured individual and group interviews, focus group discussion, expert interviews and review of project documents. The guiding questions of the interviews were derived of the key questions formulated in the Terms of Reference.

The following project relevant stakeholders were identified and interviewed (for more details see list of interviewees in annex 2):

1. Firstly those who are Involved in the programme
 - Staff of Voz di Paz and staff of Interpeace in charge of the programme
 - Members and partners of Voz di Paz in the different forums such as the National Orientation Committee, the General Assembly, the Board, Regional Spaces for Dialogue, Facilitators
 - Participants of the various consultations (regions, capital, sectors)
2. Those who are external but know the programme or relevant aspects of the socio-political environment
 - Representatives and experts of different sectors of the society such as media, churches, civil society, politics
 - Ordinary villagers in the regions
 - Representatives of international organizations

In order to get an insight into the views of the ordinary people, 25 people selected at random were interviewed on the street in the five regions (5 in each region).

Through the combination of 'internal' and 'external' interviewees different perspectives of the programme were collected and synthesized to a picture as complete as possible.

Part of the procedure to secure unbiased information was to conduct the interviews without the presence of the programme staff by hiring an independent translator.

The timeframe of the evaluation gave space to carry out field visits to 5 regions, namely Biombo, Cacheu, Oio, Bafata and Gabu. This is a percentage of 50% of the total amount of the 10 regional structures of Voz di Paz (covering 8 geographic regions) involved into the programme. This way sufficient insight could be gained into achievements and challenges of the programme on the regional level.

The selection criteria to reach a representative sample were as follows: A mixture of regions, where the Regional Spaces of Dialogue have successfully participated and those, where they have been less successful.

1.4 Evaluation Challenges and Limitations

Given the comprehensive nature of the peace building programme with a nationwide scope, a main limitation was the short period of time devoted to the evaluation with a short field visit of 12 days. Consequently only a very limited scope of the work could be investigated. Especially the perspective of the ordinary people in the regions could not be captured in detail. Moreover the plan to discuss and reflect with the staff, the underlying theoretical concepts of the programme such as the so called 'Theories of Change' could not be realized. Hence, it is recommended to do this during the next evaluation.

As the communication with the population on the local level was done with a translator (from English to Creole), another limiting factor was the use of different languages, causing a certain distance between the evaluator and interviewees. Although the general ideas were captured during the interviews, details and nuances might have been lost.

Due to the highly politicized environment some issues were partly difficult to discuss during the interviews such as security risks, questions of neutrality of institutions and persons, ethnicity, religious denomination, the details of the conflict scenario of the political-military elite. Hence, the results of the evaluation touching these issues might not capture the whole picture.

Another general challenge is the measurement of effects and impacts of peace programmes as they are aiming at complex transformation processes of sociopolitical change. Indicators are hardly covering these complex processes. As a consequence the questions on the degree to which a culture debate could be initiated throughout the whole country and how this is contributing to a peaceful transformation, is difficult to answer precisely.

However, the interviews gave some insights and indications for strengths and challenges of the programme, but they can only be regarded as a initial guidance.

1.5 Work Plan

The work plan below provides the broad framework. The details of the field visit are given in Annex 2.

The evaluation was conducted in four phases: An inception phase; a field visit to relevant districts and communities; a debriefing phase to share the findings, conclusions and recommendations and finally the drafting and finalization of the evaluation report.

Date	Evaluation phase
18.4. - 04.05.11	Inception Phase
02.05.- 14.05.11	Field study (incl. travel)
13.05.11	Debriefing
15.05.- 27.05.11	Draft report
27.05.- 01.06.11	Final report

2. Main Findings of the Evaluation

2.1 *Relevance*

Guinea-Bissau is categorized as one of the least developed countries. The economic resources of the country are limited and based on the main export product of cashew nut, development aid and illegal trafficking of drugs and weapons. The conflict situation is dominated by the struggle of the political-military elite for power and access to the scarce resources. Among this elite long-term alliances and hostilities exist. Due to political changes, alliances tend to change as well, creating new circles of power assuring access to resources. The performance of the governmental institutions is lacking basic service delivery in all sectors and the needs of the population are broadly neglected: The majority of the population is neither participating in decision making nor in the economic resources. A democratic culture of debate and negotiation of interests between the different stakeholders and groups of the society does not exist. The history and the political experience of the country are dominated by the violent struggle for independence and power.

The Voz di Paz programme is aiming at a contribution to peacebuilding within the country by promoting a culture of democratic debate as non violent mean of conflict resolution, strengthening the reflection and understanding of the causes of the conflict among the population and developing with the population proposals and solutions in a participative process including all sectors of the society. The methodology is based on consultations with representatives of all parts of the society in form of a participative debate and a participatory action approach.

Given that the political military elite struggling for power is ignoring the needs and problems of the general population, the Voz di Paz programme is bringing this perspective to the surface of the socio-political scenario and confronting the elite with the views of the people. Hereby, the programme is addressing an important factor within the conflicts situation: The neglect of the population and their needs.

At the same time the methodology of conducting consultations with a participatory action approach is encouraging the population to express their views and to formulate their demands. In view of the long years autocratic style of the government suppressing free speech and expression, this is an important step to create new ways of communication laying the ground for a culture of dialogue as nonviolent mean of negotiating interests.

Overall the Voz the Paz programme is relevant, addressing key factors within the broader conflict environment such as the lack of a culture of debate and the missing perspective of the population.

However, political and sociocultural changes are very complex and long term processes particularly in such a highly politicized and polarized conflict environment as in Guinea-Bissau. Although the programme and its methodology are relevant, quick impacts especially on the key stakeholders of the conflict within the polite-military elite can not be expected. However, on a long term the programme has the potential to expand its influence on the conflict scenario by bringing new elements into the conflict system.

2.1.1 Reorientation and Adaptation of the Programme during 2009 and 2010

During the project period from 2009 until 2010 there were two main adaptations to the original project plans.

- For 2009 it was planned to finalize the so called 'peace-mapping phase' with one 'validation conference' on the national level. This meeting was aiming at presenting the findings of the nationwide consultations on the causes of conflict and carry out a prioritization to four major ones. However, the political situation was very sensitive at this moment as the President Nino Vieira and the Chief of Staff were killed in March. Due to these circumstances the team decided to adapt the programme and to carry out regional validation meetings throughout the country. Additionally, the rescheduled elections were used as opportunity to carryout a campaign on peaceful elections.

- At almost the same time difficulties emerged re. programme management. As an indirect consequence conflicting issues between different staff members rose and hindered the smooth and efficient implementation of the programme. INTERPEACE and a part of the staff and the board of INEP identified as the best solution to separate the Voz di Paz programme of the research institution INEP. The independent status of Voz di Paz was accomplished in February 2010.

According to the statements of the interviewees the above described programme adaptations were necessary to ensure the effective continuation of Voz di Paz programme. The majority stated as well that the changes have brought additional positive results such as:

1. The replacement of one national validation meeting to 16 regional validation meetings intensified the whole process of debate on the regional level and strengthened as well the regional structure of the programme, the Regional Spaces of Dialogue (RSD), by their active involvement.
2. The additional focus on the campaign for peaceful elections brought new relevant stakeholders in contact with the programme and was instrumental to enlarge its scope (further details see under 2.2 Effectiveness). A highlight was the big meeting organized by Voz di Paz at the stadium with almost 15.000 participants and 10 candidates (out of 11) of all political parties, who committed themselves in public to peaceful elections.
3. The separation of INEP required a reorganization of the programme's infrastructure and resulted in the establishment of the general assembly and board involving relevant stakeholders of various levels of the sociopolitical environment. Moreover the status of independence is stressing the neutrality of the staff and the whole programme to a high extent.

The interview statements confirmed that the separation from INEP has had no visible negative effects on the reputation of the programme.

In view of all these factors it can be summarized that the adaptation of the programme had several positive effects, as rising opportunities were used in an appropriate way. Moreover it shows the

competence and the management capacities of the personnel to cope in an effective and flexible way with internal conflicts, rapidly changing political environments and political sensitivities.

2.1.2 Coordination and Cooperation

The Voz di Paz team has established relationships with several local civil society organizations and various relevant stakeholders within the sociopolitical landscape of Guinea-Bissau. The closest cooperation has been developed with the Justice and Peace Commissions of the Catholic Church and several local youth organizations in the capital. Besides Voz di Paz has regular contacts with the majority of the local NGOs such as the Movement of Civil Society, (an umbrella organization of local NGOs), Mom Ku Mom, Human Rights League, Alternag and WANEP (West African Network for Peace)

Additionally, the Voz di Paz programme has cultivated a net of contacts with important representatives of the international donor community: UNIOGBIS and other UN organizations, Plan International, SWISSAID and the embassies of Brasil, Portugal, France, Germany, Angola and USA.

The interviews confirmed that the Voz di Paz programme is well known and acknowledged among both groups. They gave as well evidence of several areas of cooperation and complementary activities:

1. Voz di Paz held various consultations in cooperation with the youth groups in the urban quarters of Bissau. The Voz di Paz participatory action research approach encouraging the people to express themselves supported the ongoing youth programmes reaching their aim towards education and empowerment of disadvantaged and unemployed youth. Especially the youth group RAJ, engaged in an urban quarter called 'Bairro Militar' with the highest rate of youth violence and criminality, appreciated the Voz di Paz programme presenting an additional input to their ongoing project against violence for young violent criminals.
2. The Justice and Peace Commission of the Catholic Church has similar fields of activity as Voz di Paz: They are engaged in educating youth groups in conflict resolution and are planning to establish committees for mediation on the diocesan and parish level. They are inspired by the Voz di Paz programme and invite them to different events to present the film and the report on the causes of conflict. Another array of cooperation is the partnership between the catholic radio Sol Mansi and Voz di Paz, which has resulted in a weekly radio programme of 30 minutes on peacebuilding. Due to the partnership, the radio emissions are broadcast at low costs.
3. Within the local civil society organizations such as the league of human rights, Mom Ku Mom, WANEP, the Movement of Civil Society loose contacts are established and they invite one another to events and campaigns. Among them the work of Voz di Paz is in general highly appreciated and acknowledged due to the high profile of the programme and its continuity. One interviewee described Voz di Paz even as 'mothers and fathers' of the other NGOs in Guinea-Bissau as they are role models for the others.

4. The cooperation between international agencies and Voz di Paz is more punctual: UN agencies and embassies were invited to public events in Bissau; the director of Voz di Paz was invited by the EU to give a lecture in a conference on peace building in Brussels; the representatives of the African Union had a meeting with Voz di Paz to discuss the conflict situation in Guinea-Bissau. Last but not least there are regular contacts with UNIOGBIS due to the history of the programme, being initiated at the invitation of UNIOGBIS. The majority of the interviewees of international organizations stated that the Voz di Paz programme is highly valuable as it is contributing by a bottom-up approach to their efforts on the governmental level.

Overall the coordination and even cooperation between Voz di Paz and other stakeholders is well established. In case of common interests complementary activities are developed and build synergies as in the case of the Catholic Church and the youth groups.

Despite these predominant positive results, a few critical statements show also moments of competition among the civil society organizations, which is a normal and natural phenomena in a poor country with limited resources of international donors. For example one interviewee said, that the main difference between the Voz di Paz programme and other peace programmes is, that Voz di Paz has more money. The same person feels as well a certain distance between Voz di Paz as the most known and visible and some other CSOs. However, this view was only shared by two interviewees.

It is obvious that apart from cooperation, there are also moments of competition, as the CSOs are struggling for the same resources of international donors. Although this is natural and understandable it is necessary to take continuously care of the relationship with the local organizations in the sense of an active engagement towards the principle of 'inclusiveness'. Furthermore all of them are important partners for future awareness and lobbying campaigns in order to reach the strongest possible effect. The following recommendation is made to balance moments of competition and envy to a certain extent:

Recommendation: Voz di Paz should take opportunities to include all stakeholders of the civil society into public activities such as public awareness campaigns. The staff should as well accept invitations of other stakeholders and cultivate the contacts to a certain degree.

Regarding the cooperation and coordination efforts with international stakeholders, the interviews indicated that several persons did not have the opportunity to get in contact with Voz di Paz such as the UNDP department for the Security Sector Reform and the EU person in charge of the Justice and Security Sector Reform. Both stated that they would appreciate to discuss the reform plans and the approaches of Voz di Paz. It is obvious that it is highly relevant to meet these representatives on regular terms, as the Voz di Paz programme has as well a focus on the security and the justice sector presenting major causes of conflict. This is even more important for the new project period the 'peace vision and solution phase' as it is aiming at the development of laws, concepts and programmes. It is evident that these proposals have to be coordinated with the efforts of these agencies, which have already conceptualized a justice reform and a security sector reform.

The following proposal is made to avoid information gaps and doubling of activities:

Recommendation: Voz di Paz should meet with these and other relevant donors on a regular basis and should try to be added to the invitation lists of the coordination meetings. Although this is a lot of work as the staff of international agencies is usually rotating, it is highly relevant and should not be neglected.

2.2 Effectiveness

2.2.1 The Achievements, Constraints and Challenges of the Voz di Paz Programme

This section treats the overall achievements, challenges and constraints of the programme during the project period of 2009-2010. It will cover the quantitative performance as well as the qualitative performance.³

The following matrix gives a short overview on the project structure and the different phases of the programme:

International Partner	Project structure	Project Phase and Activity
INTERPEACE	<p>Research Team of Voz di Paz within INEP; from 2007-2010 Voz di Paz has a status as an independent NGO</p> <p>Regional Spaces for Dialogue (RSDs)</p> <p>National Orientation Committee; 02/2010 replaced by National Assembly/Board</p>	<p>2007 Preparation Phase: Pre-research, establishing nationwide structures in form of the so-called Regional Spaces for Dialogue (RSD) covering all 8 regions of the country</p> <p>2008 Peace Mapping Phase: Nationwide regional consultations on the causes of conflict with representatives of the whole population organized in cooperation with RSDs in all 8 regions of the country. The guiding methodology was the participatory action research approach.</p> <p>2009 Peace Mapping Phase: National 'validation process', presentation of the findings of the previous consultations and prioritization of the 17 causes of conflict into four major ones on 16 regional meetings. Additionally:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Consultations with the Security Sector and the Diaspora. - Nationwide campaign on peaceful elections with radio emissions and meetings. <p>2010 Accomplishment of the Peace Mapping Phase: Production of 2 film documentaries and one report on the causes of conflict and the nationwide consultation process presented on public events. Additionally:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Nationwide thematic radio campaign on peace and conflict issues on the basis of weekly emissions. - Launching of a monthly Newsletter 'ECO' <p>RSDs are serving as channel for information on the local level. Additionally:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Conducting ongoing own activities such as public awareness campaign on issues relevant to peace building - Working on peaceful resolution of emerging conflicts on the local level <p>Committee acting as directing Board of the Programme on the national level</p>

As described above the first phase, the 'Peace Mapping Phase', could be accomplished at the end of 2010. In 2011 the programme started with the second phase, the 'Formulation of the Peace Vision and Solution' phase.

³ In a lot of evaluations the 'output level' is treated under the criterion of efficiency. Given that the Terms of Reference of this evaluation are not considering this criterion, although the project planning documents are referring to output indicators, the output dimension is treated under the criterion of effectiveness. This way the whole range of achievements is covered.

Two project objectives are corresponding with the finalized first project phase:

A culture of debate is adopted by the Bissau-Guinean society as an effective way to consolidate peace;

According to the Logframe Matrix the indicators for this objective are as follows:

- Number of permanent dialogue platforms established or strengthened through the programme
- Number of permanent platforms for dialogue registered as permanent peace building associations
- Number of meetings of regional spaces for dialogue
- Number of meetings of permanent forum for dialogue at national level
- Number of peace building projects adopted by regional spaces for dialogue

The relevant actors and a large percentage of the Bissau-Guineans have a better understanding of the critical issues which are stumbling blocks to peace, and they are committed to building lasting peace.

According to the Logframe Matrix the indicators for this objective are as follows:

- Number of debates organized on the research findings
- Number of radio broadcast debate on sensitive issues
- Number of key national, provincial and local socio-political actors who regularly participate in debate organized by the programme

The Quantitative Performance

As peace projects are aiming at complex processes of societal change and transformation the output level is usually less important than the outcome level, describing the process, which has been initiated and further promoted.

Moreover the indicators given in the Voz di Paz project documents are only quantitative and 'output' oriented. They are neither indicating the qualitative aspects of the programme achievements nor the progress of the process. In addition the indicators were never quantified, so that they give more a broad orientation than a precise evidence of the project results.

The following individuals and groups have directly participated in the activities on the different levels of the society:

On the sector and section level⁴:

- The activities on the regional level are involving people from different villages and communities.⁵ Furthermore the committees on the regional level, the so-called 'Regional Spaces for dialogue' (RSD) have started to establish a network, which is covering the village level by nominating contact persons in the communities.

⁴ The different geographical, administrative entities in Guinea-Bissau are as follows: National level, regional level (corresponding with provincial level), sector level and section level (corresponding with village or community level).

⁵ Due to the limited timeframe it was not possible during the evaluation to determine exactly which participants are representing which village and which villages are involved directly in the activities and which are not.

On the regional level:

1. **135 members** of the Regional Committees the Regional spaces for Dialogue meet regularly in a bi-weekly or even weekly period.
2. **3280 participants** (rounded figure) of the regional consultation meetings (this includes the members of the RSDs), sixteen of these meetings were held on regional level to discuss and validate the research finding.
3. **3000 people** (rough estimate) reached by awareness rising activities which are organised on the local level by the Regional Spaces for Dialogue such as a public march for peace with the military and civilians, a cultural festival with announcements on peacebuilding, football matches between villages under the motto of peacebuilding, meetings with local stakeholders on peaceful elections in 2009
4. **300 representatives of conflict parties** (rough estimate) of conflicts solved by the RSDs

On the regional level, including as well the community level, at least about **6.715 persons** participated directly in the programme activities.

Out of this total number 135 are regularly meeting within the RSD structure and are this way involved into a permanent debate on peacebuilding and conflict resolution.

On the national level:

1. **11 members** of General Assembly /Board, formerly National Orientation Forum
2. **600 participants** of the sector level consultations in Bissau in co-operation with the youth organisations covering urban quarters of the capital
3. **175 participants** of the public event at the French Institute, in which the findings of the consultations, the film and the ECO Newsletter were presented
4. **400 participants** of 2 consultations with the security forces in Bissau⁶
5. **15.000 participants** (additionally to the original programme) of a public event in the stadium of Bissau, this was organized to call for peaceful elections in 2009. All political parties participated as well as 10 of 11 nominated candidates.

The total number of participants on the national levels is 16.186 persons.

On the international level:

- **200 members** of the Guinean-Bissau Diaspora participated in a consultation held in Lisboa

⁶ Again these figures do not correspond with those of the project reports, in which a number of 1000 participants of the Security Sector was mentioned.

Overall it can be summarized that at least about **23.100 people** have directly participated in the programme activities comprising the village, the regional, the national and the international level and hereby got involved into the debate on peacebuilding.

Additional to this direct participation, the awareness rising activities and the PR work has disseminated information on peace building and conflict issues with coverage of almost 85 % (rough estimate) of the total population. This was reached by the following measurers:

- Radio emissions in Creole broadcasted by 23 community radios covering almost 85 % of the geographic area of Guinea-Bissau.
- The radio programme, which is reaching about 70 % of the inhabitants of the capital Bissau.
- The ECO Newsletter, which is reaching mainly intellectuals, the international community and the Diaspora via Internet.

In terms of quantity the programme has reached large part of the population and has initiated an ongoing debate on the root causes of conflict and peacebuilding issues.

Compared to the project period 2007-2008, the period 2009-2010 has succeeded in expanding the outreach of the programme by involving more people of the different levels of society and by involving more key stakeholders into the process. Hereby the influence of the programme is steadily growing. This increase of influence is crucial for the second phase aiming at the implementation of the proposed solutions such as laws and policies.

The main achievements regarding the expansion are:

- On the village and regional level more people could be reached by the regular radio programme, which is bi-weekly broadcasted since 2010 and the regular awareness rising activities of the Regional Spaces of Dialogue and last but not least by the RSD's continuous efforts to solve local conflicts.
- On the national level the additional 2 consultations with the security forces are a highly relevant step to get involved these crucial stakeholders into the debate on peace building.
- In addition the programme could achieve to reach political influential personalities by inviting them to the public event in Bissau, in which the film, the report and the Newsletter ECO were presented.
- Another public event, which was attended by almost all relevant political parties and its candidates was the meeting in the stadium on peaceful elections in 2009. All candidates called for peaceful elections and by this committed themselves to nonviolence during the election campaign.

- Furthermore relevant stakeholders became involved by being nominated as member of the Voz di Paz General Assembly which was founded in February 2010 and is meeting 1-2 times a year. This is reinforcing an ongoing debate about the programme on a regular basis on the national level, even though this has still a limited scope.
- Last but not least the consultation with the Diaspora in 2009 brought another dimension into the process. Among this group are influential personalities, who were forced to flee the country for political reasons. This group can access the Newsletter ECO via internet and this way keeps in touch with the programme and the ongoing debate.

This expansion of the programme was also reflected by the interviews held during the evaluation: According to the statements, Voz di Paz is the most visible and popular civil society project on peacebuilding in the country.

Additionally to the interviews with the direct participants of the programme, short interviews were conducted with people on the street selected at random. The answers of these interviewees were very similar: Almost everyone knew the Voz di Paz programme from the radio.

Overall the quantitative analysis shows clearly that the programme succeeded in strengthening and expanding the process of debate on the causes of conflict and the way to peaceful transformation.

The Qualitative Performance, Constraints and Challenges

The interviews gave also information about qualitative aspects of the programme. As mentioned Voz di Paz has a high reputation within the local civil society as well as the international community. It is mostly associated with the film documentary and the report on the causes of conflict, which is both recognised as unique in Guinea-Bissau regarding quality and vividness. Both documents are used as reference documents by representatives of the civil society and the international community.

Another valuable achievement are the scientific results of the in depth-research, which can be assessed as representative to a high degree: The perspective of the population on the four main causes of conflict in Guinea-Bissau as of poverty, lack of governance and a justice system and tribalism.

Compared to other local peace initiatives Voz di Paz is regarded as the one with the highest level of ongoing and long-term activities. Moreover the programme is perceived as neutral to a high degree. The political engagement of one staff member as former minister is known but not assessed as a risk for their neutral status due to the fact that this person has withdrawn from politics.

In addition the majority of the interviewees stated that the Voz di Paz programme has succeeded in both, initiating a culture of debate with the population on the root causes of the conflicts in Guinea-Bissau and this way contributed to a better understanding of the critical issues hindering peacebuilding. Moreover most of the interviewees described the methodology of the discussions as a positive new element in Guinea-Bissau:

'The people were asked to express sincerely their perspectives and opinions. Everyone was encouraged to speak in front of the public, no matter who he was. There was no time limit for the speakers and the facilitators were listening to everyone.' By the participants this was described as a very positive experience: '... to loose the fear and say the truth in public, which was not possible for decades'. Another new and encouraging aspect was that the participants felt being treated with respect and that their views were heard and taken seriously. According to them, the discussions were not only guided by Voz di Paz, but also 'owned' by themselves. This way the proposals for solutions made during the debate are felt to be their own proposals.

It can be summarized that the positive answers give evidence of the sound quality of the project implementation. The programme is bringing new experiences, innovative knowledge documents and new ways of communication into the conflict environment.

In addition to these achievements, the Regional Spaces for Dialogue are directly contributing to a peaceful development on the local level by their engagement as mediators. The five RSDs interviewed during the evaluation helped to solve between 4-6 serious inter-group conflicts each. Hence, this is another substantive result towards peacebuilding on the local level. Moreover the RSDs have started their own initiatives in organising local awareness rising activities on peacebuilding. This way the local 'culture of dialogue' has assumed its own existence and is further strengthened (further details see the chapter on Special Focus: Achievements and Challenges of the RSDs).

Although these positive results are predominant, the interviews indicate a few constraints and challenges:

Additionally to the interviews with the direct participants of the programme, randomly selected persons were questioned.

The majority of these interviewees knew and liked the radio programme, but without being able to explain the reasons for their positive judgements.

A few journalists stated as well, that most of the people are positive about the programme and they listen to it, but they never heard that people discuss it further.

It shows that a radio programme is not necessarily resulting in an ongoing and reinforced debate among the majority of the population. It demonstrates also a more passive receptive attitude, which might be still predominant among parts of the population not at least due to a long period with limited freedom of expression. The lack of education is another limiting factor to develop a culture of debate and critical meaning making: In Guinea-Bissau about 50% of the population is illiterate.

It is evident that it is a great challenge to initiate an active debate on peacebuilding among the majority of the population in such a sociocultural environment.

The following recommendations are made to balance these constraints (further details see also the chapter: Special Focus on Communication Tools):

Recommendation: The already planned radio emissions in local languages should be implemented and the local journalists should be supported to add something on actual events of the region to the already prepared 30 minutes emission (which are sent by Voz di Paz on CD). This way the content of the radio programme will get closer to the daily life of the people.

Voz di Paz should also consider possibilities of interactive programmes, in which people can call during the programme, ask an advice or participate in a discussion.

Apart from all the positive statements there was one exceptional critical remark on the Voz di Paz programme: 'They are only talking, talking, talking on peace, but there is no change'.

This opinion expresses concisely another major challenge of peacebuilding programmes: To reach the 'critical mass' necessary to influence the key stakeholders of the conflict and the core conflict scenario.

In the case of the Voz di Paz programme this would mean to reinforce the debate to an extent that it will have an impact on the attitudes of the political military elite, which is causing the most serious conflicts of the country. At this moment the activities might have a more punctual effect on these stakeholders as the public events in Bissau were noticed even by ministers and other high level politicians.

However, the influences have to be assessed as limited, as important key stakeholders are not yet involved, such as highest ranks of police and military, high level politicians, the political parties and the business sector. (See more details under Special Focus engagement with the political-military elite)

Recommendation: For the next phase it is recommended to strengthen the process on the level of the political military elite. This could be done by the following measures:

1. Starting consultations with the political parties. This is crucial regarding the conflict, as a lot of conflict triggers are caused by political competition and during periods of elections.
2. Continuing and intensifying the dialogue with the security sector. There could be consultations with the generals and with the police. Additionally to the consultations it might be important to set up own structures for conflict resolution within the military and police institution. Another relevant approach is to do consultations accompanying the Security Sector Reform process to minimize conflicts, mistrust and tension caused by the reform plans.
3. The most relevant focus is a dialogue between representatives of the military and the government. However this is a very demanding task and would afford intense preparation.
4. Consultations with the business sector are also relevant, as important and influential stakeholders are involved in this area.
5. Voz di Paz should reflect on the original plan to set up a Regional Space for Dialogue also in the capital. This is still missing. If the Voz di Paz staff feels that they have sufficient high level contacts from the different sectors such a Committee could be established with a similar role as in the regions.

A consolidated view of all these factors indicates that one main challenge of the programme is the nationwide scope comprising the whole population and all levels of the society:

At the same time the programme has to develop strategies to reach the high-level military -political elite as well as to expand the activities on the community level to get involved as much people as possible.

2.2.2 Special Focus: Achievements and Challenges of the Engagement with the Political-Military Elite

The political elite in Guinea-Bissau is a relatively small circle of intellectuals and the civil society has close personal links with governmental institutions and politics. A lot of people, who are engaged in civil society organisations have had positions within the government and will probably take over again in future. Although these circles are small and penetrable, it is difficult to get insight into the internal conflicts and the net of those relationships within the conflict cycle.

As already mentioned under point 2.2.1 on challenges and constraints of the overall effectiveness of the programme, the Voz di Paz programme has managed to establish contacts to a certain degree to the political-military elite. The following activities show more clearly the extent to which the programme could associate with this level:

- In 2010 Voz di Paz had one meeting with the President to present the Voz di Paz programme;
- In 2010 at the public presentation of the film in the French Institute, representatives of the following high level governmental institutions participated: The President, Federal Supreme Court, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Chief Public Prosecutor, Ministry for Family Affairs, Women and Youth and Minister of Interior. (for the full list of participants see Annex)
- Voz di Paz is a member of the governmental institution 'Organisational Committee of the National Conference for Reconciliation', which is in charge of planning and implementing the governmental peace conference (however other civil society organisations are also a member of this committee)
- Voz di Paz has set up contacts to relevant and influential stakeholders such as to the Sub-Director of the Police: Edmundo Mendes; a Military Adviser of the President: Colonel Fodé Cassamá; the Chief Public Prosecutor: Amine Michel Saad; a Member of Parliament: Amizade Fara Mendes; the Magistrate of the Audit Court: Armando Tchoba Santos; the Inspector of the Anti-Corruption Commission: Pedro Milaco and last but not least the Bishop of Guinea-Bissau
- The programme has contacts to the military via one staff member, who was Defence Minister under the former President Kumba Yala.
- In addition Voz di Paz conducted three consultations with the military forces, in which about 550 persons of all ranks up to colonel participated.

- In 2009 Voz di Paz succeeded in organising a campaign for peaceful elections with a public event in which 10 (out of 11) candidates of the political parties and 15.000 people participated.

Several of the above listed personalities were interviewed during the evaluation (see also list of interviewees in Annex). The majority stated, that the Voz di Paz has a good reputation and is very known and more visible than other civil society programmes. Most of them believe as well that the programme has the potential to influence the political-military elite by confronting them with the views of the population, bringing different stakeholders together and starting a public debate. However they did not give concrete examples, in which this influence has already shown a visible impact.

One interviewee stated that they see the programme as complementary to the work of the government.

One strong indicator for an influence of the Voz di Paz programme on the political-military elite is the fact that the National Conference of Reconciliation has been inspired by the Voz di Paz programme to use a similar approach during the conference. The Voz di Paz personnel were even asked to do the facilitation of the first consultation with the diaspora in Senegal.

Among the participants of the military consultation, the majority of the interviewees stated that the most important point of the discussion was to understand that dialogue is the way to find solutions and minimise conflicts. In addition they described the possibility to express their views and opinions frankly as a good experience. They feel also that confidence building and unification between the different groups of the population and stakeholders such as police, military politicians as well as ordinary people is crucial. The public event at the French Institute, where the Voz de Paz film was presented was regarded as such an event, where all people came together.

At the same time they assured that there are only very few conflicts within the military itself and if there are conflicts, they are solved by disciplinary measures. They felt that there are more conflicts between the government and the military. The government is treating the military without respect and their needs are neglected: The salaries are not sufficient, the barracks are in bad conditions, they don't get medical treatment if they are ill etc. The overall opinion among the military staff is that the government is responsible for the conflict situation.

These statements show clearly that one main conflict line is between the military and the government which has not been solved yet.

Overall it can be summarized that the interviews give evidence for punctual influences on the political-military elite, however the influence has still to be assessed as limited.

Because of the highly sensitive political environment, a limiting factor is that some important key stakeholders are critical towards the programme, and others are not yet involved such as the highest ranks of police and military, high level politicians as well as the political parties and the business sector.

The following recommendations, which were already cited under 2.2.1, are made to reinforce the engagement of the political-military elite.

Recommendation: For the next phase the following measures should be taken:

1. Starting consultations with the political parties. This is crucial regarding the conflict, as a lot of conflict triggers are caused by political competition and during periods of elections.
2. Continuing the dialogue with the security sector. There could be consultations with the generals and with the police. Additionally to the consultations it might be important to set up own structures for conflict resolution within the military and police institution. Another relevant approach is to do consultations accompanying the Security Sector Reform Process to minimize conflicts, mistrust and tension caused by the reform plans.
3. Given that one major conflict line is between the military and the government, a highly relevant activity is to set up a dialogue between representatives of these groups. However, as this conflict is complex, it presents a very demanding task and would afford intense preparation.
4. Starting consultations with the business sector in order to get involved important and influential stakeholders of this area.
5. Voz di Paz should consider the original plan to set up a Regional Space for Dialogue also in the capital as this is still a gap. If the Voz di Paz staff feels that they have sufficient high level contacts from the different sectors such a committee could be established with a similar role as in the regions.

2.2.3 Special Focus: Achievement and Challenges of the Regional Spaces for Dialogue

As already described the programme has set up regional structures of the programme: 10 Regional Spaces for Dialogues (RSDs) are covering the whole territory of 8 administrative regions. Each RSD consists of 4-15 members. The members were selected according to the following criteria: Having influence, being acknowledged as a person of integrity and being able to act as representative of relevant groups of the local populations such as religious, ethnic, women, youth etc. The work is done on a voluntary basis. The only support given is a monthly subsistence allowance to refund the project related expenses. Most RSDs meet on a weekly or bi-weekly basis. The original role of the RSDs is firstly to spread the information of the Voz de Paz programme to the broader population, secondly to serve as representatives of specific groups of the population and thirdly to work on the resolution of emerging conflicts on the local level.

Due to the influence, the members of the RSDs have on the local level, Voz di Paz could reach a large part of the population. They function as channel between Voz di Paz based in the capital and the local population. As a result the majority of the relevant groups be it religious, be it ethnic, youth or women were invited to and participated in the Voz di Paz consultations. Hereby the principle of 'inclusiveness' could be applied to a high degree throughout the programme.

However, due to the limited timeframe of the evaluation it was not possible to verify by interviews with the relevant groups of the population itself, if they feel represented by the RSDs.

During the evaluation field visit were undertaken to five of the 10 RSDs, namely Biombo, Oio, Bafata, Gabu and Cacheu. The interviews provided information on the self-conception of the RSDs.

The members regard themselves as a kind of local branch of Voz di Paz, who are responsible for the activities and the local level with a half autonomous status: On the one hand they can take own initiatives for example by organising activities such as awareness campaigns or cultural events and on the other hand they feel they need the authorisation of Voz di Paz for example concerning the replacement of members, who left the team.

Almost all teams started to develop own activities beyond their original tasks mainly in the field of public events with the aim of awareness rising. For example Biombo and Oio plan for this year cultural festivals, where they will spread messages on the importance of dialogue as mean of solving disputes. Other activities have been football matches between different villages, which were involved in a conflict beforehand or a public march for peace with civilians and military. Voz di Paz is providing funds for these activities.

Most of the RSDs have local partnerships with other relevant institutions and personalities such as NGOs, traditional chiefs, media and government administrations.

By the awareness rising activities the programme is enlarging its scope and influence. They are crucial to promote the message of nonviolence and establish a local culture of dialogue as a mean of conflict resolution.

Moreover the RSDs are contributing to a peaceful development by acting as mediators of local disputes. The number of conflicts they have solved varies between 3-6 serious ones per RSD. Additionally numerous smaller ones between individuals are solved by each RSD member. The following example illustrates the high degree of influence, which was already achieved by some RSDs:

In Bafata a conflict was occurring between the Fula and Mandinga tribe for four years. The Mandinga had planted cashew trees on a piece of land. The Fula destroyed the plantation to have grassland for their cattle. Both were claiming the land. The dispute escalated one day and the Fula killed one of the Mandinga. The police could not solve the conflict, they were chased away. The RSD came and calmed down the two groups. They even used the radio to spread messages of nonviolent conflict resolution. Then the team talked to the conflict parties separately and convinced them to forgive each other. As both were Muslims, the Koran was cited, a part in which issues of forgiveness are treated. Finally both parties agreed to live peacefully together as neighbours. Now they can shake hands again.

Regarding the positive effects of the RSDs the interviewees stated that the teams have helped to reduce the number of local conflicts.

One traditional chief, who is not member of the RSD stated, that he was encouraged by the team to continue more intensely with his traditional task of conflict resolution.

Further more all the RSDs interviewed regard their work as influential and relevant to change the problems and conflicts of Guinea-Bissau on the national governmental level. Examples are given below:

- The RSD members of Bafata are stating that they are engaged to work for justice without accepting a bribe from the conflict parties. They are not mixing their work with their personal or political interests unlike the representatives of the government. The population is aware of this and is respecting them. This way they function as role models. Others will follow their example and the situation will improve step by step up to the governmental level.
- The RSD in Biombo explained their influence on the governance of the national level as follows: A lot of politicians working for the government have family members in the regions. If these families are engaged for peacebuilding they can influence their relatives and convince them to change.
- The elections are regarded as another opportunity to influence the government: During the election campaigns the politician come to the regions and call on the population to vote for them. If the RSDs are campaigning for unifying the country and working for peace, the population will vote for those candidates, who are committed to peace.

Another positive effect of the engagement of the RSDs is that their work shows already sustainable effects.

All members of RSDs stated that they would continue with their work, even if the funding will come to an end and the allowances will not be paid anymore. This attitude and the own initiatives they have taken, demonstrate that they feel 'ownership' with the programme to a high degree.

On the whole it can be stated that the RSDs play an essential role to achieve the objectives of the programme by covering the local level: They ensure a broad participation of the local population in the consultation process of the national Voz di Paz programme, continue to spread the messages of the programme on dialogue and peacebuilding and at the same time they set an example by mediating conflicts on the ground.

Although the general outcome of this project component is positive, there are a few critical aspects and challenges.

During the evaluation several randomly selected persons were interviewed during the visits in the regions. As described already under point 2.2.1 one surprising result of these interviews was that almost everyone knew the Voz di Paz Programme from the radio. However, another surprise was that no one has ever heard of the institution of the Regional Space for Dialogue. This was even the case, when the interviewees stood two meters in front of the meeting point of the RSDs. One factor for this result might be the abstract term of 'Regional Space for Dialogue', which is not used very often, even by the team members, which represent themselves usually as Voz di Paz. So, the term is not very popular. However, even if RSD was explained further, the interviewees did neither know the institution nor the respective personalities. This shows that there is a certain information gap between this institution and the broad population. Though, this sample was not a representative one.

The RSDs who were asked, how they communicate with the village level, stated that they have contact persons in each village, who forward the information at village level and call the RSD members in case of conflict.

This structure is probably not functioning effectively. In view of the vast territories of the regions with limited road infrastructure and high density of the population⁷ it is obvious that 4-15 volunteers can hardly cover the whole area of one region.

The below listed proposals are made to improve the public awareness on the institution of RSD.

Recommendation: It is proposed to design a series of special emissions on the radio presenting the Regional Spaces for Dialogue, explaining their function etc. This way the platform will be more known.

Secondly, Voz di Paz should reflect together with the RSDs on the structure, how the village level could be covered more effectively and find out what is working and what not and try to find ways to improve the up-linking with the community level.

⁷ According to the census of 2009 the figures of inhabitants per region are as follows: Bafata 210.000; Gabu 215.000; Cacheu 192.530; Oio 224.644; Biombo 97.120; Tombali 94.939, Quinara 63.610, Bolama Bijagós 34.563

Another critical aspect is that two members of one RSD were complaining on the volume of work and the insufficient payment. Although they stated, they would continue with the work without any allowance, they feel the payment should be increased. They said that two members have already left due to this fact.

These views are understandable. It is a challenge to set up structures with volunteers in a country with a high level of poverty. On the other hand a payment would destroy the feeling of 'ownership' of the programme and pose a risk to the sustainability of the work. The fact that people leave because of their financial expectations, can also be regarded as a positive selection process, sorting out those without a genuine commitment.

However, it seems to be important to take care of the well-being and motivation of the volunteers to keep up this relevant regional structure. A few proposals are made below to face these challenges.

Another challenge is that some of the members have left due to illness and death (Gabu) and have not yet been replaced. This way the teams are shrinking and the workload for the remaining members is increasing.

Problematic: It is necessary that the RSDs have enough members to divide the work among them to avoid an overburden of work and to prevent feelings of frustration within the teams. In this context it is very important to replace those members, who have left in a timely manner.

Recommendation:

1. Voz di Paz should support the process of replacement.
2. Furthermore the RSDs should be visited regularly by the Voz di Paz programme. This will help to avoid negative feelings among the team and if there are problems or points of discussions, solutions can be found.
3. Additionally it could be considered to offer from time to time attractive events for the RSDs:
 - Yearly workshops in Bissau with all RSDs to exchange experiences and to strengthen the cooperation between RSDs
 - Various trainings to extend the skills and knowledge
 - Meetings with other experienced peace organisations in the neighbouring countries

Another challenge is the representative function of the RSDs. During the evaluation it was discussed, if the members feel that every relevant group of the population is well represented. On the whole this was answered positively. However, in Gabu the team proposed to include a migrant, because of the high number of migrants from Guinea in the region. This could help to solve conflicts, which are occurring regularly between host communities and migrants. In Cacheu the team felt that they need a more influential person of the Muslim community as a member. This would help to solve one serious ongoing conflict between the animist and the Muslim community on a piece of land.

Recommendation: Given that the sociocultural and political situation is continuously changing, the composition of the teams and their representative function should be reflected and discussed regularly. These could be done during the regular visits by Voz di Paz staff (see above). One interesting option might also be to have elected persons on the team who were elected from some villages or relevant groups. This could also be a way to ensure the representative status of the members.

Finally the RSDs stated during the interviews that they are not aware of the second phase, ‘the Peace Visions and Solution phase’ of the Voz di Paz programme. This shows as well that in some aspects the contact and information exchange between Voz di Paz and the RSDs is limited.

Recommendation: As already proposed the contact between Voz de Paz and RSDs should be strengthened by regular visits. These visits should be used to discuss the work, reflect the situation and find solutions for rising problems and inform the RSDs on the future planning of the programme in a timely manner.

2.2.4 Special Focus: Achievements and Challenges of the Communication Tools

As already described the Voz di Paz’s strategy of awareness rising towards peace building comprises the following elements:

- 30 minutes radio emissions in Creole language, which are broadcast regularly on a weekly basis by Radio Sol Mansi, the private radio station of the Catholic Church. Radio Sol Mansi is one of the four main radio stations covering the capital, and other central parts of Bissau. Moreover a cooperation is established with 23 community radios, in those regions, where radio Sol Mansi can not be received. Community radios receive the same emissions as Radio Sol Mansi and they are broadcasted on a biweekly basis. In addition to this regular programme Voz di Paz is cooperating on an occasional basis with several other private radios covering Bissau such as Rádio Pindjiguiti, Rádio Bombolom and Rádio Jovem by broadcasting short messages for advertising campaigns
- Voz di Paz organized in cooperation with radio Sol Mansi a specific training on the role of the media in conflict contexts for the journalists of the community radios. Topics of the training were among other things, the influence of media on the escalation or de-escalation of conflicts, ethics of journalism, impartial reporting etc.
- Video films, which are taken during the consultations and which are presented on different public and semis-public events
- Eco Newsletter, which has started in 2010 on a monthly basis

Additionally to these regular PR elements and communication tools there have been occasionally contribution on television for example in case of the consultation in Lisboa.

The predominant media used is the radio, as this is the communication tool with the largest audience in Guinea-Bissau. This is a consequence of the high illiteracy rate of Guinea-Bissau which lies at 50%. It is obvious that all written materials, such as journals and newspapers, have limited outreach and are mainly targeting intellectuals in the capital. The radio landscape consists of three main private radios such as Radio Sol Mansi, Radio Pindjiguiti, Radio Bombolom and the National Radio covering the capital as well as about 30 community radios in the regions. Out of 30 community radios Voz di Paz is cooperating with 23, which have a legal status. 90 % of the population understands Creole, so that most of the emissions are in Creole language.

The reason for the limited cooperation with the National Radio and the two other private radios Pindjiguiti and Bombolom in Bissau are the high charges, whereas radio Sol Mansi is offering the service at reduced price.

The Eco Newsletter is an additional tool to reach intellectuals and the international community in and the Diaspora via Internet.

The PR strategy is well considered and corresponding to the specific characteristics of the audience in Guinea-Bissau. The information is distributed nationwide and reaching almost everyone. This was confirmed by the interviewees selected at random. Almost everyone knows the radio programme and almost everyone appreciates the programme. By means of the media Voz di Paz programme has succeeded in spreading various information on peacebuilding such as promoting dialogue as nonviolent mean of communication, the causes of conflicts and how conflicts can be solved by mediation on the local level. Additionally the advertising of short spots before, after and during the news is drawing the attention to the topics of peacebuilding.

Moreover the interviewees, who participated in the public events in Bissau, in which the film was presented, stated that the pictures and speeches of the people were very impressive and contributing substantively to the discussion on the root causes of the conflict. The film was regarded as a new element in the debate as it shows in the most authentic and illustrative way, how the people feel and last but not least how everyone is suffering in a specific way from the situation, be it military or civilian, be it an ordinary villager, farmer or be it a traditional chief. The impressions become even stronger by the fact that people could recognise persons from their village or even themselves in the video.

In summing up, the use of the communications tools are highly relevant to reinforce the debate on peacebuilding and get the majority of the population involved.

However, according to the statements of the interviewees, it is important to integrate also the National Radio and the two other private radios, Pindjiguiti and Bombolom in Bissau, as some people are only listening to these programmes.

As already described under 2.2 on effectiveness, another important factor is to broadcast the regional programmes not only in Creole but also in the local languages. Although the majority understands Creole a lot of them are not able to talk in Creole. Hence, it would make a difference for the population

to hear the programme in their mother language. It would reduce the distance between the intellectual level of the programme and the ordinary population.

In order to meet these needs, proposals were already formulated under point 2.2 Effectiveness. They are restated below.

Recommendation: For the next phase it is recommended in order to strengthen the influence of the media tools further by firstly implementing the already planned radio emissions into local languages and secondly by supporting the local journalists to add something on actual events of the region to the already prepared 30 minutes emission (which are sent by Voz di Paz on CD). This way the content of the radio programme will get closer to the daily life of the people.

Voz di Paz can also consider possibilities of interactive programmes, in which people can call during the programme ask an advice or participate in a discussion.

2.3 Impact and Sustainability

In this evaluation the term impact is understood 'as the relationship between the project's objectives and overall goal, that is the extent to which the benefits received by the target groups had a wider overall effect on larger numbers of people in the sector or region or in the country as a whole.' (see also annex)

As the Voz di Paz Programme' s overall goal is to contribute to a peaceful transformation of the conflicts in Guinea- Bissau by strengthening a culture of debate throughout the society and promoting the understanding of the root causes of conflict in the whole country, the effectiveness and impact criteria are largely overlapping. Consequently the impacts are described already under 2.2.1 on the effectiveness of the programme.

However, it can be summarized that the following influences of the programme can be regarded as impacts on the peaceful transformation of the conflict scenario in Guinea–Bissau:

- 1) Although there is no indication that patterns of conflict and violence within the political elite has changed significantly, an important step is that the Voz de Paz programme is noticed by the governmental institutions as a relevant and influential factor for public opinion making. The methodology and the values, using nonviolent means for conflict resolution, are acknowledged by several political and military representatives. Moreover the programme is confronting the elite with the perspective of the population, in which the absence of governance is one major cause for conflict.
- 2) The conflicts which are solved by the Regional Spaces for Dialogue are a concrete contribution to peacebuilding. Moreover they are presenting examples, how conflicts can be solved by peaceful means and have the potential to promote a behavioral change in a 'bottom-up process' in the long run.

- 3) The interviews with other NGOs working on peacebuilding and conflict transformation show, that Voz di Paz has set an example by acting as neutral institution, providing high quality reports, establishing a permanent link with the population and reaching even the governmental level. One interviewee described Voz di Paz even as ‘mothers and fathers’ of the other NGOs in Guinea-Bissau. Serving as a role model for peace organizations, Voz di Paz has a strengthening influence on their engagement and by this contributing to a peaceful development.
- 4) The Programme of Voz di Paz and particularly the methodology of active listening and participative debate including all groups of the population inspired the government to use a similar approach for the National Conference of Reconciliation, which is planned for this year. The Voz di Paz personnel is asked to do the facilitation of the first consultation with the diaspora in Senegal. This indicates that the programme has even a punctual influence on politics of the government towards peaceful transformation.

These impacts are most likely sustainable as well. The activities are continued by the respective stakeholders on their own without any further accompanying measures or financial inputs.

Furthermore the interviews held during the evaluation gave evidence of several aspects of the programme which are already sustainable to a certain degree.

At the very first place this is valid for the regional structures of the programme. The majority of them feel committed to spreading information on peacebuilding and supporting people, who became involved in conflicts to solve it in a constructive manner. All members of the RSDs interviewed stated that they would continue with their work even if the funding is coming to an end.

Apart from this, there are other sustainable effects of the programme:

1. The dissemination of information on peacebuilding and conflict issues has started to influence the public opinion and has broadened the mind of the people. This will last to a certain degree, even if the project will come to an end.
2. The participants of the consultations have gained new experiences as of the freedom of speech encourage to express themselves in public.
3. The journalists, who were trained on how to act as a journalist in a conflict environment as well as the facilitators of the RSDs trained as mediators have gained knowledge and skills, which contribute to sustainable capacity building of human resources towards peacebuilding.
4. Furthermore the report on the causes of conflicts and the films are documents remain valuable resources of knowledge and experiences. They can be used and multiplied by other stakeholders in future.

3. Conclusions and Recommendations

From 2007 to 2010, Interpeace and Voz di Paz designed and implemented an ambitious programme to respond to the long lasting and complex conflict situation in Guinea-Bissau. The interventions were implemented over a wide geographic area, covering the whole country and addressing the whole population of 1,5 million people.

In view of the conflict scenario in Guinea-Bissau, the Interpeace-Voz di Paz programmatic response has been judged to be highly relevant in terms of components of the programme as well as the areas selected for implementation, as it addresses two main factors of the conflict scenario within the political-military elite of the country: The lack of a culture of dialogue and the disregard of the perspectives of the majority of the population.

In general the programme has been highly appreciated by the stakeholders and many beneficial impacts have been realized from the interventions:

During the programme period from 2009 until 2010 the Voz di Paz programme succeeded in broadening and strengthening a nationwide debate on the causes of conflict and on dialogue as nonviolent mean of negotiating interests. Overall at least 23.100 people have directly participated in the activities and about 85 % of the total population is informed on the ongoing debate and the content of the programme via multi-media tools, mainly a weekly radio programme.

The consultations including all parts of the population have led to consolidated research findings which are representative to a high degree and present the view of the population on the four main root causes of conflict in Guinea–Bissau: Lack of governance, poverty lack of a justice system and tribalism.

It has already touched and involved the high level of the political-military elite by several events: A public presentation of a film documentary and a printed report on the consultation process, a debate with the military and the nomination of Voz di Paz into the governmental Commission of National Conference for Reconciliation. The latter has influenced the government to use a similar procedure as Voz di Paz for the National Conference.

The methodology of consultations with representative composed regional panels in form of a participatory action research approach has brought new positive experiences to the population: The population feels to be taken seriously and is empowered to formulate and discuss their demands, which was not possible beforehand due to decades of limited freedom of expression.

One main achievement of the programme are the regional permanent structures, the Regional Spaces for Dialogue (RSDs), which present a highly valuable instrument of the programme as it is enhancing an ongoing debate on peacebuilding and nonviolence on the local level, reducing local conflicts by acting as mediators and as such acting as role models for nonviolence and good governance. Moreover these institutions show already sustainable aspects as all of them are willing to continue even if the programme will come to an end in future.

The success of the programme is partly a merit to the consequent application of two crucial principles of peace programmes: The inclusiveness and the status of neutrality. This is as well an achievement as these are challenging moments within project implementation.

Although the influence on the politic-military elite has still to be judged as limited at the moment, the activities have a growing influence on the public opinion making and are hereby contributing to the peaceful development and a behavioral change on a long run and by a bottom-up approach.

In summing up, apart from the overall positive results, there are a few constraining factors due to the challenging nature of the programme aiming at a nationwide peacebuilding process.

In terms of reaching the military–political elite relevant sectors and stakeholders are not yet involved into the process such as the highest ranks of the security sector, especially generals, the police, political parties, and the business sector. Especially on this level a critical mass as well as a specific strategic approach is necessary to have a significant impact on the conflict scenario within this circle. A Regional Space for Dialogue as forum for an ongoing debate on peacebuilding and as mediators on the national level is still missing although it was planned beforehand.

One major weakness is the information gap on the Regional Spaces for Dialogue among the local population: From the persons interviewed no one has heard of this institution. The coverage of large territories of an average population of 200.000 per region, which has to be covered by 5-15 RSD members is obviously not sufficient to keep in touch with large parts of the populations. Even if some of them are influential personalities and have their own networks. This situation requires specific measures to reduce gap between the RSDs and the local population.

Another natural challenge is the voluntary character of the RSDs. A few members feel overburdened and are complaining about the insufficient payment. As a consequence some have left the team. It is necessary to keep up the motivation by regular visits and ongoing support.

Concerning the enlargement of the process to the broad population by using the media mainly community radios, one challenge is the lack of education and a passive attitude among the people. This is demanding more innovative ideas how to relate to the daily lives of the ordinary population and transferring the information accordingly.

Finally, regarding the coordination of the work it was found that Voz di Paz has high-level contacts, but is not systematically addressing those departments of the international donors, which are in charge of the conflict relevant reform processes. Furthermore within the local civil society a few organizations feel a distance to the most visible Voz di Paz programme.

In order to balance these challenging factors the following recommendations are made for the next phase:

1. In order to strengthen the process on the level of the political military elite the following measures should be taken:

- Starting consultations with the political parties. This is crucial regarding the conflict, as a lot of conflict triggers are caused by political competition and during periods of elections.
 - Continuing and intensifying the dialogue with the security sector. There could be consultations with the generals and with the police. Additionally to the consultations it might be important to set up own structures for conflict resolution within the military and police institution. Another relevant approach is to do consultations accompanying the Security Sector Reform Process to minimize conflicts, mistrust and tension caused by the reform plans.
 - The most relevant focus is a dialogue between representatives of the military and the government. However this is a very demanding task and would afford intense preparation.
 - Consultations with the business sector are also relevant, as important and influential stakeholders are involved in this area.
 - Voz di Paz should reflect how the original plan to set up a Regional Space for Dialogue in the capital could be implemented. This is still missing. If the Voz di Paz staff feels that they have sufficient high-level contacts from the different sectors, such a committee could be established with a similar role as in the regions.
2. The valuable local structures of the Regional Spaces for Dialogue should be further supported by:
- RSDs should be visited regularly by the Voz di Paz programme. These visits should be used to discuss the work, reflect the situation and find solution for rising problems and inform the RSDs on the future planning of the programme.
 - Voz di Paz should reflect together with the RSD on the structure, how the village level is covered and find out what is working and what not and try to find ways how to improve the up-linking with the community level.
 - Given that the sociocultural and political situation is continuously changing, the composition of the RSDs and their representative function should be reflected and discussed regularly. One option might also be to have persons on the team, who were elected from some villages or relevant groups.
 - It is necessary that the RSDs have enough members, to divide the work among them. So, those members, who have left should be replaced in a timely manner.
 - Additionally it could be considered to offer from time to time attractive events for the RSDs in order to keep up the motivation of the teams:
 - a. Yearly workshops in Bissau with all RSDs to exchange experiences and to strengthen the cooperation between RSDs
 - b. Training to extend the skills and knowledge
 - c. Meetings with other experienced peace organisations in the neighboring countries
3. In order to increase the debate and influence of the programme to the broader population Voz di Paz should take the following measures:
- The already planned radio emissions in local languages should be implemented. Secondly the local journalists should be supported to add something on actual events of the region to the already prepared 30 minutes emission (which are sent by Voz di Paz on CD).

- Voz di Paz can also consider possibilities of interactive programmes, in which people can call during the programme, ask an advice or participate in a discussion.
 - There should be specific activities to close the gap between the RSDs and the local population by radio emissions presenting this institution.
4. Regarding the cooperation and coordination Voz di Paz should
- Include occasionally all stakeholders of the civil society into public awareness campaigns to balance feelings of competitions and envy to a certain degree. They should as well follow invitations and keep in touch with the others even though they are smaller.
 - Voz di Paz should meet regularly with the departments of international donors in charge of conflict relevant reforms and should try to be invited to coordination meetings.

Annexes

Annex 1: Terms of Reference

Terms of reference External evaluation of the Voz di Paz programme in Guinea-Bissau Interpeace-Voz di Paz

A. Short background

Many of the problems currently facing Guinea-Bissau are linked back to the struggle for independence and the subsequent relationship that was established between the military and state institutions. The dynamics around drug trafficking add further to the challenges.

Guinea-Bissau was a Portuguese colony. Between 1963 and 1974 there was marked resistance to the Portuguese that was characterized by violent conflict.

Immediately after independence, the political military elite were divided between the group who fought with the Portuguese and the group that had led the country to independence. This division resulted in more killings.

During and immediately after the fight for independence, the power of the army was consolidated and became a major force in the country. In the eyes of the people, the army was seen as legitimate because it was viewed as the force that had enabled the country to achieve independence.

Within six years of independence, there was the first coup d'état led by Nino Vieira, an Army General at the time. Nino Vieira ruled as President for over twenty years and privileged the military institutions over and above the governmental institutions. This created a culture of governance, that even today, works outside of the usual state structures and processes and has resulted in serious tensions between them. The governing style that Nino Vieira imposed led to civil war in 1998-1999. He was forced to leave power.

With the influence of the international community, the country accepted to engage in pluralist democracy in 2000 and Kumba Yala was elected as a successor to Nino Vieira. But three years later, the democratically elected President was overthrown by the army and Nino Vieira took power again. The period that followed saw more and more military interventions in state business.

The struggle for power since independence has created a vacuum and no single government has focused enough attention to creating state structures so that Guinea-Bissau becomes a truly viable country. From 2000 to 2008, Guinea-Bissau has experienced 9 governments within a period of 7 years. Consequently, the country's infrastructure, bureaucracy, administration, political institutions and

human- and social-development indicators remain largely unaltered since the first years of independence.

Most recently Guinea-Bissau has experienced continued periods of tensions between the military and political elite. With the President and Army Chief of Staff assassinated in March, and more recently in April when the Prime Minister was detained and the Army Chief of Staff ousted by army soldiers, a fragile peace exists today in Guinea-Bissau.

B. Voz di Paz

Guinea-Bissau has long been a concern to the UN Security Council, which established a UN Peacebuilding Support Office (UNOGBIS) in 1999 shortly after the civil war (1998-99). Interpeace first came to Guinea-Bissau on the invitation of the UNOGBIS (now renamed the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Guinea-Bissau –UNIOGBIS).

The Voz di Paz programme seeks to make a tangible contribution to peace and stability in Guinea-Bissau. As it continues to focus on building trust within the society, the programme is developing a culture of dialogue to identify and address obstacles to peace. By taking the approach of consensus based solutions both current problems and new ones as they arise can be solved without violence.

For the past year, the programme has been engaging Bissau-Guineans from across the country in a peace mapping exercise to identify the major peacebuilding challenges in the country. Over 3000 people participated in these consultations, representing members of civil society at a local level, state representatives at a community level and members of the regional spaces for dialogue. Journalists from community radio stations also took part. During the consultations in the field, the programme was encouraged to include a new group in the process, namely the security forces (military and police). Responding to this call, Voz di Paz organized consultations with 1,000 military members.

Following the analysis of the findings, a validation and prioritization of the causes of conflict was carried out in all eight regions of the country, in the autonomous administrative Sector of Bissau and with the Diaspora in Lisbon. Over 6,000 Bissau-Guineans took part in this validation process. The priority themes that have emerged from the validation process are the following:

1. Lack of effective state institutions and bad governance;
2. Poor administration of justice;
3. Endemic poverty;
4. Tribalism;
5. Poor management of natural resources.

About Voz di Paz

The programme seeks to remove the obstacles to the consolidation of peace in Guinea-Bissau by encouraging dialogue and by engaging a range of actors, influential persons and ordinary citizens throughout the country, in the peace process.

The aim of the programme is to make a tangible contribution to the consolidation of peace and stability in Guinea-Bissau as pre-requisites for sustainable development.

The programme has the following outcomes:

- 1) Formulation and consideration of policies, laws and public programmes that take into account the solutions suggested by the population and key stakeholders;
- 2) A culture of debate that is adopted by the Bissau-Guinean society as an effective way to consolidate peace;
- 3) The relevant actors and a large percentage of the Bissau-Guineans have a better understanding of the critical issues which are stumbling blocks to peace, and they are committed to building lasting peace.

C. The Evaluation

Purpose of the evaluation

The Voz di Paz Programme will be evaluated within the Bissau-Guinean context, with its fairly high level of political instability. This will be the second external evaluation of the Programme since its inception in 2007. The first evaluation, which was part of a contractual agreement, assessed the achievements of the programme from 2007 to 2008. The intention of this new evaluation is to assess the Voz di Paz programme achievements during the 2009-2010 period. The evaluation will explore a range of questions with the core Voz di Paz programme team, participants and key stakeholders of the programme. Where the evaluation report refers to viewpoints, it will clearly state whose views these are – also clearly identifying which views and recommendations are those of the evaluator. This evaluation will serve as a learning tool and as an accountability mechanism vis-à-vis the donors of the Programme.

a) Relevance and effectiveness of the Programme

- 1) Are the programme and its methodology relevant regarding the overall goal of the programme, which is to reinforce Bissau-Guinean capacities and to strengthen and consolidate lasting peace?
- 2) A question for the people interviewed: How does the Voz di Paz programme compare to some of the other past or current peacebuilding efforts in Guinea-Bissau? (see annex)
- 3) What are the strengths and weaknesses of the programme in terms of the added value it brings to the consolidation of peace in Guinea-Bissau?
- 4) Is Voz di Paz able to create spaces for debate and dialogue in which Bissau Guineans of different status and opinion can constructively discuss key challenges in their society? Elaborate.
- 5) Is there a broader sense of 'ownership' of the Voz di Paz programme beyond the core team? Elaborate.
- 6) Considering the extremely complex political situation in Guinea-Bissau, is the Voz di Paz programme making a contribution to peace building in Guinea-Bissau?
- 7) Comparing the project proposal at the very outset what aspects of the programme (objectives, strategies/methodologies and outcomes) have been achieved or have changed? What are the main reasons for these changes, adaptations?
- 8) How has Voz di Paz reacted/adapted to changing contextual circumstances that occurred in the country in 2009-2010? Evaluate the capacity of flexibility in programme implementation in an unpredictable and evolving context. Please elaborate.

b) Influences, impacts and sustainability

- 9) Has the Programme had influences and impacts on the relationships between the national, intermediary and local levels of the society?

- 10) Has the Programme had influences and impacts on strengthening the dialogue within the society and on peace and reconciliation?
- 11) What effects, influences and impacts has Voz di Paz had? (planned or unexpected) use illustrative stories
- 12) What type of relationship and collaborations has the programme developed with the youth?
- 13) How has Voz di Paz interactions and alliances with different actors shape/create synergies with other programmes/organizations?
- 14) What changes were brought about by the Programme? Are these changes sustainable?
- 15) What can be learned from this period of the programme (2009-2010) that would be useful to the next phase?

c) Special focus

Regional Spaces for Dialogue: The Programme has X regional spaces, of which X are in the capital Bissau and the rest covering the territory of Guinea-Bissau.

1. How have the Regional Spaces for Dialogue contributed in helping achieve the programme's goal?
2. How do local people in the respective areas see the 'Regional Spaces' and their added value?
3. How do the Regional Spaces see the Voz di Paz programme and their role therein?
4. How do the members/participants in the Regional Spaces for Dialogue see their role towards the wider governance and social challenges in Guinea-Bissau (locally and nationally)?
5. Do the core members of and participants in the Voz di Paz programme take initiatives beyond their engagement in the Voz di Paz programme? Please capture examples. Explain if/how these contribute towards achieving programmatic goals.
6. Do the core members of and the participants in Regional Space dialogues feel 'ownership' of the Voz di Paz programme? Why or why not? How does this express itself?
7. How do members/participants in the Regional Space compare the Voz di Paz effort to other past or current 'peace initiatives' in the country (they can comment on the ones they know).
8. What examples of influence and impact can be attributed to the 'Regional Spaces' and their functioning?
9. What are perceived as the strengths and weaknesses of the Regional Spaces for Dialogue as well as their threats and opportunities?

Use of communication tools:

- 1) How does the use of radio-programming help reach and involve more people in the programme?
- 2) Why and how does Voz di Paz (both the core team and/or the Regional Spaces) use the local radios? Does it help to 'involve' more people into the programme and does it contribute to 'public debate'? Please elaborate. Does the use of local radios contribute to achieving the programme goals?
- 3) What was the role of the audiovisual tool in the dissemination of the programme's results and as a trigger for dialogue?
- 4) Why and how does Voz di Paz use video documentaries? What are the challenges to produce effective video documentaries? What target audience has Voz di Paz tried to reach with its video documentaries?
- 5) Who does Voz di Paz target with its 'newsletter' (Eco da Voz di Paz)? What are the challenges and opportunities to produce and disseminate the newsletter?

- 6) Does the dissemination of the 'newsletter' contribute to achieving the programme goals?
- 7) Has the Voz di Paz programme encountered challenges related to the content of its communications?
- 8) What opportunities, triggered by the use of media, have opened up to Voz di Paz?

Engagement with the Political/Military elites:

- 1) How is Voz di Paz engaging with various members of the politico-military elite, and where has it played a role and had some influence?
- 2) Has Voz di Paz succeeded in reaching to key stakeholders in the security sector?
- 3) How does Voz di Paz manage political sensitivities?
- 4) There are regional and international actors that try to influence the dynamics within the political and military elite of Guinea-Bissau. How or does Voz di Paz relate to these?
- 5) Are there examples where Voz di Paz has had influence on the dynamics within the political-military elite?

A. Methodology

The evaluation work will take place in Geneva and Guinea-Bissau.

- Study of key documents on the Voz di Paz/Interpeace Programme in Guinea-Bissau which will be made available (including Programme Documents, quarterly and annual reports, research reports, mission reports, internal workshop reports, etc.); viewing of video materials from the programme;
- Individual or group interviews with the Voz di Paz team.
- Individual or group interviews with Interpeace team responsible for the programme.
- If and where possible sit in on meetings, focus group discussions, meetings, etc.
- Individual or group interviews and discussion with people actively participating in the process, including administrative and political authorities, organizations working in similar fields, reflection Groups' members, focus group members, Diaspora, Voz di Paz Board and donors.

B. Deliverables

Inception report: Following a detailed briefing but prior to fully engaging in the analysis and interviews, the evaluator will present an inception report of no more than 8 pages, detailing further how s/he will explore the major questions listed above, with a tentative list of the people to be contacted, the criteria for any choice of locations, and a tentative time table.

Draft report: A draft report will be presented to Interpeace and Voz di Paz, and shortly thereafter discussed in workshop format.

Final report: The final review report will be in ideally in French (but could be also translated from English) and contain findings with analysis and supporting evidence and recommendations. An executive summary of no more than 4 pages will precede the full report. A map, a list of key documents consulted,

a list of people interviewed, eventual longer case studies and other detailed materials will be attached in annex.

The report will

- Provide very briefly the background to the conflicts in Guinea-Bissau, and review the efforts to address and resolve conflicts prior to the initiation of this project;
- Separate sections with the findings, analysis and supporting evidence for the main domains of inquiry listed above (“key questions”).
- The final section of the report will provide a *reasoned and balanced appreciation* of the overall relevance and performance of the programme indicating strengths and weaknesses. This overall assessment will then be complemented with lessons learned and *specific recommendations* on how conflict resolution and peacebuilding support can further be provided in Guinea-Bissau and on how to strengthen the next phases of the Programme.
- The annexes will include a list of people interviewed, list of key documents consulted, and possibly somewhat longer case studies. Substantive evidence will be provided by way of illustrative stories such as in the form of some quotes or testimonies, reference to documents relevant to the case, observable or observed changes in behaviors, relationships; apparent changes in trends etc.

C. Qualifications

- Previous consultancy and evaluation experience and a track record of delivering against ToR and deadlines;
- A background in peacebuilding / conflict transformation, including meaningful practical experience in one or more real-life contexts;
- Demonstrated writing skills in English and French;
- First-hand familiarity with the recent and current context in Guinea-Bissau is highly desirable;
- Prior exposure to and familiarity with Portuguese is a plus;
- Familiarity with the work of local NGO and civil society initiatives;
- Sensitivity to national-international actor dynamics;
- Readiness to spend time in Guinea-Bissau and travel regionally;
- Ability to conduct a credible and nuanced conflict-analysis; (which is more precise than a mere context-analysis, and focuses on the drivers and triggers of conflict)
- There are sensitivities that need to be actively taken into account: institutional interests are at play among and within international actors, between national actors, and between national and international actors;
- In short, the evaluation has to be serious and robust, yet it is also of utmost importance that the overall process is felt to be constructive by all concerned. That will require significant tact and care of the evaluator in how the evaluation is presented, how questions are asked, how findings are presented.

D. Tentative Timeframe

- Mid April: Preliminary briefing on the Programme with Interpeace in Geneva
- April 20th : Inception report
- From April 20th to 30th: review of documentation and interviews, field visit
- May 7th : Draft report
- May 14th : Final report

Annex 2: Workplan for the Field Visit and List of Interviewees 02.05.-14.05.11

Date	Name, Position	Localation
01.02.11	Arrival	
02.05.11	Voz di Paz , Team	Office Voz di Paz
03.05.11	Alberto Luis Quematcha	Office Voz di Paz
	Raul Fernandes - Antropólogo	Office Voz di Paz
	Osvaldina Gomes Adão –Unites States Embassy	Bissau, Office USA Embassy
	Linda de Souza - Funcionaria UNIOGBIS	Bissau, Office UNIOGBIS
	Abdulai Silá	Office Voz di Paz
04.05.11	Ude Fati, Voz di Paz team,	Office Voz di Paz
	Isaiete Augusto Jabula, Voz di Paz team	Office Voz di Paz
	Dom Camnaté Na Bissign (Presidente); Bishop de Bissau	Bissau, Office Cúria Diocesana
	Edmundo Mendes – Policia Judiciaria	Office Voz di Paz
	Joseph Mutaboba – Representante do Secretário-Geral das Nações Unidas,	Bissau, Office UNIOGBIS
	Wally Ndjai, UNDP, Conflict Advisor	Bissau, Office PNUD
05.05.11	Fafali Koudawo, Voz di Paz	Office Voz di Paz
	Amizade Farã Mendes	Bissau, Sede de ANP, comissão especializada para área económica
	Coronel Fodé Cassamá – Secretario de Estados dos Combatentes da liberdade da Pátria	Bissau, Secretaria de E. Combatentes Liberdade da Pátria
	Filomena Tipote, Voz di Paz	Office Voz di Paz
06.05.11	Meritxell Gimenez, EU	EU Office, Bissau
	Buam Bissorã - Estado Maior General, Major Terêncio Mendes - Chefe de Gabinete do CEMFA, Coronel Caramo Cassamá- Comandante da Zona Militar Centro, Major Sadibo Quidjera – Defesa anti aérea, Capitão Aliu Seidi, Dr. ^a Cadi Seidi – medica do hospital militar,	Bissau, Aquartelamento da Base Aérea de Bissalanca

	<p>Coronel Quessangue Knan, Major Alberto Rodrigues, Pedro Vicente Gomes, Capitão Aliu Seidi,</p>	
	<p>Youth Groups: Nacapul José Mango (Bairro de PLAK), Emílio da Costa – (Bairro de Cuntum), Antónia Mango – ADAJ (Santa Luzia), Manuel Malick Baldé – AJOCUB (Bairro Cupelum de Baixo), Lamine Camará – AM – (Bairro Militar B.militar), Zico Xarte - (Bairro de Luanda), Georgina C. Landim - ASA (Bairro Varela), Mamadu Iaia Djaló - AJOBES (Bairro de D'ajuda), Adelino Tchigna - AMA (Bairro de Mindará), Ernestina Dias ACESA (Bairro de Bandim), Suênia Dos Santos DJUMBAIDIM, Teresinha Pereira - ACESA Bairro de Bandim), Ama Tidjane Seidi RAJ- (Bairro Militar), Caetano de Pina (Bairro de Mpantcha),</p>	<p>Bissau, Office Voz di Paz</p>
07.05.11	<p>REGIÃO DE GABU GABU Membros do ERD: Adja Taí Sow, Adulai Baldé, Representantes do Poder Tradicional: Dauda Moreira Embaló – Regulo, Alfa Embaló régulo, Rádios – Rádio Gandal Outros: Djabi Cassamá – líder de opinião, Jovens do Centro Multifuncional, REGIÃO DE BAFATA BAFATÁ: Membros do ERD: Aladje Bua Grassi, Pedro Dafé, Ussai Djaló, Zeca Braima Sama,</p>	<p>Gabu</p> <p>Bafatá</p>

	Rádio, Representante de Instituição Religiosa: Dom Pedro Zilli – Bispo de Bafatá, Seleção de Jovens de toda a Guiné: Grupo de 70 Jovens - amostra da juventude nacional em campo de formação.	
08.05.11	Jasmina, Barkhausen, Mom Ku Mom	Bissau, Hotel Azalai
	Região de Biombo Membros do ERD, Besna Crima, Beatriz Soares da Garma, Pedro Nunez, Negrado da Silva	Biombo
09.05.11	Mencham Borja Funy, Voz di Paz,	Bissau, Office Voz di Paz
	Mamadu Quela, Vice Presidente de Movement of the Civil Society	Bissau, Office Movement of the Civil Society
	Etchen Sambu, President de Platform de NGOs	Bissau, Office Movement of the Civil Society
	Robana Hhate, President of Wanep	Office Voz di Paz
	REGIÃO DE OIO MANSOA: Membros do ERD: Mussa Sane, Aminta Camará, Nilza Sona Mané , Celestino Ianda, Representantes de Instituição do Estado: Nheta Na Onça - administradora, Paulo Bodjam - Professor, Comissário da Zona Militar Representantes de Instituição religiosa e tradicional Pe Massiev, Irmã Brasileira, Aladje Joaquim Sambu (Régulo), Outros: Rádio Sol Mansi,	Mansoa
10.05.11	REGIÃO DE CACHEU CANCHUNGO : Membros de ERD Bernardo Gomes, Florença Mendes, Flaviano Manduara Correia, Representantes do Poder Tradicional: Quintino Manga – Vice Regulo de Caió,	Canchungo

	Simão da Silva – Regulo de Calequisse, Sene Bande – Vice Regulo de Pelundo, ONG e Rádio : Jaqueline Barreto - AGUIBEF, Dulcinea Pereira - CONGAI, Uler Aband – Rádio	
	Davide Sciocco, Director Radio Sol Mansi	Bissau, Office of Radio Sol Mansi
	Mamadou Jao, Director, INEP	Bissau, Office of INEP
11.05.11	Frei Victor	Bissau, Diocesan Bureau
	Amine Michel Saad, Procurador Geral	Bissau, Office of Chief Procecutor
	Vladimir Monteiro,	Bissau, Office UN
	Frei Michael, Coordinator Justice and Peace Commission	Bissau, UNDP Conference/Hotel Coimbra
	Media Radio Jovem, Onesimo Figueiredo, Radio Pindjiguiti; Gabriel le Jornal Ultima, Radio Bombolom,	Bissau, Office Voz di Paz
12.05.11	Armando Tchoba dos Santos, Jurist, working group Voz di Paz	Bissau, Office Parliament
	Pedro Milaco, Scientist , working group , Voz di Paz	Bissau, Office Parliament
	Ensa Jandi, Comberssa pa Paz	Bissau, Office Alternag
	President Human Rights League	Bissau, Office League of Human Rights
	Tiago Domingos, cameraman, Voz di Paz	Bissau, Office Voz di Paz
	Fafali Koudawo, director Voz di Paz	Bissau, Office Voz di Paz
13.05.11	Voz di Paz Team, Debriefing	Bissau, Office Voz di Paz
14.05.11	Departure	

Annex 3: EU Evaluation Criteria

The five principle criteria for evaluation according to EU evaluation criteria:

Relevance

Relevance concerns the appropriateness of the project design to the problems to be resolved at two points in time: when the project was designed, and at the time of the evaluation.

Efficiency

The efficiency criterion concerns how well the various activities transformed the available resources into the intended results (sometimes referred to as outputs), in terms of quantity, quality and timeliness.

Effectiveness

The effectiveness criterion concerns how far the project's results were used or their potential benefits were realized - in other words, whether they achieved the project purpose. The key question is what difference the project made in practice, as measured by how far the intended beneficiaries really benefited from the products or services it made available.

Impact

The term impact, sometimes referred to as outcome, denotes the relationship between the project's purpose and overall objectives, that is the extent to which the benefits received by the target beneficiaries had a wider overall effect on larger numbers of people in the sector or region or in the country as a whole.

Sustainability

The fifth and final criterion, sustainability, relates to whether the positive outcomes of the project at purpose level are likely to continue after external funding ends.

Annex 4: List of participants of the public event

Invitation list to the launch of Eco da Voz di Paz

1. President of the Republic
2. Prime Minister
3. National Assembly
4. The Supreme Court
5. Office of the General Attorney
6. Ministry of National Defense
7. Ministry of the Interior
8. Ministry of Information and Parliamentary Affairs
9. Ministry of Foreign Affairs
10. Ministry of Women, Family, Social Cohesion and Poverty Reduction
11. Members of the Institute for Women and Children
12. Members of the Ministry of Justice
13. National Institute of Studies and Research (INEP)
14. National Electoral Commission
15. Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)
16. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
17. United Nations Integrated Office for Guinea-Bissau (UNIOGBIS)
18. European Commission
19. European Mission for Security Sector Reform
20. Portuguese Embassy
21. Brazilian embassy
22. French Embassy
23. Embassy of Angola
24. Embassy of the United States of America
25. German Embassy
26. Guinean League for Human Rights
27. Commission for Human Rights
28. Human Rights' Commission
29. Association of Magistrates
30. Diocese of Guinea-Bissau
31. Islamic Association of Guinea-Bissau
32. Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs
33. Evangelical Church of Guinea-Bissau
34. Universal Church of the Kingdom of God
35. Chief of Antula
36. Chief of Reno
37. Chief of Bandim
38. African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC)
39. Party for Social Renewal (PRS)
40. Guinean Democratic Movement (MDG)
41. Lusophone University of Guinea (ULG)
42. Colinas de Boé University (UCB)

43. Bissau Law School (FDB)
44. Child Nest Foundation
45. Association for Research and Action Oriented to Training in Portuguese speaking African Countries (AiFA / PALOP)
46. Bissau-Guinean Red Cross Society
47. Action for Development (AD)
48. Sinim Mira Nassique (SMN)
49. Tinguena
50. Institute of Biodiversity and Protected Area (IBAP)
51. International Union for conservation of Nature (IUCN), Bissau
52. Guinean Association for the Study and dissemination of Appropriate Technology (DIVUTEC)
53. Tinguena
54. Federation Kafo
55. National youth Network (RENAJ)
56. National Youth Council (CNJ)
57. National Youth and Population Forum (FNJP)
58. Aid Network (RA)
59. Father Davide Sciocco - Member of Voz di Paz' General Assembly
60. Adja Satu Camara Pinto - Vice-Chairman of Voz di Paz' Board of Directors
61. Eusebius Bacar Camara- Member of Voz di Paz' General Assembly
62. Dina Adam - Member of Voz di Paz' General Assembly
63. Dom Jose Camnaté Na Bissign - Chairman of Voz di Paz' Board of Director
64. Sambu Seck - Member of Voz di Paz' the Board of Directors
65. Muller Vaz Martins - Member of Voz di Paz' General Assembly
66. National Civil Society Movement for Democracy and Peace
67. West African Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP), Guinea-Bissau
68. National Union for Disabled Victims of the War (UNDEMOV)
69. Women Network for Peace and Security in West Africa (REMPSECAO)
70. CRNSDS National Association of Disabled Victims of War (CRNSDS)
71. Mom Ku Mom – (Hand in Hand)
72. The National Network to Combat Sexual Violence (RENLUV)
73. Foundation for Democracy, Development, Stability and Peace (FUNDEP)
74. General Confederation of Independent Trade Unions
75. National Union of Guinean Workers (UNTG)
76. National Secretariat for the fight against AIDS (SNLS)
77. Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV)
78. Plan International
79. Swissaid
80. Instituto Marques de Valle Flor
81. Intercooperation and Development
82. National Confederation of Students of Guinea-Bissau (CONAEGUIB)
83. Network of Youth Associations Bairro Militar (RAJ / BM)
84. Clube agenda XXI
85. Association for Solidarity and Action (ASA)

Media

86. National Broadcast Radio (NPR)
87. Radio Pindjiguiti
88. Radio Bombolom
89. Radio Nossa
90. Radio Jovem
91. Radio Voz of Quelélé
92. RDP Africa
93. RTP Africa
94. Television of Guinea - Bissau (TGB)
95. Community Television of Quelélé
96. Radio France International – Portuguese
97. BBC – Portuguese
98. Voice of America
99. Deutsche Welle
100. News Agency of Guinea
101. Agencia Lusa
102. Jornal No pintcha
103. Jornal Gazeta de Noticias
104. Jornal Ultima Hora
105. Jornal Diario de Bissau
106. Jornal Kansaré
107. Jornal Bantaba di Nobas

Personalities

108. Mariama Sané Sanhá
109. Henrique Rosa
110. Maria R. Rosa
111. Francisco Benante
112. Alamara Ntchia Nhassé
113. Mário Pires
114. Artur Sanha
115. Carlos Domingos Gomes (Cadogo Pai)
116. Francisco Vera Cruz (Guinean-Association for the Study of Alternatives -ALTERNAG)
117. Irmã Valéria
118. Padre João Dias Vicente
119. Flora Gomes (Cineasta)
120. Atchutchi
121. Lúcio Soares (Liberation War Veteran)
122. Bota Na N'Batcha (Liberation War Veteran)
123. Adulai Sillá (Writer)
124. Filinto Barros
125. Tiadora Inácia Gomes
126. Francisca Pereira
127. Elisabete Ialá
128. Fatima Fati

129. Idrissa Djaló
130. Carmem Pereira
131. Manecas Santos
132. Eva Gomes (Women's Organisation of Portuguese Speaking African Countries-UDEMU)
133. Mamadu Serifo Jaguité
134. Iancuba Injai
135. Domingos Simões Pereira
136. Iaia Djaló (Parliamentarian)
137. Aladje Malam Mané – Former President of the National Commission for Election
138. Mário Cissoko
139. Armando Mango (Dean of the Bar of Lawyers)
140. Delfim da Silva
141. Emílio Kaft Costa (Judge)
142. Carlos Vamain (Judge)
143. Braima Sanhá, (National School of Administration-ENA)
144. Joãozinho Ialá (Commission for the Reconciliation of Armed Forces)
145. Conduto de Pina (Parliamentarian)
146. Braima Camará (President of Trade, Industry and Agriculture Chamber)
147. Alfredo Gomes
148. Ernesto Dabó
149. Raul Fernandes (Anthropologist)
150. Aladje J.M. Fadiá (Governor of the Central Bank of West African Countries-BCEAO)
151. Music Association "SICKÓ"
152. Zé Manel Forbes
153. Sambalá Kanuté
154. Dulce Neves
155. Netos di Bandé (Grupo Cultural)

Regional Spaces for Dialogue

156. Regional Space for Dialogue of Gabu
157. Regional Space for Dialogue Gabu
158. Regional Space for Dialogue Bafatá
159. Regional Space for Dialogue Bafatá
160. Regional Space for Dialogue Quinará
161. Regional Space for Dialogue Quinará
162. Regional Space for Dialogue Tombali
163. Regional Space for Dialogue Tombali
164. Regional Space for Dialogue of Bolama and Bijagos
165. Regional Space for Dialogue of Bolama and Bijagos
166. Regional Space for Dialogue of Cacheu (Left Bank)
167. Regional Space for Dialogue of Cacheu (Left Bank)
168. Regional Space for Dialogue of Cacheu (Right Bank)
169. Regional Space for Dialogue of Cacheu (Right Bank)
170. Regional Space for Dialogue of Biombo
171. Regional Space for Dialogue of Biombo
172. Regional Space for Dialogue of Oio (Mansoa, Nhacra and Bissorã)

173. Regional Space for Dialogue of Oio (Mansoa, Nhacra and Bissorã)
174. Regional Space for Dialogue of Oio (Mansaba and Farim)
175. Regional Space for Dialogue of Oio (Mansaba and Farim)