



INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY AND ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE

ANNEX B

Terms of Reference

Political Economy, Outcomes and Risk Analysis of the National & Inclusive Dialogue and Reform Process in Mozambique

1. Background & Rationale

Mozambique's recent cycles of contestation and reform have unfolded against a long arc of negotiated settlements—from the 1992 General Peace Agreement to successive ceasefires and decentralization bargains. The current push for national inclusive dialogue sits at the intersection of (i) recurrent electoral disputes, (ii) unfinished decentralization, (iii) sub-national conflict and displacement (notably in Cabo Delgado), and (iv) macro-fiscal pressures linked to debt overhang and extractive-led growth expectations. A political-economy lens is required to understand who has power to shape outcomes, through which institutions, with what incentives, and at what risk.

Mozambique has embarked on a national and inclusive dialogue and reform process intended to address post-electoral tensions, strengthen democratic governance, and lay the groundwork for short- and medium-term constitutional, electoral and governance reforms. This process involves multiple state and non-state actors, evolving political incentives, and a shifting fiscal and development partner landscape.

International IDEA requires a focused Political Economy Analysis (PEA), paired with an Outcomes and Risk Analysis, to (i) unpack the interests, incentives and power relations shaping the dialogue and reform agenda; (ii) assess early, intermediate and plausible outcomes of the process; and (iii) anticipate risks and entry points that can guide programme planning and adaptation and donor assistance and coordination.

2. Purpose of the Assignment

Provide actionable, evidence-based insights that help International IDEA, international development partners and national stakeholders:

1. Navigate political incentives and constraints influencing the dialogue and reforms.
2. Identify realistic near-term outcomes, longer-term pathways, and contribution opportunities.
3. Map risks (political, operational, fiduciary, safeguarding, reputational) and propose mitigation/adaptation measures.
4. Inform programming choices, sequencing, partnerships and resource allocation.

3. Objectives & Key Evaluation Questions

3.1. *Objective A — Political Economy Analysis (PEA)*

- **Structures & Trends:** What structural factors (politics, security, economy, regional dynamics, social cleavages, natural resource politics, decentralization) shape reform incentives?

- **Institutions & Rules-in-Use:** How do formal frameworks (constitution, legal framework, justice sector mandates, institutions) and informal norms (party discipline, patronage networks, coalition dynamics) enable/limit reform?
- **Actors & Incentives:** Who are the pivotal actors (executive, parliament, judiciary, election bodies, parties, security sector, civil society, faith groups, media, private sector) and what are their interests, leverage and veto points?
- **Windows & Sequencing:** What near-term windows exist? What sequencing is most feasible (constitutional vs. electoral vs. decentralisation, etc.)?

3.2. *Objective B — Outcomes Analysis*

- **Outcome Pathways:** What are the credible short- and medium-term outcomes of the dialogue (policy, legal, institutional, behavioural)?
- **Contribution & Influence:** Where can International IDEA and similar institutions most plausibly contribute (technical assistance, facilitation, comparative knowledge, parliamentary support)?
- **Assumptions:** What enabling assumptions must hold, and how to monitor them?

3.3. *Objective C — Risk Analysis & Scenario Planning*

- **Risk Typology:** Political, conflict-sensitivity, economic, inclusion & safeguarding, operational, reputational.
- **Scenarios (6–24 months):** Best case, baseline, downside; triggers and signposts.
- **Mitigation & Adaptation:** Practical measures, decision points, contingency options, and portfolio-level risk appetite alignment.

4. Scope of Work (SoW)

Please propose a detailed Scope of Work that meets the Objectives and Key Questions, Methodology and expected Deliverables, including a workplan and the level of effort for the production of each deliverable. The maximum duration of the assignment is expected not to be longer than 12 weeks.

5. Methodology & Standards

- **Approach:** Problem-driven PEA; mixed-methods; triangulation.
- **Data Collection:** Semi-structured interviews, document analysis, limited participatory mapping; secure note-taking; anonymized data.
- **Analysis Tools:** Stakeholder power/interest mapping, force-field analysis, outcome harvesting, contribution analysis, process-tracing for critical incidents.
- **Cross-Cutting Lenses:** Gender equality and social inclusion (GESI), youth participation, human rights, conflict sensitivity/Do-No-Harm.

6. Deliverables

1. **Inception Report** (max 12 pages) – methodology, tools, sampling, risk plan, workplan.
2. **Stakeholder & Power Map Pack** – actor mapping, coalitions, veto points, influence channels.
3. **Interim Brief** (6–8 pages) – emerging findings, early outcomes, risk signposts.
4. **Draft Final Report** (max 35 pages + annexes) – PEA, outcomes pathways/Theory of Change (ToC), risk & scenario analysis, recommendations.
5. **Policy Brief** (4 pages) – key messages for decision-makers.
6. **Presentation Deck** – findings and recommendations

All deliverables should be in English and Portuguese, editable formats (Word/PowerPoint/Excel), with an executive summary in both English and Portuguese.

7. Team Composition & Qualifications

Required experience:

- i) The team should be comprised of between two and four experts with expertise in governance systems analysis, reform process, national dialogue and conflict resolution.
- ii) It is highly desirable that the team should have a minimum of ten years of experience in one or more of the above areas.
- iii) The team leader must combine strong expertise, skills and experience in Political Economy Analysis (PEA) preferably in African contexts, applied Gender Equality and Social Inclusion (GESI) and Do No Harm in political processes, and report writing.
- iv) At least one team member must have strong Mozambique experience, preferably a Mozambican national.
- v) Fluency in English and at least one team member with fluency in Portuguese is required.

8. Data Protection & IP

- Compliance with applicable data protection law; anonymization of interview data; encryption at rest and in transit.

9. Proposal Submission

Technical Proposal (max 15 pages, not including the team CVs): Understanding of assignment and context, methodology, scope of work and workplan, team composition and CVs, relevant experience, and risk management plan.

Financial Proposal: Detailed budget in EUR, including level of effort and reimbursables. International travel-related costs, including accommodation and per diem in Maputo will be covered directly by International IDEA. The list of fees/rates and cost of reimbursable expenses should be tax inclusive according to the Mozambican fiscal laws.