

CMI 2006

Research for Development and Justice



ANNUAL REPORT

CMI CHR.
MICHELSENS
INSTITUTT



Research for Development and Justice

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2006 was an eventful year at the Institute. We completed a new strategy plan for 2006-2010. CMI has set an ambitious agenda: **Research for Development and Justice**. To strengthen and sharpen our focus, we have restructured our research organisation and established four thematic research groups: (i) Peace, Conflict and the State, (ii) Rights, Democracy and Development, (iii) Public Sector Reform, and (iv) Poverty Reduction Research Group.

Together with Christian Michelsen Research (CMR), we sold our joint premises at Fantoft. If things go according to plan, CMI will move into a new building (owned by the University of Bergen) towards the end of 2008.

CMI was evaluated by a team appointed by the Research Council of Norway, and led by Professor Gøran Hydén of the University of Florida. We are proud of its conclusions: «CMI performs at a very high international level». Four of seven research programmes are rated «excellent», in terms of scientific quality, communication, capacity-building, and outreach in the South. The team finds our variety of publications impressive, and writes that CMI staff have made an impact on fellow academics who cite their research, on partners (North and South) who praise their work and what they have learnt from it, and on users who generally express great appreciation of the quality and relevance of the services that the Institute provides. Using soccer as an analogy, the evaluation team concludes that CMI plays in the European Champions League.

The evaluation team also suggests a number of areas where we can improve our performance. These include linking research to policy in still more effective ways; enhancing the strategic aspect of some of our research programmes; ensuring the balance between interdisciplinarity and disciplinarity in our research; and further improve the dissemination of

research findings. According to the team, we should also strengthen research networks and cooperation in our own part of the world.

In the years to come, we expect to see a clearer indication of CMI's rationale as a research institution in a global context. Development studies will increasingly address issues which are important far beyond traditional aid and trade debates. The research and consultancy markets are likely to expand. CMI's work will take place in an environment characterised by increased competition and scarce research funds.

In a situation where much of what we do is classified as «commissioned studies», CMI must always be «research-led.» The Institute must have live intellectual agendas, pursued and renewed through research of sufficient quality and scale. It must invigorate other activities, including commissioned studies and advisory work, institutional collaboration, dissemination and student supervision. We must seek out research areas where we may have comparative advantage and exploit complementarities with our partners in different parts of the world.

In order to succeed and further strengthen our position as a policy-oriented social

science research institute, we must retain our identity as a research organisation concerned with the plights of millions of poor people who often live in conflict-ridden countries, and we must be sensitive to Southern perspectives.

Generally, CMI is well placed and prepared to meet the future. We are encouraged by the evaluation report

Despite many changes and challenges, we have managed to keep a sense of community and a culture of mutual respect and concern.

to make new strides and expand the Institute further. Our staff will always be our most important asset. Despite many changes and challenges, we have managed to keep a sense of community and a culture of mutual respect and concern. I am grateful for all the efforts exerted by colleagues who make CMI not just a stimulating environment for research but an enjoyable place to be as well.

Gunnar M. Sørbo
Director

A large group of children, mostly boys, are standing in a line outdoors. They are wearing white t-shirts and blue skirts or shorts. The children are looking in various directions, some towards the camera and others away. The background shows a grassy field under a clear sky. A red banner is overlaid on the image, containing the title and a paragraph of text.

Building Peace Through Community Development

Mainstream peacebuilding approaches tend to assume that a conflict settlement must be in place before development projects can start. In Ituri in the Democratic Republic of Congo they have shown that development can be an effective peacebuilding tool – even in the midst of violence.

In war-torn areas, humanitarian aid rather than development assistance, continues to be the norm also after violence has receded. Ituri, a district in the north-east of the DRC, had been embroiled in war since 1999. Many peacemaking efforts have failed. In 2002, UNDP decided to launch a community development initiative in this district in spite of the ongoing violence. The Norwegian government contributed most of the funding.

More than 80 small-scale local projects received support: production of bricks, eggs, honey, and manioc; a blood bank, hairdressing, micro credit; building of bridges, water networks, a stadium, courts, health centres and primary schools. The overall goals were reconciliation, reconstruction, local capacity building and HIV/AIDS awareness raising.

The CMI evaluation concludes that the projects effectively reduced the violence – most of all because of the local project initiators, who carried out their work with great care and enthusiasm. The dedication of the UN team in Ituri was pivotal. The following key traits were important for the success of the Ituri initiative:

- The inclusion of people from different sides of the conflict in each project.
- The practical orientation of each project, enabling participants to make a living and to work together and thereby reconcile.
- The aid agency's trust in the local actors which inspired local ownership.
- Tight follow-up and guidance by the aid agency on the ground.

But the core of the success lay in the method of building peace through locally rooted and initiated processes of development. In conflicts where violence is closely related to poverty, community development is likely to be a peacebuilding tool. The Ituri experience shows that the method can work, and sheds light on conditions under which it is likely to be most effective.

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Peacebuilding in Sudan



A comprehensive peace agreement (CPA) was signed by the Sudan Government and the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) 9 January 2005.

Since then, peacebuilding efforts have been marred by the growing political and humanitarian crisis in Darfur as well as by a slow implementation of the CPA. At the moment, there is great frustration in Sudan and among the donors who pledged 4.6 billion USD to promote peace and development in Africa's largest country.

Important premises for the joint Sudanese-Norwegian research programme is that (a) there are a number of conflicts on different levels in the Sudan, and (b) that they are driven by a complex set of interrelated but changing factors. To a large extent, the Sudanese conflicts can be seen as a result of agrarian or rural crises. The wars and conflicts that have ravaged the country, have almost exclusively taken place in pastoral and agro-pastoral

areas. Access to land and resources are important. However, the contexts that have affected people's life situations are not the same everywhere. Research is being carried out in different parts of the Sudan. An important purpose is to make a composite picture of developments in the country and their implications for peacebuilding. We look at regional politics, on central-regional relations and on how the Sudanese state has become a player in the different conflicts.

In an environment where peace implementation is difficult, we know from other countries that the role of the international community is particularly important. In Sudan, we have seen increasing divisions among external actors both over Darfur and on how to deal with the Khartoum regime. There has been an increasing entanglement of the Darfur and Chad conflicts. The international community has been preoccupied with crisis management. This means that several key causes behind the Sudanese conflicts are not being sufficiently addressed. Peace dividends are yet to be experienced by large Sudanese populations.

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thereby challenging the state's monopoly on the deployment of legitimate violence. These groups were formed by religious or «traditional» leaders, and ritual and religious obligations form integral parts of their routine modus operandi. Only by unravelling the religious dimensions of these groups is it possible to understand the legitimacy they enjoy, especially among relatively impoverished Balinese Hindus and Sasak Muslims on the densely populated island of Lombok. Support for these movements has also been nurtured by widespread cynicism regarding the police and the corrupt judicial system put in place under the New Order regime (1966-98).

In 1998, Indonesia embarked on a vexed process of democratisation and decentralisation. The regional autonomy policy grew from a strong antipathy towards the nature of the centralist military-dominated New Order state. Decentralisation has also been a cornerstone in the neo-liberal reforms promoted by IMF and the World Bank, organisations which have been involved in the restructuring of Indonesia. Decentralisation reforms

have given greater political and economic autonomy at the provincial and sub-district levels. These reforms have also increased rivalry between various groups seeking political influence

and control over economic resources at the local level. While incidents of state sponsored violence have declined, there has been an upsurge in violence and coercion carried out by vigilante, criminal and paramilitary groups that operate largely independent of state control. On Lombok, civilian crime-fighting groups which are led by religious leaders, typically present themselves as acting on behalf of, or in lieu of, lapsed state institutions. Violence is thus justified as an act of necessary rectification rather than opposition to the state, in a situation where the state fails to provide basic civil rights such as physical protection, justice and employment. This could offer an opening to state officials to address legitimate grievances whilst simultaneously enforcing the rule of law. So far, however, local authorities have instead courted these violent groups in return for political support.

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In Search of Security

The issue of «security» has gained acute relevance for policymakers and scholars. The ways in which the politics of security relates to religion, has yet to be given the attention it deserves.

In Indonesia, recent terror attacks combined with widespread concerns that «crime» is rampant and out of control has made security a primary concern in everyday life. In response to the perceived failure of the government to provide security and social order, a plethora of civilian patrol and security groups have emerged in many parts of the country. Religious groups are also moving into the turbulent terrain of security provision, claiming to offer spiritually sanctioned forms of protection to individuals and communities.

The faith-based patrol and crime-fighting groups that have emerged among

Muslims and Hindus on the island of Lombok in the post-98 «reformation» period are the focus of the new CMI-project «In : Religious Mobilisation and Violent Justice in Indonesia.» Conceived as a comparative investigation of three security groups, the project explores the structural conditions (local, national, global) which have led religious movements to assume classical aspects of statecraft,





The Christians of the West Bank constitute one of the oldest Christian communities in the world. Their presence in the region dates back to early Christianity. They have been a resourceful minority within a largely Muslim society, playing an instrumental role in shaping Palestinian culture and national politics. Today, their political influence still far exceeds their numbers.

A Paralyzing Occupation:

The Flight of Christians from Palestine



Christian Palestinians also have a long history of emigration from the area. Since the emergence of the Arab-Israeli conflict and Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, this emigration has accelerated. Due to a combination of low birth-rates and high rates of emigration compared to their Muslim neighbours, the Christian presence in the area has shrunk from 15 % of the population around 1900 to an alarming 1,5 %, or 42 000 people in Gaza and the West Bank, East Jerusalem included. Since 2000, the annual rate of emigration has tripled. Between 800 and 900 Christian Palestinians leave each year. This represents a serious threat to the indigenous Christian presence in the area. During 2006, a research project was started, aimed at understanding the driving forces behind this emigration, and its impact on the local community.

A widely held notion is that Christians are suppressed and discriminated within the Palestinian territories, and that Muslim hostility is one of the main driving forces behind their emigration. CMI research gives little support to such notions. Instead,

emigration among Christian and Muslim Palestinians alike must be seen in relation to the Israeli occupation and its impact on the Palestinian society.

The Case of Bethlehem

The isolation of Bethlehem from Jerusalem, the mass-confiscation of land, the construction of the wall around Bethlehem, and the new Israeli border policies are all dramatic infringements on Palestinian rights. Put together, these measures create a local reality in which people are deprived of their basic social freedom, and where chances of building a free, safe and prosperous life have been suspended for all segments of society. Under these circumstances, a growing number of people try to leave the country to create a safer future for their children elsewhere.

Since the start of the Second Intifada, the Palestinian territories have been subject to a strict regime of military control, including severe measures of collective punishment and targeted assassinations of Palestinian militias. Bethlehem, the main centre of Palestinian Christianity, has also

faced a structural occupation that has crippled the local economy, and left the Bethlehem community in a state of depression.

Christian Palestinians represent an urbanised middle class minority and are better prepared and more inclined to emigrate than their Muslim neighbours. When they leave Palestine, they tend to go wherever they have family networks. Today, the most common destinations are USA, Canada and Northern Europe. Due to their small numbers and low birth rates at home, the ongoing emigration will have dramatic consequences for the Christians in Palestine, and may in time threaten their very existence as a living community in the West Bank. The overriding problems plaguing the area are the Arab-Israeli conflict, Israel's military occupation, and the economic crisis in the Palestinian territories. Until these problems are dealt with, the flight of Christian Palestinians is likely to continue with unabated strength.

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Dreaming of Palestine

Lebanon has been a reluctant host to the Palestinian refugees since 1948. Lebanese policies vis-à-vis the Palestinian refugees have prevented their permanent integration and settlement in the country.

The question of the Palestinian refugees' rights, involve both their legal status as refugees and as citizens in the host country. In liberal democracies, civic rights are linked to permanent residency. In Arab countries, nationality is the key to obtain civic rights. In these countries, the right to citizenship serves as a primary right from which other civil rights and entitlements are derived. Denied citizenship as well as civic rights, the refugees are caught in a legal «protection gap.» Because of this, the more than 300,000 refugees are Lebanon's poorest and most disenfranchised community.

Palestinian refugees tend to live in conflict-ridden environments, often at the margins of the host society. This first of all applies to the camp-based refugees who are languishing in dilapidated and overcrowded camps. In the refugee camps,

One of the eldest residents in the camp is Abou Saïda [pseudonym]. A legend in the camp, he is known as «the man with the keys.» One of the few remaining octogenarians left in the camp, his fate is the epitome of the Palestinian trauma of displacement and exile in Lebanon. For him and the cause he embodies, time is running out. Abou Saïda has received many visitors in his tiny house, but he has not yet seen his homeland nor is he at home in Lebanon. Old and frail, he and his generation are left with empty promises of a dignified life and return to their homeland.

«How does it feel to be exiled for so long,» I ask hesitantly, recognising the emptiness of a question posed before by countless visitors. «Many people come asking me the same question,» Abou Saïda complains, «perhaps 100 people in all.» After letting the implication sink in, he continues: «When we left our house we took nothing with us, thinking we would return in a one week's time.» Here I always feel homesick. Here I dream of Palestine. I would give up everything to return to Palestine. When I left Palestine, I lost myself. I would leave today without any of my belongings if I was allowed to return to my village.»

Tired from speaking, he lights yet another cigarette and pulls out the heavy iron keys to his family home in Galilee, and the faded-yellow land-deeds he has kept since departing in 1948. He was twenty-two then. The large iron keys were used to lock the doors when they left. Finally, he fetches a plastic bottle displayed in the cupboard. The bottle contains sand and soil from his natal village brought to him as a gift by two foreigners. The scratched soda bottle is half-filled with the grainy earth. When he was presented with the bottle, so the story goes, Abou Saïda opened it and ate several mouthfuls.

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Peace, Conflict and the State

Ending violent conflict and building lasting peace are among the most important policy issues today. The main goal of this multi-disciplinary research group is to contribute to the theory and practice of this complex research field, with an emphasis on post-war peacebuilding. The group will examine key theories and paradigms of war-to-peace transitions with a specific focus on the role of the state. Research projects fall under three main pillars:

- *Post-conflict Violence*
- *Politics of Faith*
- *Peacebuilding*

Selected Projects

- The Moderation of Islamist Movements
- Religious Dialogue and Peace-Building in Sudan
- Religious Civil Society in Afghanistan
- In Search of Security: Religious Mobilisation and Violent Justice in Indonesia
- Evaluation of a UNDP Peacebuilding and Development Project in the DRC
- Politics of Faith
- NGOs in Peace Processes - Lessons from Practices and Studies
- Incentives for Peaceful Behaviour
- Islamic Clientelism: Hizbollah's Patronage of Palestinian Refugees, Lebanon
- Consolidation of Post-civil War Peace: The Impact of Economic and Judicial Incentives
- Peacebuilding in Sudan: Micro-macro Issues
- Christian Palestinians in the West Bank: Identity, Migration and Trans-National Networks
- Post-conflict Violence

poverty is the norm. Nowhere is the festering refugee problem more evident than in Ayn al-Hilwa, the sordid capital of the Palestinian diaspora. There more than 70 000 refugees – almost twice the official residency figures – are confined within 1.25 sq. km. The most conflict-ridden camp in the country, there are frequent skirmishes between political fractions. Inside the camp, residents struggle to come to terms with the loss of their homeland and endure the daily hardships of a life in exile. Here, outside Sidon, they have waited, cursed and hoped for a return to their homes in Palestine. Unable to return and marginalised by the host society they are caught in a legal limbo.

What Happened to Democracy in Africa?

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS IN AFRICA 2001-2006:

Ensuring that elected political leaders «play by the rules,» is a key challenge for new democracies in sub-Saharan Africa. Across the continent, executive dominance is still common. Democratic institutions that have been put in place to make governments more accountable have often remained weak.





of electoral rules and administration, contributed to maintain the same party in power through three consecutive elections, despite an alarming economic record. In Malawi, only limited institutional learning have taken place in terms of electoral administration. Problems identified and recognised by the authorities during the two first elections, such as poor voter registration and incumbent party dominance in state media outlets, persisted in the third election. In Uganda's 2006 elections - the first multiparty elections in Uganda since 1980 - problems and irregularities during various stages of the election cycle, tilted the playing field and compromised the integrity of the elections.

Lack of institutional learning can in part be explained by lack of political will by incumbent governments to improve electoral governance. Another reason is the fact that significant aspects of the electoral process like voter registration, voter education and voter administration, are «outsourced» to the international donor community, specialised firms and transnational NGOs. Analyses of the relationship between the electoral commissions in Malawi, Zambia and Uganda and the international donor community, suggest that ownership, autonomy and learning are affected by the heavy and at times poorly thought-through international assistance.

The Problem of Political Succession

The third term debates have emphasised the constraints the national assemblies face in checking executive dominance and setting the legal framework of the electoral process. Executive attempts to change the constitution to allow a third presidential term, were fended off in Zambia and Malawi. This was mainly because of poor political craftsmanship (Malawi) and strong civil society opposition (Zambia) and not because of the institutional strength of the legislative arm. In Uganda, the constitutional amendment was passed because of the overwhelming parliamentary strength of the incumbent National Resistance Movement.

Election Battles Fought in Courts

Our research has pointed to an increasingly stronger role of courts in solving electoral disputes, both before, during and after elections. Intra-party disputes and election

battles were fought in and through the courts in addition to battles over loyalty and integrity of the courts themselves. The judiciary has assumed an accountability function by sanctioning electoral rules and actions that run counter to the constitution's democratic principles. The courts function as safety-valves at various stages of the electoral process by diffusing tension and by providing an arena where contesting parties can fight their battles through lawyers.

In Malawi and Uganda, the courts have taken on a new role as an arbiter in intra-party disputes. Political parties are often unable to deal with internal disputes because of unclear or conflicting rules, poor mechanisms or traditions for conflict resolution, or limited party loyalty. Internal party disputes are therefore referred to the courts for settlement. This «judicialisation» of elections has been particularly significant in Malawi and Uganda.

The courts' impact on the election process is ambiguous. Opposition parties have a reasonable chance of winning in court. Judicial decisions have contributed to the integrity of the elections, but the courts in Zambia, Malawi and Uganda have not been able to secure a level playing field. The judicial process is also open to misuse by the parties and by the government. Different actors have used the courts to increase their political leverage and to discredit and disable their opponents in election campaigns. We also see battles over the courts and the loyalty of the judges as executives attempt to control «inconvenient» judges. Examples range from impeachment of judges in Malawi, and corruption scandals in Zambia, to display of military force and political use of military courts in Uganda.

Partnership, Impact and Influence

Research funding from the Norwegian embassies in Zambia, Malawi and Uganda has required and allowed a constant dialogue with various stakeholders in the election process, such as parliamentarians, election administrators, judges, NGO representatives and party officials. Repeated meetings and seminars during various stages of the electoral cycle have ensured public debate and dialogue on key aspects of the electoral process. The research has been carried out in collaboration with partner institutions in Zambia, Malawi and Uganda based on a «twinning model» where one senior researcher from the north and the south collaborate.

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Courts Can Give a Voice to the Poor



The book *Courts and Social Transformation in New Democracies*, published by Ashgate, comes out of the «Courts in Transition» strategic institute programme. It examines the conditions under which courts provide a channel where the voice of excluded sectors of society can be heard – and to what extent this contributes to social change. The book presents a wealth of empirical material, with case studies from Latin America, Africa, India and Eastern Europe of litigation attempting to advance social rights of poor and vulnerable people. A shared theoretical framework facilitates systematic comparison and makes it possible to discern what distinguishes the cases where social rights litigation succeeds.

The last fifteen years have seen a turn towards politically enforced social rights, especially in new and fragile democracies. Yet, differences in the formal status of the rights, do not explain why courts in India, Hungary, Colombia and South Africa are more open towards social rights litigation than colleagues in other post-authoritarian and fragile democracies. What seems to be more important is the threshold for accepting cases. Where bureaucratic procedures are simplified and the courts assist or investigate cases themselves, like in India and Colombia, marginalised people have a better

chance of bringing their cases before the court. Similarly, where lenient rules of standing allow legal aid organisations to bring test cases before the court, significant social rights judgements are more likely.

There seems to be a growing normative acceptance of the justiciability of social and economic rights, and a recognition of the merits of promoting pro-poor state action through the courts. Political battles are fought in courtrooms framed in the language of rights and constitutional entitlements. Citizens are more aware of their rights and actively demand their rights. Yet, there is a significant difference between successful social rights litigation and social transformation. Even with pro-poor decisions, there are limits to how this translates into social transformation. Courts alone cannot produce social change. The legislature and the executive must cooperate if their decisions are to be respected and implemented.

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The POLINAF research programme has focused on the complex processes of democratic consolidation in

Africa. Focus is on elections as contests over political succession, and on how they «test» the strength and legitimacy of political institutions. Core research activities have

been qualitative analyses of the role of the courts, parliaments, political parties and electoral administration in electoral processes in Zambia (2000-2002), Malawi (2003-2006) and Uganda (2004-2007).

Election Outcome Decided Before the Polling

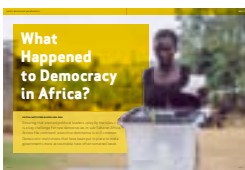
Now, direct vote rigging on Election Day is less common in many of Africa's new democracies. Attempts at influencing the electoral outcome, occur at each stage of the election cycle. International norms recognise elections as long term processes with a number of steps, ranging from the pre-election stages where the rules

are set, the registration, via elections to post-election conflict settlements. Our analyses of the electoral processes have studied elections as ongoing processes beginning immediately after the polling of the previous election.

The courts' impact on the election process is ambiguous

In new and transitional democracies characterised by weak institutional capacity, it is difficult to distinguish between shortcomings related to capacity and intentional failures. In order to contextualise elections, and to enable a distinction between capacity and intent, our research has emphasised the need to compare the quality of electoral administration over time.

In Zambia, continued uncertainty



Accommodating Difference in Bosnia – Herzegovina

How can human rights contribute to resolve conflicts in highly divided societies? Can internationally codified procedures for the protection of minorities help to maintain a just, peaceful and lawful order? Bosnia shows us that a rights-based strategy requires strong central state institutions guaranteeing impartial, unbiased and even-handed state treatment of its own subjects and citizens, concludes a CMI research programme.

Bosnia-Herzegovina was created from the ruins of Yugoslavia, but it was far from an immaculate conception. Civil war splitted up the territory further. The complex system of governance which was established was regarded by critics as confirming and entrenching the spoils of war. Human rights played second fiddle to the overriding and urgent concern of reaching a peace settlement acceptable to the belligerent parties.

There were human rights provisions built into the peace settlement. Institutions were put in place to guarantee the safe return of refugees and displaced persons. But in a climate of distrust and fear, returns were meagre in the first years. Gradually, confidence solidified and the machinery for reclaiming property succeeded in returning property to their former owners. Yet, many of the returnees were elderly. Others returned only to sell off their property as they had found better opportunities elsewhere. If the intention was a return to the pre-conflict habitation patterns, then too much had happened for that

to remain more than a wishful dream.

A Constitutional Court was set up to ensure that legislation within the subunits were in accordance with the State Constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Court played an important role in identifying discrimination against «minority constituent peoples,» and in directing political authorities to amend it, thus rectifying institutionalised patterns of discrimination. Still, it was bound by the concept of «constituent peoples,» which implied that some peoples are more «constitutive» than others, and that no one can be a plain Bosnian citizen.

With political authority vested in the subunits, only symbolic authority is left for the central state. Strong central institutions

are needed to guarantee the safe return of refugees and displaced persons, to rectify patterns of discriminatory legislation and to establish meaningful national citizenship. As these central state institutions are largely symbolic in Bosnia-Herzegovina, it has fallen on the international presence to weld the reluctant subunits together. What was feasible at the time of the peace settlement, has in the course of the ensuing decade become dysfunctional and constructed a barrier against further European integration.

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Strong central institutions are needed to guarantee the safe return of refugees, to rectify patterns of discriminatory legislation and to establish meaningful national citizenship.

Business Ethics for Multinational Corporations in Developing Countries

Many multinational corporations operate in countries characterised by extreme poverty and inequality, inadequate or dysfunctional institutions, and undemocratic political systems. The question of corporate responsibility in poor and undemocratic countries is the focus of CMI's strategic institute programme «*Business ethics for multinational corporations in developing countries.*»

Do Oil Companies Act Responsibly in Angola?

Empirically, the situation facing oil companies in Angola, places these dilemmas in sharp relief. The lack of accountable public institutions, and the central position of oil firms in the Angolan economy, provides a case for demanding greater Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) activities from multinational firms operating in the country. Yet, a survey suggests that the oil companies' policy on corporate social responsibility in Angola, is mainly driven by economic incentives (it is good for business) rather than by ethical considerations (it is the right thing to do). This begs the question of what it takes for companies to act responsibly in this context.

The Moral Responsibilities of Corporations

The research programme addresses the normative question of what responsibilities corporations have – and whether they vary when operating in rich and poor countries or according to governance standards.

From a human rights perspective, corporations have both negative duties not to violate rights, and positive duties to create or contribute to systems of rights protection, and to aid those deprived of their rights. The negative duties are universal and must always be respected by corporations. Concerning positive duties, there can be a division of moral labour. Where these duties are borne by public institutions,

positive duties of corporations are limited. In a developed country a suitable division of moral labour may thus be for corporations to pursue ownership returns and pay taxes, leaving social concerns to the state. However, this division of labour breaks down in contexts where state institutions are too capacity constrained or dysfunctional to take on their assigned responsibilities.

Applying the *assignment approach* to corporate responsibility, deriving moral obligations from what is the optimal division of labour between agents, we argue that in contexts where other agents (including the state) fail to take on distributional or other social responsibilities, these responsibilities fall on the corporations.

Where public institutions and others fail to protect human rights, positive duties to contribute to systems of rights protection and to aid those deprived of their rights fall on corporations. For corporations operating in and profiting from developing countries with poor institutional settings, responsibilities therefore go beyond maximizing ownership returns. Depending on their own capacity as well as on the context, the corporations have a moral obligation to aid those deprived of their rights, including by working for regime reform.

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Rights, Democracy & Development

Do rights and formal institutions make a difference in terms of development?

Protection of rights is important for development, particularly the rights of vulnerable groups. Yet, we see that recognition of rights has limited impact in the face of powerful social and economic interests and cultural norms.

The RDD thematic group aims to understand how formal and informal institutions and norms interact in development processes: in local communities, at the national level, and in international relations. Combining insights and methodology from anthropology, economics, political science and law, we investigate interplays between formal and informal institutions and practices that shape development outcomes.

The research agenda has three pillars:

- *Human Rights*
- *Courts*
- *Democratic Accountability*

Selected Projects

International Ethics and Global Governance

- Should I Stay or Should I go? When Should Companies Exit a Country where Human Rights are Violated
- Shared Responsibilities - Human Rights and Development in the 21st Century
- Freedom of Expression for Artists in Tanzania: Censorship and Co-option

The Courts in Transition Strategic Institute Programme

- Accountability Functions of Courts
- Courts and the Poor
- Role of Courts in Bangladesh
- The Judicial Protection of Tolerance in Chile and Argentina: Explaining Freedom of Expression Jurisprudence, 1990-2003
- The Mapuche People's Battle for Indigenous Land Possibilities for Litigating on Indigenous Land Rights

The Political Institutions in Africa Strategic Institute Programme

- The Institutional Context of the 2004 General Elections in Malawi
- 2006 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections in Uganda: Institutional and Legal Context
- Good Governance and Aid Modalities
- Review of SADC Parliamentary Forum
- Governance and Accountability in Angola
- Angola: Civil Society as Promoters of Governance and Accountability

Social Relations of Rural Poverty in Mozambique

Urbanisation, feminisation of poverty and HIV/AIDS are three broad development trends that are likely to have a significant impact on rural areas in Mozambique in the years to come.

CMI has completed the first in a series of six qualitative studies monitoring and evaluating the poverty situation in Mozambique. Qualitative studies are important complements to quantitative economic data. They may disclose processes and interdependencies related to non-tangible dimensions of poverty such as vulnerability and powerlessness. Qualitative studies also allow the poor themselves to analyse their own situations beyond formal questionnaire responses.

Community Perceptions

The first study was conducted in Murrupula in the Nampula province, in close cooperation with the Ministry of Planning and Development.

People's own definitions of poverty do not solely relate to material poverty, but also to types of social relationships and degrees of social exclusion. Most poor households find ways to cope in their daily lives. Their vulnerability as poor is largely determined by their ability to mobilise social relations in times of crisis. The less-poor households in Murrupula have a broad set of relations with the state, traditional authorities, the extended family, neighbours and others, whereas the poorest households have few if any such relationships.

Policy Implications

The poorest families in districts such as Murrupula are not involved with state and community institutions (including education, health, church or other associations). They are marginalised or excluded from traditional family networks due to their inability to contribute in a setting where relationships have to be reciprocal. For these families, targeted interventions are necessary not only to secure economic resources but also to facilitate social relationships.

Higher agricultural production and better returns on the products,

remain the main option for social mobility and well-being for the majority of the poorest. Non-agricultural employment and income remain inaccessible for most households in rural areas such as Murrupula. Income in the informal rural economy (primarily young people who have not yet settled) remains very low.

Government policies should focus on agriculture, and on improved access to markets (through local road networks). Improved bargaining positions vis-à-vis external traders (through associations) can enhance agricultural income and consumption. Women's active involvement will be crucial. Market price information should be publicised through radios and posters to provide producers with real alternatives.

Children do not go to school due to poverty and a lack of economic means, work or sibling-care responsibilities. Early marriage/pregnancies force many girls to drop out first. Most people realise the potential importance of education for improving their lives. Access to education beyond grade five must be improved, and provisions should be made for young mothers to continue their education after pregnancy.

High disease and mortality rates are related to malnutrition. Continued preferences for traditional doctors, scepticism towards state health institutions, and weak sanitation networks have considerable implications. Our study shows that much can be done to improve the status of the formal health system. Malnutrition can be combated through targeted information with a particular focus on young mothers.

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A Successful Intervention:

The Liberation of Bonded Labour in Nepal

In July 2000, the government of Nepal banned the kamaiya labor contract, the worst form of bonded labour in Nepal.

Due to well organised local NGOs, the majority of the kamaiyas left their landlords within a few days, and demanded the land they had been promised by the government. Local land reform offices identified land. The intervention was successful primarily because of the permanent relocations.

Ex-kamaiyas got their own house, and a small plot of land for production of vegetables and staple food. The government also banned all the loans the kamaiyas had from their landlords. The landlords accepted the intervention, probably out of fear for legal sanctions, and a possible redistribution of land. The latter was a realistic possibility, as Nepali law says that permanent tenants have a right to parts of the land they have tilled.

CMI researchers have been working in the plains of Nepal for almost a decade investigating barriers to poverty

reduction, with a focus on debt traps and inferior labour relations. Although the kamaiyas constituted a small fraction of the poor in this region, they were among the most destitute.

Lessons from this intervention can help other landless and low-status groups. One lesson is that it may be effective to target one particular ethnic group with affirmative action. The target group is easily identified, and ethnic discrimination makes the group a worthy target. Another lesson is that it is beneficial for the poor to be relocated away from the landlords. They are uprooted from social and economic ties to the landlords, but at the same time they are provided with independent means for survival. The downside is that they may lose the security net that the village and the landlords represented. However, it is our impression that the positive effects of relocation and land rights outweigh any negative effects.

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Poverty Reduction Research Group

There is a need for new and innovative research on poverty and poverty alleviation policies. There is a need for an improved analytical understanding of poverty.

Descriptive studies are plentiful. Analytical research into the mechanisms that reproduce social and economic inequalities, the very reasons why poverty exists and persists, need to be advanced further. This requires thorough evaluations of present policy interventions and an identification of effective policies that enable the poor and marginalised to escape poverty.

A more systematic exchange of perspectives and results from across the social sciences is needed to advance beyond the fragmented, uni-disciplinary approach that currently dominates this field of research.

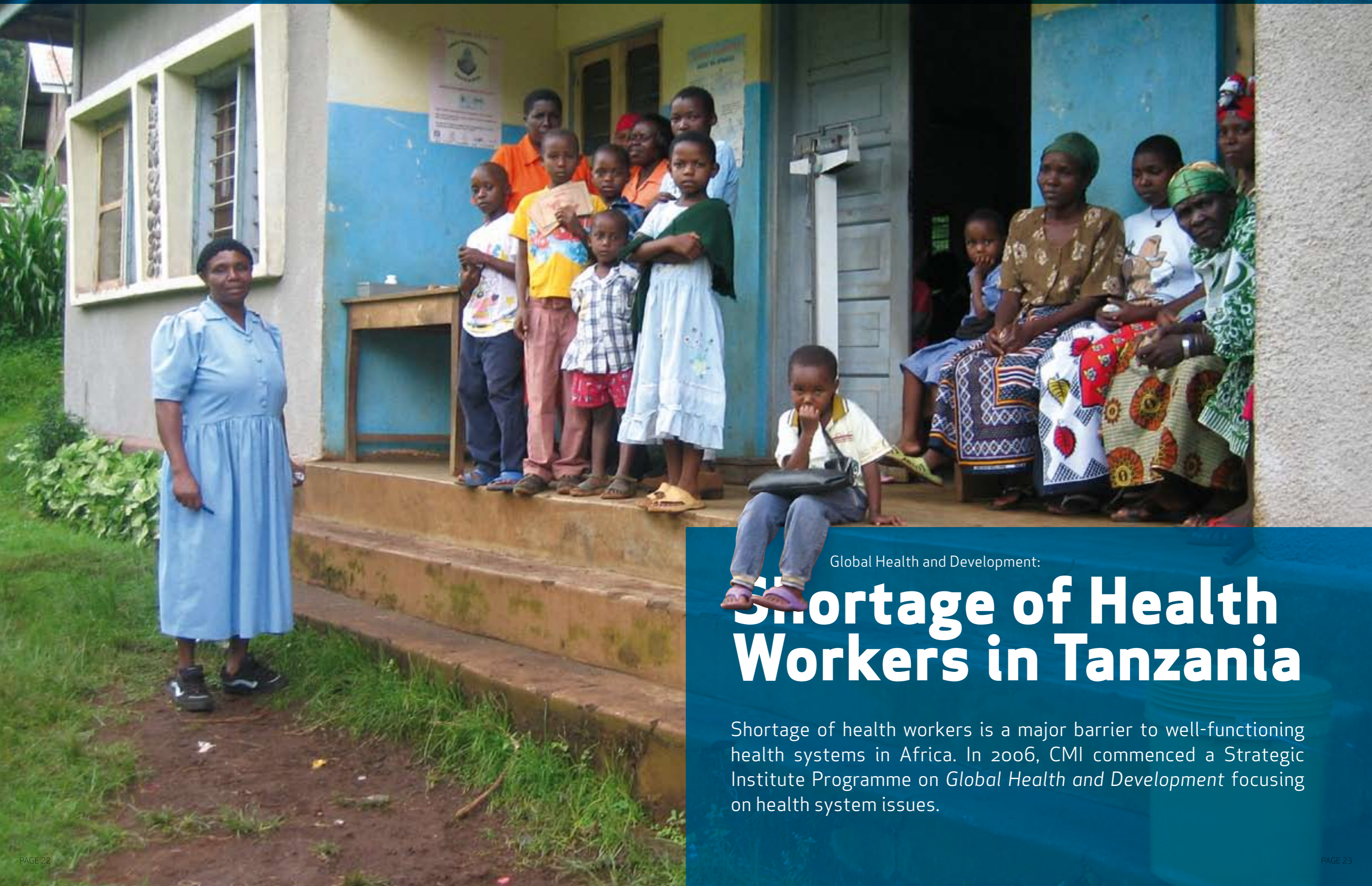
The group comprises economists, social anthropologists and political scientists, and seeks to develop multi-disciplinary research designs and methodologies allowing synergies between quantitative and qualitative approaches.

Research focus:

- Assessments of the design of pro-poor policies and evaluation of their impact
- Studies of socio-cultural and economic barriers that prevent poor people from escaping poverty
- Analysis of ethical justifications for pro-poor policy interventions

Selected Projects:

- Social Exclusion in Nepal
- Experience and Institutional Capacity for Poverty and Income Distribution Analysis in Angola
- Poverty Monitoring and Macroeconomic Advice in Ethiopia
- Livelihood Diversification Strategies in Malawi
- Economic Determinants of Nutrition and Maternal and Child Health Outcomes in Nepal
- Study of Poverty in Mozambique
- Bonded Labour in South-Asia
- Norwegian Africa Policy
- Bridging Research and Development Co-operation
- Review of Right to Play
- Regional Dimensions of Norwegian Country Programmes



Global Health and Development:

Shortage of Health Workers in Tanzania

Shortage of health workers is a major barrier to well-functioning health systems in Africa. In 2006, CMI commenced a Strategic Institute Programme on *Global Health and Development* focusing on health system issues.

Challenges

Few and Declining Number of Health Workers

The number of health workers in Tanzania has declined substantially from the mid 1990s, despite rapid population growth (Figure 1). The number of health workers per capita declined by 40% from 1995 to 2002, and now stands at 1.4 health workers per 1000 inhabitants. As a point of reference, Norway has about 25 physicians/nurses per 1000. In key cadres, actual staffing levels are less than 50% of the national staffing norms.



Among the reasons for the decline, are the hiring freeze in the public sector from the mid 1990s, increased attrition of health workers due to HIV/AIDS, and better job opportunities in other sectors and abroad.

Geographical Imbalance

While 80% of the population in Tanzania live in rural areas, the distribution of health personnel is skewed towards urban areas. Some 30 of the 121 districts in mainland Tanzania do not have a medical doctor. More than 20 districts do not have pharmacists, and around 40 districts lack dental care.

Weak Productivity and Performance

While a low number of health workers can be partly compensated by high productivity, available evidence suggests that less than 60% of the health workers' time is used on productive activities. Low productivity is probably related to high rates of absenteeism, a topic which will be addressed more thoroughly in our future research.

There are also problems with performance. A sample of 60 health workers reported that there is a know-do gap among health workers. Although well educated, doctors often rush during consultations; they only take brief patient histories, do superficial or no examinations, and take relatively few lab tests. The health workers also reported that informal payments are common in the health sector. This may reduce the access to health care, especially for the poor.

Policy Options

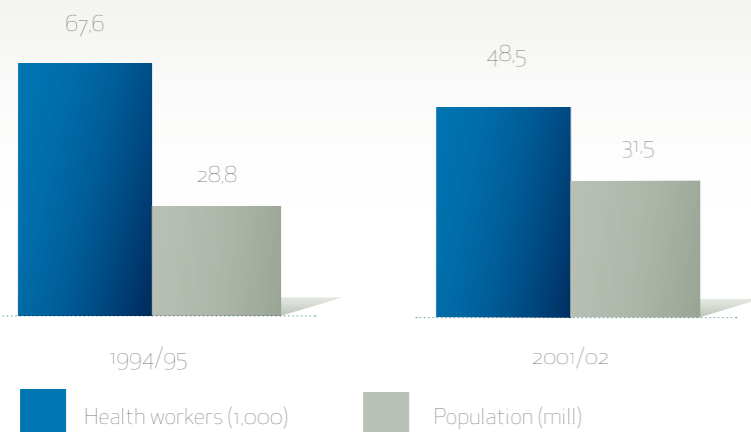
The standard recipe for addressing human resource challenges has been: 1) Train more health workers and increase the numbers and 2) increase the levels of knowledge in order to improve performance.

This recipe does not represent a silver bullet in the Tanzanian context. Trained health workers do not automatically find their way into the health sector. They may take up work in other sectors, or abroad. The Government must realise that health workers participate in national as well as international labour markets, thus they will have to offer working conditions which can stop the drain.



Sharply declining number of health workers, despite population increase

Sources: HRH Census 1994/95, HRH Census 2001/02, World Development Indicators (2004)



Ongoing Research Activities

- Measuring the Know-do Gap in Clinical Practice.
- Measuring Absenteeism in Health Facilities.
- Understanding Patterns of Informal Payments in the Health Sector.
- Understanding Formal and Informal Incentive Structures in the Health Sector.
- Searching for Policy Instruments that Can Attract Health Workers to Rural Districts.
- Studying the Relationships between Health, Nutrition and Economic Well-being.
- Searching for Procedures for a Fair Allocation of Health Resources.

Public Sector Reform

How to accomplish an efficient, responsive and accountable public sector?

This is the main concern informing the research group on Public Sector Reform. Focus is on (1) management of public resources and transparency in decision making processes, (2) how governments in poor countries can raise financial resources in ways that enhance their effectiveness and political legitimacy, and (3) provision of public services and infrastructure for the poor.

Current focus:

1. Managing Public Resources

- Budgetary Processes and Economic Governance
- Corruption and Patterns of Accountability
- Procurement
- Expenditure Tracking
- Local Government Reform and Decentralisation

2. Financing the State

- Taxation and Tax Reforms
- Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations
- Foreign Aid
- Revenues from Natural Resources and Extractive Industries

3. Service Delivery and Infrastructure

- Health
- Education
- Water
- Electricity

Selected Projects:

- Budget Process and Transparency in Angola
- Global Health and Development
- Effects of the Tax Systems in Africa on Investments and Growth
- U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre
- Corruption and Palestinian State-Formation
- Public Expenditure Tracking
- Nutrition and Child Health
- Local Government Finances
- Effective Tax Burden
- Revenue Collection in Angola
- Analysis of National Trade Policies
- Effect of Tax Systems in Africa

More knowledge is not the solution if there is a know-do gap in clinical practices. Rather, one has to change incentive structures to make doctors perform to their potential.

Higher salaries probably represent an essential part of the solution to the health worker crisis. Tanzania has already tried this option; salaries for health workers in public sector were increased substantially in 2006. It is too early to judge the impact, but one striking problem has emerged: Faith-based facilities, which provide around 40% of the health services in Tanzania, are in serious trouble because their workers move to the public sector. This will increase the unequal access to health services, because faith based facilities typically serve poor people in remote areas.

What can be done? The financial position of the faith based sector needs to be strengthened. Higher user fees are not an option, so the government will have to pay. The example illustrates the complexity of addressing the health worker crisis in a country with a fragmented health system.

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Local Government Reform (LGRP) in Tanzania:

Better Services but Increased Bureaucracy

The principal objective of the LGRP is to restructure local government authorities so that they can provide sustainable responses effectively and efficiently to identified local priorities. Local government authorities are thought to be in a better position to identify people's needs, to provide better services, and to encourage citizens' participation.

Improved Services

There was an immense growth in the school enrolment from 2000 to 2003, but the LGRP is only one of the reasons. More important were the abolition of school fees in 2001 and the launch of the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) in 2002. The scarcity of qualified teachers, however, threatens the sustainability of the education reform and tends to widen the gap between «advanced» councils and those lagging behind. There has also

been significant health improvements. Infant mortality rates are reduced, and the immunisation rate has risen to well above 80%. Yet, the majority of the people are dissatisfied with the health services. They cannot afford proper health care. There is also widespread dissatisfaction with the quality of the water supply. The number of reported waterborne diseases is alarmingly high in some councils.

Limited Capacity

Efforts have been made to include citizens in the planning process. Yet, bottom-up planning is in practice an ad hoc exercise, with the actual planning carried out by the council management team. Village plans become utopic «shopping lists». The multiple planning, budgeting and reporting systems strain the limited capacity of the councils. Staff are often overwhelmed by reporting requirements

from various central government ministries and donors, and do not have the capacity to put the reports together. Actual implementations of (realistic) plans and priorities suffer. There is an urgent need to simplify and streamline the existing planning and budgeting systems, especially in rural councils. Many local government administrators are also severely constrained by unreliable fiscal data. Consequently, there are often substantial variations between the budget figures presented to the local council, the budget presented to the Parliament, information on expenditures compiled by the LGRP, and the figures in the final audited accounts. The fiscal reporting requirements for LGAs need to be simplified. Priority should be given to build a reliable, consistent and updated database on local government finances and expenditures.

Effective, responsive and responsible local governments are important not only for the local communities, but also for the entire nation in order to enhance democratic and developmental public institutions. Citizen participation and accountability are issues that are now addressed by an increasing number of politicians, professionals, and civil society leaders in Tanzania. During the implementation of the LGRP, the public have become more aware of their rights and responsibilities, but there is a need for more committed political, administrative and civic leaders that can attain the objectives of the local government reform programme.

Perhaps the most easily overlooked lesson from the local government reform in Tanzania is that devolution takes a long time to achieve. The experiences of Western countries illustrate this well: it took centuries to develop reasonably effective local government authorities. It is therefore not surprising that Tanzania's record to date has yet to meet expectations. Sustainable change demands sustained effort, commitment and leadership over a long time. Mistakes and setbacks are normal and inevitable components of the process. The big challenge is to use failures as learning opportunities, rather than as excuses for abolishing reforms.

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When Donor Practices Counteract Each Other

Many developing countries are presently decentralising with the aim to enhance popular participation in politics and in development planning. Such participation will, it is envisaged, ultimately improve social services. At the same time, a large number of development projects are still organised through donor funded development committees, NGOs and CBOs.

A CMI study analysed the breakdown of two development projects in Tanzania; a squatter area upgrading in Mwanza city, and the building of a dispensary in Bagamoyo district. In both cases, the projects were implemented by bodies outside the politico-administrative system. Community based organisations or local committees were in charge of the projects, while local authorities felt left out and reacted negatively to what they saw as a sidelining of their role. Consequently, they ignored, or even actively worked against, the projects. The study suggests that user-committees and social funds should be integrated in local authority structures to avoid rivalry and fragmentation of participation, and to enhance local democracy.

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Effects of Tax Systems on Investments and Growth in Africa

The study examined the impact of tax systems on the growth of firms in nine African countries: Lesotho, Madagascar, Mauritius, Namibia, Rwanda, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia, and Uganda. Five key sectors were addressed: agriculture, tourism, mining, financial sector, and manufacturing, with a particular focus on small businesses.

In most of the case countries, economic activity is increasingly located within the informal sector. This sector is hard to tax. Tax administrations do not prioritise this sector because cash returns are low compared to efforts invested. The study argues that there are good public policy reasons for paying more attention to taxing informal urban economic activity. Much of the anger about tax evaders in the informal sector, centres on competition from enterprises that operate well above the margin of subsistence. Finding better ways of taxing the informal sector, however, is in practice not high on the tax reform agenda of African revenue authorities.

Tax reforms have been driven by a clear economic calculus that emphasizes the advantages of excluding marginal payers from the tax net. Political arguments for

including marginal payers have not been made or heard. This would be less of a problem if the actual tax burdens in poor countries were fairly and effectively distributed, but they are not. In particular, they often fall heavily on a small number of registered formal sector companies.

Seen in this light, taxation is not just an administrative task for citizens and governments. It is very much a question of politics and power - the way that authority is exercised in a country through its formal and informal institutions. By analysing the political economy of different types of business, and the informal sector in relation to tax impacts, the study provides insights that may enable governments to improve the tax impact on business and

thereby improve long-term development objectives.

The study was co-managed by DFID and the Foreign Investment Advisory Service (FIAS), a unit within the International Finance Corporation (IFC). The country reports are available on: www.fias.net. The final synthesis report will be presented at an international tax conference in Livingstone, Zambia, in 2007.

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The political arguments for inclusion have not been made or heard.



U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre:

Helping Donor Practitioners Address Corruption Effectively

Following the Indian Ocean tsunami in December 2004, a «second tsunami» of aid flooded in to the affected countries.

Unavoidably, given the massive financial contributions and myriad of new actors who poured in to help, reports of corruption soon surfaced. The aid organizations Oxfam and Save the Children, for example, curtailed their assistance in Aceh, Indonesia, after discovering fraud in some programmes.

It is not surprising that donations are illicitly diverted during a crisis like the 2004 tsunami. It is surprising, however, how poorly equipped many agencies are to handle the problem. One reason for

this is that corruption has traditionally been a taboo topic in the humanitarian field. Unlike development actors, who have tackled corruption openly for more than a decade, relief organizations have been more hesitant. Many are afraid of a public backlash if they admit that corruption is a real challenge. Others argue that corruption is a low-priority problem given the urgent need to protect human lives.

U4's research programme «Corruption in Emergencies» dispels the myth that corruption control is a luxury in humanitarian

operations. Through a series of practical resources, it outlines not only the impact of corruption on the quality and quantity of aid, but it also recommends concrete measures that donors and other humanitarian actors can take to reduce the risk.

The first output of the «Corruption in Emergencies» research programme, written for U4 by the Overseas Development Institute, was a mapping exercise identifying where and how corruption occurs in the emergency project cycle, and providing a framework for mitigating action.

«Corruption in Emergencies: What Role for Media?» contains recommendations from a working meeting in May 2006 with donors, NGOs and journalists, including media practitioners from Sri Lanka, Liberia and Nepal. Participants highlighted the constraints to meaningful reporting on corruption in crises. Editorial pressures push foreign journal-

ists to focus either on humanitarian heroes or headline-grabbing scandals. Local outlets may lack the political or financial independence to undertake objective and thorough investigations. Unbalanced coverage at the outset of a crisis – encouraged by aid agencies eager to attract funds – distorts expectations of what can be delivered and how fast. When problems inevitably emerge, withholding information is a common tactic to avoid more critical exposure.

To encourage greater transparency and accountability, donors were challenged to establish access to information policies for themselves and implementing partners, so that media can more easily track allocations of funds, expenditures, and impact. Similarly, donors should share the results of their own investigations of individual cases while at the same time supporting those agencies that proactively respond to fraud in their programmes. In addition to increasing public confidence, more openness will help to contextualize discrete cases of corruption and prevent the distortion of particular examples. Targeted media support to promote better coverage can range from specialised courses on the humanitarian system to the establishment of a fund for independent media outlets as a part of emergency assistance.

In «Corruption in Emergency Procurement» Jessica Schultz and Tina Søreide address specific challenges related to the purchase of emergency goods and services. What incentives can donors provide to reduce corruption in procurement? Support for collaborative activities, which limit opportunities for corruption to occur, is important. Promising examples were highlighted from Kenya, where a disaster preparedness group negotiates joint contracts with suppliers, and Sudan, where a common procurement system for non-food items was established in Darfur. Real-time monitoring of procurement decisions, highlighting problems as they happen, is another approach that deserves broader application.

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The U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre website:

A One-stop Shop for Knowledge on Anti-Corruption Reform

The U4 Centre continued to expand and improve its website, www.u4.no. With the introduction of «U4 Briefs», our research outputs are communicated as concise,



policy-oriented documents targeting a development practitioner audience. U4 Briefs cover topics ranging from specific health sector reforms to the role of donors in supporting anti-corruption commissions in Africa. The Selected Literature page, a database of over 300 carefully-chosen pieces on 53 topics, has been reorganized and expanded with new categories including gender, measurement, post-conflict corruption

challenges, and corruption in natural resources.

The website also features Expert Answers from the U4 Help Desk, a service operated by Transparency International in Berlin. The Help Desk responds to donors seeking research support for corruption-related programming challenges. In 2006, the Help Desk responded to twenty-six queries from U4 partners. These ranged from questions about the corruption situation in specific countries like Zambia and Ethiopia to requests for advice on establishing embassy-wide fraud hotlines.

Also new to the website this year are theme pages on **political corruption**, or the misuse of political power for private benefit. Problems of political corruption affect most countries, rich and poor. The Elf scandal in France is a well-known example for

Europeans, but political corruption need not necessarily be illegal or quite so extensive. President Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines, for example, amended the Constitution to legitimize his large-scale public looting. In Brazil, the Labour Party was accused of paying a monthly allowance of US\$12,500 to allied party congressmen in return for their support.

How can donors effectively address this prickly issue with partners? Depending on the situation, they might choose one of the following approaches: to promote political support for confronting entrenched leaders, to reduce opportunities for politicians to take public funds, or to restrict the practice of buying political support. The U4 webpages provide a broad array of examples under each category.

Sifting knowledge from a sea of facts

A key aim of the U4 website is to showcase lessons learned in the field of integrity reform. As anyone who has searched for corruption data knows all too well, the problem is not lack of information but a deficit of real knowledge about what works in a given context, and why. The U4 website presents relevant research and case studies culled from donor practitioners. At the 2006 International Anti-Corruption Conference in Guatemala, U4 coordinator Harald Mathisen presented his perspectives on collective learning problems and the opportunities provided by modern information technology. A primer on knowledge management for anti-corruption, available online, addresses many of these issues and provides concrete recommendations to donor agencies for overcoming institutional obstacles to learning

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Asian Aid: What Lessons for Western Countries?



So-called emerging donors are becoming more important players in international development cooperation.

The rise of China as a major donor and trading partner in Africa, has influenced the development aid discourse profoundly. India, South Korea, Thailand, and Malaysia are other Asian countries that have set ambitious objectives as donors. Their role is still marginal when it comes to the percentage of total aid flows, but in certain countries their presence has already become significant. Generally, recipient countries have welcomed these new donors. New donors raise a number of important questions with respect to the recent and current efforts at harmonising aid policies and practices within the UN and the OECD-DAC frameworks. Will the new donors adjust to current multilateral agreements? Are established models for development cooperation being challenged? With the assistance of the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, CMI has taken a keen interest in these trends, and was engaged in several projects focusing on Asian aid in 2006.

Japanese Aid

Japan is the world's second largest donor, and by far the biggest donor in Asian countries. Being a member of the OECD, Japan has in recent years sought to bring its aid policies and practices closer to those of Western donors and the World Bank. Yet, there are also signs that Japan now seeks to reaffirm its own identity as a donor. Japanese aid policy is a source of inspiration to other Asian donors. The principles of non-interference and mutual benefits through aid and trade are key characteristics of Japanese aid. Why did East Asia, which received Japanese aid, succeed, while Africa with aid mainly from Western donors not succeed?

The project *Forging partnerships? A comparative study of Japanese and Nordic aid in Asia*, is nearing completion. The forthcoming book, edited at CMI, includes cases studies from several countries focusing on aid partnerships at the implementation level. The authors, comprising Nordic, Japanese and other Asian scholars, bring in perspectives from aid recipient countries and donors that hitherto have not figured prominently in the aid debate. A main objective is to study aid relationships as seen from the recipient side.

In December 2006, CMI and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs organised a seminar on *Asian models for aid: Is there a non-Western approach to development assistance?* The introductions by scholars from Japan, China, India and South Korea referred to policy debates pointing in different directions, defining national interests as well as international obligations. There is no «Asian approach,» but clearly a concern for forming distinctive approaches to aid.

CMI entered an agreement with the Japanese Bank for International Cooperation to participate in a two-year project called *Aid Effectiveness to Infrastructure: A Comparative Study of East Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa*. The project explores regional contrasts in aid effectiveness, focusing on broader institutional impacts of large scale projects, which is one key perspective underlying Japanese aid.

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China and Africa

China's exponentially growing relations with Africa are emerging as a major issue for everybody concerned with development and poverty reduction on the African continent. Observers are watching China's Africa policy with a mixture of fascination and fright. The emergence of China introduces new opportunities for Africa, as well as new challenges and imponderables.

In 2006, the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs commissioned CMI to carry out a study presenting and reviewing the new Chinese engagement in Africa and to identify and discuss implications for Norwegian foreign and development policies. The report discusses the implications for Africa and identifies the challenges ahead. It argues that although Norway may be a small country with very limited capacities to influence Chinese policies, it can still make a difference. Through the Norwegian development policy in Africa and through the Norwegian engagement in the petroleum and energy sectors, Norway possesses skills, resources and influence which potentially can help make a small, but important contribution in strengthening Africa's capacity to benefit from China's engagement. This study was carried out in co-operation with two Norwegian institutions (PRIO and ECON) and the Institute for Global Dialogue in South Africa.

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Angola

Since the late eighties, CMI have developed close relations with researchers, research institutes, NGOs and international development partners in Angola.

Mapping Poverty

CMI was contracted by the Norwegian Embassy to map poverty and income distribution analyses in Angola. The study presents an overview of poverty and wealth in Angola with recommendations to the Norwegian Embassy on how they best can support poverty analysis and monitoring in Angola.

Describing the national poverty situation in Angola is a difficult task if one wants the description to be based on data and not on casual observation, hearsay and personal opinions. Attempts to collect data have been hampered by war, and have at best covered those parts of the country where the Government has had control.

Detrimental factors for the collection and analysis of poverty data have over time had damaging effects on the data culture in Angola. The lack of valid data on poverty is clearly visible in international publications. Despite the high prevalence of poverty, Angola as a country does not belong to the poor in terms of GDP per capita. The World Bank classifies it as a lower middle income country, and it may soon be among the middle income countries in terms of average GDP per capita. However, the country's poverty situation is serious and its income distribution very skewed. About 70% of the population lives below the poverty line. The functional income distribution, i.e. the division

of income between capital and labour, is biased towards capital by super-profits in the natural resource sectors in Angola. The spatial income distribution is also skewed, with most returns ending up in Luanda.

Angola's excellent natural resource endowment should mitigate poverty and skewed income distribution. A recent IMF staff report concludes that the economic outlook for Angola has been transformed by the 2002 peace agreement and by increasing government revenues from oil but that «progress on structural reform and policies to reduce poverty has been limited.» A large number of national and international observers say that the elite's vested interest in the status quo, sidelines attention to poverty reduction. Moreover, various commentators feel that the present Poverty Reduction Plan (ECP) is a «paper plan» drawn up to appease donors and extract resources from them.

Research on poverty has come to be based on quantitative methods. The team perceives - and subscribes to - an emerging feeling among academics, civil society and donors that qualitative research ought to be given more support and emphasis. We believe that it is more important to focus on how quantitative and qualitative techniques can be integrated in what is often called «methodological pluralism» or «pluralistic research».



Mine Action

CMI did a review to assist Norwegian People's Aid in adapting its Angola programme to reach the objectives it has set for the period 2004 to 2007. NPA presently works in five provinces and employs more than 550 persons in Angola. The country programme has an annual budget of approximately 60 million NOK. The NPA Angola strategy for 2004-2007 focuses on land and resource rights, and on democratic rights and participation. The work is organised within two programmes: mine action (85%) and development (15%).

NPA's mine action programme is expected to help promote rural development and land rights. The number of square metres cleared per year, has increased dramatically, cost efficiency has improved, and efforts to achieve socio-economic objectives have been strengthened through the use of NPA's Task Impact Assessments (TIA). Further efforts should be made to promote socio-economic development and land rights in mine free areas, and to ensure that mine clearing benefits women as much as men.

While NPA has done a brilliant job in training Angolans, who now run opera-

tions in all bases, the question of nationalisation also extends to ownership and funding of the MA organisation. NPA Angola wishes to build up a fully nationalised organisation that can operate until mines cease to be a problem, but it is only when the Angolan Landmine Impact Survey has been completed that there will be a factual basis for forecasting the extent of the MA effort needed.

Currently, there are two doctoral projects on Angola which build on and complement CMI's knowledge on key areas of society and economy. One is a comparative study (Angola, DRC and Sierra-Leone) of the consolidation of peace after a civil war, in particular the effect of «resource curse» issues on the prospects for lasting peace (Samset). The other compares party systems and the process of democratisation in Angola and Mozambique, countries which are formerly dominated by a hegemonic one-party state. In particular, it looks at the relations between political parties, the central administration and the traditional leaders (Orre). An MA project looks at the «post conflict» elections in Angola and Mozambique which took place in the 1990ies attempting to understand why the election became successful in Mozambique but not in Angola (Staaland).

CMI and CEIC (Centro de Estudos e Investigação Científica), the think-tank established at the Catholic University in Luanda, developed a cooperation programme for 2007. Hopefully, it will lead to a long term research cooperation programme. The programme will include capacity building in poverty research, a new annual report comprising research on the church and poverty as well as further work on budget issues and business ethics. The programme will also comprise technical cooperation on ICT issues.

CMI has an Angola website for users who are active in research, development cooperation and business in Angola. CMI is also the hub of an Angola network in Norway.

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Civil Society on the Move

After years of civil war and political monopolisation, civil society is inherently weak in Angola. Although the country allowed free formation of trade unions, NGOs and civil society organisations in 1992, Angolan authorities have not fully accepted the roles of civil society as people's voices or as watchdogs monitoring public institutions and politics. Organisations work within a restrictive legal framework, and are careful. Based on previous experiences, there is a tangible fear of backlash.

Independent trade unions, some human rights organisations and church based organisations are becoming more courageous and visible. Organisations working explicitly on revenues from oil and other minerals, government transparency and public finance management, corruption and taxation, are few and weak. Jubileu 2000 is a network of organisations working on socio-economic rights, transparency in public financial management and a better pro-poor redistribution. They are currently pushing for Angola to sign up to the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI).

There is much organisational networking in Angola. Almost all NGOs and CSOs are members of at least one organisational network. The networks operate not only for the specific interests of the member organisations. The networks represent a preferred avenue for addressing sensitive political questions. The networking trend is very positive, and politically forceful. The Angolan government only seems to respond to pressure from civil society when the pressure is concerted, based on a larger number of national and international organisations and with media coverage. At the same time, the regime is not monolithic. There are open avenues to more accommodating ministries and government representatives.

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Engaging in the Norwegian Public Discourse:

Critical Voices

Media can be an important and effective channel for critical analysis and policy advice.

Contributing with facts, knowledge, critical analyses, policy advice and knowledge-based opinions, CMI scholars participated in political policy debates and engaged more than ever in the Norwegian media in 2006.

A particularly striking example was the intense public debate on the Norwegian engagement in Afghanistan that erupted

in September. CMI researcher Arne Strand participated extensively in national and regional newspapers, and on radio. He held numerous lectures and seminars to various audiences all over Norway, including Parliament and the ministries. The two op-eds co-written with colleague Astri Suhrke, became the topic of editorials in leading newspapers.

Another example of strong CMI engagement, was the corruption-debates in Norway's leading financial newspaper. Tina Søreide became a frequent commentator analysing current trends and challenges, ethical boundaries and behaviour.

CMI had 25 op-eds in major Norwegian newspapers on core thematic subjects: Peacebuilding in Afghanistan, Sudan, Lebanon, and Palestine, corruption, the politics of aid and Islam in the west.

CMI's active use of the media has also led to an increasing demand for CMI expertise from the media and from the public. CMI scholars respond to this demand, and are able and willing to engage in public discourse. CMI benefits from the broad country and thematic expertise among researchers when conflicts explode and dramatic events reach the headlines. The demand for quick and relevant analysis can be quite intense. 202 media articles in 2006 represents and average of four articles every week. In October media distribution reached a record peak of 10 million potential recipients. The monthly average was 4 million.

Our two new PhD researchers distinguished themselves with their willingness to bring their research into the public discourse. Liv Tønnesen wrote 6 op-eds (2 co-authored with CMI colleagues) on Islam in the West, and challenges in Sudan and Darfur. Bård Kårtveit sent home two op-eds from his fieldwork in Bethlehem. His research was the only that reached national television.

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-Thailand ikke farligere etter kuppet

CMI-forsker Hugo Stokke tror ikke statskuppet gjør Thailand til et farligere reisemål.

ATLE ANDERSSON
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Maktovergangen vil heller ikke bety store for innbyggerne i landet. Noen særlige utfordringer på økonomi og dagliglivet for thailendere blir det ikke kuppet til, sier forsker Hugo Stokke ved Chr. Michlersens Institutt (CMI). Han følger utviklingen i Thailand og nabolandene tett, og har tidligere arbeidet for den internasjonale arbeidsorganisasjonen ILO i Bangkok.

Stokke mener tirsdagens maktovertagelse har mange likhetstrekk med kuppet for femten år siden, som han selv fulgte på nært hold i 1991.

Løkte
Thailand skremte
Stokke er en av Thailands største eksperter på Thailand og Thailand-land. Satt av Thailands andel i Thailand-land.

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Increasing Number of International Publication

The year 2006 was probably the best ever for CMI when it comes to international publications.

There are several publications in high ranked (UHR-level 2) journals and edited books. The thematic focus varies from aid-policies, Espen Villanger in *European Economic Review*, via women's movements in Southern Africa, Gisela Geisler in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, the role of cell phones for traders in Ghana, Ragnhild Overå in *World Development*, to corruption, Odd-Helge Fjeldstad and Tina Søreide in *International Handbook on the Economics of Corruption*.

Other publications cover democracy in Bolivia, human rights in Bosnia-Herzegovina, ethnic federalism in Ethiopia, the oil industry in Angola, egalitarianism, as well as a book edited by Roberto Gargarella on *Courts and Social Transformation in New Democracies*.

Avviser militær løsning

Afghanistan-ekspert roser SV.

CMI-forsker Arne Strand mener det er naivt å tro at flere NATO-soldater kan skape fred i Afghanistan.

ATLE ANDERSSON
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Igår ble minst fire personer drept da en selvmordsbomber kastet seg mot en militærkolonne sør i Afghanistan. To barn og to britiske NATO-soldater mistet livet i angrepet. Flere andre soldater ble skadet.

Seniorforsker Arne Strand, en av Norges fremste Afghanistan-eksperter, mener strategien til NATO er dømt til å mislykkes.

– Det avgjørende i denne krigen er om man har befolkningen med eller mot seg. For hvert nye soldat som mobiliseres mot NATO, Rekrutteringsgruppen laget på landsbygden i Afghanistan er uendelig, sier Strand, og tilføyer:

– Høst at afghanerne har kastet ut britene tre ganger før og om de hadde over 100.000 soldater i landet. Historien viser at bruk av militær makt slår feil i Afghanistan, sier Arne Strand.

Land	antall soldater
Albania	30
Australia	200
Aserbajdsjan	20
Belgia	300
Bulgaria	100
Canada	1.200
Danmark	90

Avviser at flere soldater gir fred

Mer enn Taliban

Han tar avstand fra det han omtaler som svart/hvitt fremstilling av NATOs fiender i Afghanistan.

– Det er en haug av ulike grupper som deltar i krigføringen, de blant kommandanter som fikk gjøre hva de ville av amerikanerne etter 11. september, fordi de vurderte seg mot den utenlandske styrken, sier Arne Strand.

Strand påpeker at NATO har samarbeidet med lokale krigsherrer som undertrykker folk.

– Folk på grasrota i Afghanistan spør seg hvem soldatene er satt til å beskytte, sier han. Høst grad av trykthet under Taliban enn de gjør nå, med 34.000 soldater under NATO-kommando i landet.

Han mener den norske debatten om å sende styrker til Sør-Afghanistan er irrelevant, hvis målet virkelig er å løse problemene i landet.

Politisk løsning

– Politikerne bør heller ta stilling til om militær makt er rett instrument for å skape fred og stabilitet i Afghanistan, sier Strand. CMI-forskeren mener det er totalt feilslått å overlate ledere. Det som trengs i Afghanistan er politiske løsninger og fredsbevarende operasjoner.

– Den politiske dialogen må finne sted lokalt, fordi Afghanistan mangler en fungerende sentralstat. Lokale stemmer strukturer er kanskje ikke de mest progressive når det gjelder kvinnesyn. Velger det internasjonale samfunn likevel å gå utenom disse stammegrupperne, mister de den aller viktigste allierte i bestrebelsene på å skape fred og politisk stabilitet i landet, sier Strand.



STILLER SPØRSMÅL: Folk på grasrota i Afghanistan spør seg hvem soldatene er satt til å beskytte, sier CMI-forsker Arne Strand.

Mer enn Taliban

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Han mener den norske debatten om å sende styrker til Sør-Afghanistan er irrelevant, hvis målet virkelig er å løse problemene i landet.

Opposisjonsleiarane vil admjuke regjeringa

Ein samla opposisjon forlangte i går orientering og debatt i eit ope stortingsmøte om norske styrkebidrag til Afghanistan.

VILDA SVAN
HÅVARD BULLAND (foto)
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Ein samla opposisjon forlangte i går orientering og debatt i eit ope stortingsmøte om norske styrkebidrag til Afghanistan.

Åtvarar

Flyktningehjelpe åtvarar på det sterkeste mot samanblanding av humanitære og militære oppgåver i Afghanistan.

Flyktningehjelpe meiner at koalisjonsstyrken i Afghanistan heilt ukritisk har utført humanitære oppgåver. Som til dømes:

fakta

Slått er styrkebidraget til Nato-leiende ISAF-styrken i Afghanistan (tal på soldater pr. million innbyggjar):

- Nederland 122,7
- Noreg 112,6
- Storbritannia 82,4
- Canada 61,7
- Danmark 60,2
- USA 40,2
- Tyskland 23,4
- Belgia 23,8
- Italia 27,5
- Rom 27,5

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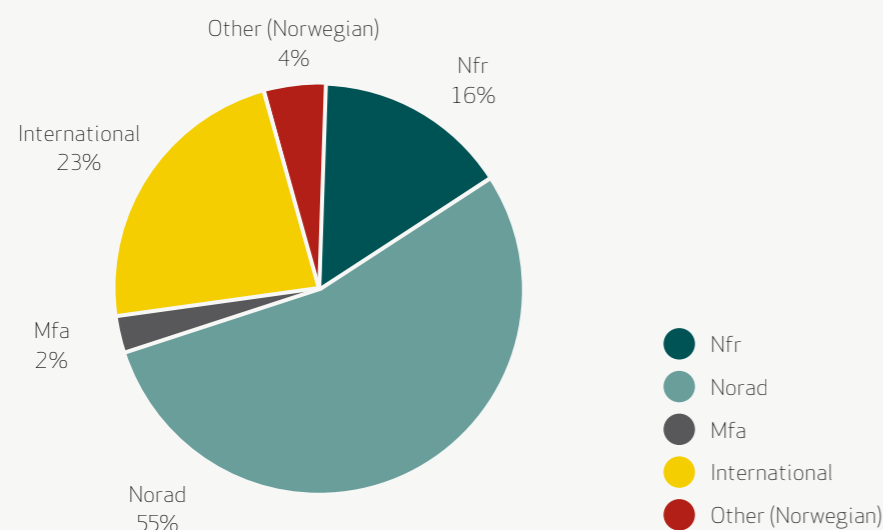
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Project revenues 2006



In 2006, CMI submitted around 36 commissioned reports covering programme and project evaluations, background studies, thematic studies, and policy analyses:

- An analysis of issues and challenges facing the Norwegian-South African partnership beyond 2009
- A study of the international policy debate on Africa
- A study of the Refugee Convention
- Review of Norwegian earthquake assistance to Pakistan,
- A study of China in Africa and its implications for Norwegian foreign and development policies
- A review of Right to Play
- A study of the socio-economic effects of gold mining in Mali
- PRSP in Tanzania
- Growth and distribution framework for Malaysia, 2005-2020.

Clients

In 2006, CMI had 161 research projects and commissioned work for external clients. The total value of the external project portfolio was 38 million NOK. In 2006, contracts with Norad and the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) represented 57% of the project revenues. CMI values the close relations with the Norad and MFA because it affirms CMI expertise on social, economic and political issues in developing countries.

The project funding from the Research Council of Norway (NFR) was 16% in 2006. CMI consolidated its position in the international market. 23% of the total project revenues came from non-Norwegian sources. CMI's main clients are Danida, Dfid, and Sida, in addition to multilateral agencies like the World Bank and the UN.

The biggest single project was U4, the Online Anti-corruption Resource Centre. The 2006 revenue was 5.2 million NOK. U4 was funded by Norad, Dfid and Sida. U4 will expand in 2007. Canadian CIDA have already pledged funding.

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Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI) is an independent, non-profit research institution and a major international centre for policy-oriented and applied development research. Focus is on development and human rights issues and on international conditions that affect such issues. The geographical focus is Sub-Saharan Africa, Southern and Central Asia, the Middle East, the Balkans and South America.

CMI combines applied and theoretical research. CMI research intends to assist policy formulation, improve the basis for decision-making and promote public debate on international development issues.