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ETHICS AND PEACEBUILDING:

THE IMPERATIVE OF KNOWLEDGE



Aid and other interventions in violent contexts can do harm as well as good.

everal years ago, I led an evaluation of International Alert (IA), a major international NGO which works to prevent and resolve conflict in different parts of the world. At the time of the evaluation, IA was the subject of serious allegations regarding its involvement in Sierra Leone which the organization itself celebrated as its main achievement. Some of its activities in Sri Lanka had also become increasingly controversial. As a result, the evaluation came to focus on ethical considerations and on the relationship between ethics and knowledge. After we presented our report, the Secretary General of IA resigned from the organization.

Conflict resolution is the promise of social engineering on a grand scale, and the increasing involvement of NGOs as well as governments in the heat of war, conflict and violence has given rise to a growing sense of moral unease among some policy makers and field workers. Quite clearly, aid and other interventions in violent contexts can do harm as well as good.

Norway plays a particularly active role in the areas of peace facilitation and peace building. Some critics have argued that there has been little to show in terms of results while others have criticized the ways in which aid is increasingly being used as an instrument of Norway's foreign policy, at the expense of long-term issues related to poverty and governance. There has been silence on ethical issues.

The debate on moral responsibility is essentially a debate between actions and consequences, and about who should take responsibility for what. Some people think that actions are good when the motives are good. Others believe that the moral worth of actions lies in good consequences.

In my view, ethics and knowledge are closely linked. It is not enough that our intentions are good and that we can show that we are acting out of the best intentions, even if these intentions are not fully realized. We also have to show that we have made every effort to collect all possible information relevant to any particular decision and its probable consequences.

This last point is particularly important when we are dealing with issues of conflict and violence where the lives of large populations are at risk. Similarly, much of the aid we provide in post-war situations is not simply shaped by knowledge or assumptions of the particular conjunction of factors that may have caused the war and the turn to peace. Our aid policy is also affected by increasingly standardized models of post-war reconstruction that have emerged in recent years. Often, these models are used not because they are empirically grounded or derived from the particular country where they are applied. Rather, the models resonate with ideological presuppositions entertained by Northern policy makers. Guidelines and lessons-learned documents from OECD/DAC, the UN or the World Bank are part and parcel of such streamlining.

Problems are compounded by the nature of the international aid system which is extraordinarily complex. The multiplicity of actors, for one, makes for weak accountability and fragmented responsibilities. The internal workings of ministries of foreign affairs are far from the problems that beneficiaries in recipient countries face; promotion criteria in Oslo or Washington may not be related to results achieved "on the ground".

All this may too often lead to behavior and decisions that are both ill-informed and questionable from an ethical point of view. Some of the issues involved can presently be seen in Sudan. Some seven years ago, the international community decided to negotiate with the Sudanese government to achieve peace and democracy. It was seen as better for the country and its population to try to go for a "soft landing" of the Khartoum regime, although most people wanted to get rid of it. The result was a peace agreement between the government and the SPLM. Since then, there have been problems and increasing divisions within the international community, particularly over Darfur.

However, the relationship between peace and justice is complicated and should be determined on a case-by-case basis rather than asserted as a matter of principle.

The ICC decision is a gamble with unknowable consequences and large risks.

On March 4, 2009, the International Criminal Court (ICC) decided to issue an arrest warrant against President Omar al-Bashir for crimes against humanity and war crimes in Darfur. This clearly stands in contradiction to the negotiation strategy and led to the immediate expulsion of 13 international humanitarian organizations from Sudan.

The statutes of the ICC require the Prosecutor to ensure that prosecution is in the interest of the victims and the interest of justice. However, the relationship between peace and justice is complicated and should be determined on a case-by-case basis rather than asserted as a matter of principle. The best interests of victims in Darfur will surely be served by maintaining humanitarian programmes and making progress towards peace. But the ICC has no competence to judge the effects of its decisions on peace and security in Sudan, although implicitly it has a duty to do so. To what extent will the pursuit of justice turn into revenge-seeking that obstructs the search for reconciliation and a durable peace? Clearly, the ICC decision is a gamble with possibly grave consequences and equally large risks. The ethical issues involved have hardly received any attention.

I personally believe that Norway should continue peace facilitation and peacebuilding in parts of the world where we have a chance to support local efforts and perhaps even succeed. Whether any peace process succeeds or fails clearly lies beyond the capabilities of external mediators; instead, success is ultimately contingent upon the willingness of the parties to live together non-violently. Thus, it is critically important to understand the dynamics that keep conflicts going and those through which they may end. Long-term research plays a key role to be able to understand such dynamics and openly deal with difficult ethical and moral issues in situations where thousands of human lives are at stake.

Gunnar M. Sørbø





THE RESOURCE CURSE

ngola earns 30 billion US\$ in oil revenues a year, yet 70% of its population live on less than 2 US\$ a day. Poverty in Nigeria doubled after three decades of oil production. This reflects a more general pattern known as the "resource curse", where natural resources depress economic growth, increase poverty and inequality, and lead to lower levels of health and education. In short, resources reduce the welfare of people in developing countries. What leads to the problem are weak institutions. Weak rule of law makes fighting for a share of resource wealth more attractive to entrepreneurs than productive enterprise. And weak democratic accountability makes it possible for government officials to use resource revenues to secure their political power, rather than for productive investment. In both cases, resources are used inefficiently, and development suffers as a result.

What makes the problem difficult to address, is the fact that elites in resource rich countries benefit from the situation. Weak institutions enables them to pocket large parts of the resource rents. The agents that have the opportunity to improve the situation therefore do not have the incentives to do so. Why kill your own cash cow? In the absence of other powerful groups, there is little reason to expect institutional reform to be domestically induced.

So interaction from outside is needed, but from whom? Other states or the international community? Multinational oil companies? Recent research at CMI has taken a closer look at the role these agents do play and should play in addressing the resource curse.

The problem with international initiatives towards the resource curse is that rich countries prefer not to get their hands dirty. The Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) suffers from three major shortcomings; i) it is voluntary, ii) transparency does not help where no one has the power to act on the information, iii) transparency in resource revenues is less important than transparency in expenditures. Petroleum-related aid initiatives, such

as the Norwegian Oil for Development Programme, focus too narrowly on sector issues.

Neither type of initiative addresses the governance dysfunctions underlying the resource curse. But guess what? You cannot induce institutional reform without changing incentives, without increasing the power and influence of the groups benefiting from reform. To induce change, you have to improve democratic accountability. You have to get involved in politics, and that's going to be messy. You have to get your hands dirty.

By contrast, multinational oil companies wash their hands of the whole problem. We can't get involved in politics, is the standard argument. But they already are involved in politics. If you channel millions of dollars into an opaque system, benefiting a corrupt elite, you are creating or cementing an imbalance of power. Companies are often the agents with the most clout in resource rich countries, and if they won't act where others can't or won't, what is the result? Do we leave the poor to their fate?

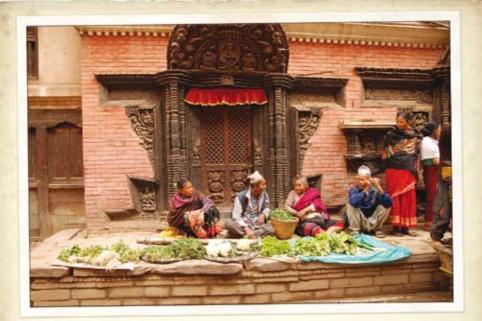
It is not in the interest of corporations to accept these points, and their incentives must be changed for them to act differently. It is disheartening, then, that the points are similarly lost on policy makers that could provide the right incentives to companies. For example, despite input from CMI, a recent white paper from the Norwegian government on corporate social responsibility paints a naïvely rosy picture of company activities in resource rich countries, rejecting any positive duties for corporations to improve the situation.

We know a lot about the resource curse. But there is also more to be learnt, in particular on effective ways of inducing institutional change in resource rich developing countries. More research is needed. But the biggest challenge for researchers is to get policy makers and companies to listen. If the problem is that everyone benefits from substandard institutions except the poor in resource rich countries, this is going to be challenging indeed.

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EVALUATIONS – ARE THEY NECESSARY?

orad's 2007 Results Report amply illustrates the challenge facing results reporting on aid – it is an inherently difficult empirical task to link cause and effect in studies of human society, which is made no easier with the growing ambitions set out for aid. The discrepancy between the aims of foreign aid and its relative role in creating corresponding outcomes, has steadily been increasing - culminating in the Millennium Development Goals. Earlier, donors could be satisfied if a project they supported met its output targets, often measured by the physical actions undertaken in the project. Contemporary demands require that donors specify the impacts of aid on the well-being of the recipient people, or on political and economic processes in the recipients' society. Undoubtedly, this perspective is necessary for justifying aid strategies, but most aid evaluations tend to make assumptions about impact rather than empirically proven impact.

Very few robust aid impact evaluations have been carried out by Norwegian research institutions and consultancy firms during the review period 1996-2007. One of the main findings from our review, is that the evaluators did not have the necessary time or budget to conduct a proper impact evaluation, which in turn yields a superficial treatment of the impact evaluation components of the study. This has partly to do with the low overall budget of the studies, but also with the large number of questions being addressed in the ToR. Commissioning bodies should rather limit the number of impact evaluations, and provide an adequate budget for

impact studies. The ToR must ensure a consistent and clear interpretation of the assignment to avoid conflicting interpretations. This was not the case for several of the evaluations reviewed. Even though developing a theory, or a logical chain on expected programme impact on the participants and non-participants would give important pointers to where the evaluator should focus resources for studying impact, this is usually not undertaken by evaluators.

For evaluations where the purpose is to assess the impacts of a specific programme assigned exclusively to certain individuals, households or villages, it is necessary for the evaluator to construct a counterfactual scenario (i.e. what the situation would have been without aid). This involves the collection of qualitative and quantitative data from both beneficiaries and nonbeneficiaries, and the use of secondary data to cross-check the particular research question. Since the best result is probably obtained by a triangulation of methodologies, it is unfortunate that most Norwegian impact evaluations do not apply an adequate mix of the methodological approaches necessary to identify impacts. We also found that impact evaluations generally provide rudimentary documentation of the data being used. Finally, this review underscores that impact evaluation requires specific knowledge about evaluation methodologies in addition to advanced analytical skills.

Social networks and labour migration in South Asia

This study explores motives and explanations for network use in labour transactions in low income countries and the implications for employers, and in particular for the segment of poor unskilled workers. One explanation favoured among economists is that networks are vehicles for effective information transmission about vacancies. Those lacking networks may face powerful mechanisms of exclusion. This project will develop theoretical models to study the incentive problems confronting workers and employers and their variation across the skill-level of jobs, production technologies, industries etc. Using primary data from detailed village and destination studies in India and Nepal, we will test alternative theoretical explanations for network use. The ultimate aim is to provide knowledge on mechanisms that may exclude the poor from these networks to be able to give advice on policy interventions that may improve the access of the poor to external labour.



Social exclusion, poverty and the conflict in Nepal

A research group from CMI and Tribhuvan University has completed a 3-year project on social exclusion and the political conflict in Nepal. About 20 reports are produced on methodological issues, statistical measures of social exclusion, in depth qualitative and quantitative analyses of mechanisms of exclusion, the relation between social exclusion and the political conflict as well as economic changes that have taken place during the ten years of conflict. The empirical findings conflict with the more popular rhetoric of male hill Brahmin dominance in Nepali society. In particular we find deep caste- and economic discrimination within the conflict-ridden Terai region. CMI continues activities in Nepal in two new projects on labour migration and barriers to investments among the poor.



Comparative corporate strategies

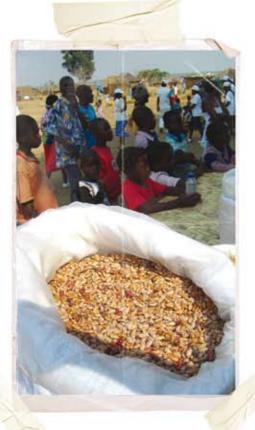
A number of studies suggest that the practices of multinational corporations in relation to corporate social responsibility and in other areas differ according to their home country. This is also anecdotally observed in Africa in general and Angola in particular, where differences between Chinese and Western companies have received much attention and been the topic of considerable debate. This study will attempt to disentangle some root causes of differences in practice for multinational companies from different countries, with an emphasis on Western versus Chinese countries operating in the same market in Angola.

Accounting for poverty reduction in Norwegian development aid to Mozambique

Poverty reduction is the overarching goal of Norwegian development assistance, as expressed in the "Government Plan of Action for Combating Poverty in the South Towards 2015" and other related documents. At the same time, it is acknowledged that we currently know too little about the impact of development aid and that Norway must make greater demands on both itself and its partners to document results. This study feeds into the process of improving the documentation of the results of Norwegian development aid by taking a critical look at the system of the monitoring and evaluation of Norwegian development aid to Mozambique - with a particular focus on poverty reduction. Central topics are the implications of the overarching objective of poverty reduction on the level of concrete interventions; the most relevant types of data to verify the outcomes and impact on poverty; and the most adequate system for forwarding information to the relevant stakeholders.

Aid relations - diversity and discord

Central to the aid policy debate has been our understanding of the relationship between recipient and donor. Politicians and aid agencies have propagated shifting doctrines, reflecting changing ambitions and perceptions of the role of aid. Current wisdom is enshrined in the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (from 2005), envisioning a partnership based on mutual responsibility and recipient-led aid management. Three studies at CMI, all completed in 2008, showed that realities are far from the "Paris" ideal - but not only in a negative sense. The book Aid Relations in Asia (Palgrave) shows that recipient-led aid management - or 'ownership' as it is commonly referred to - was established within a diversity of relationships. A comparative study of aid to major infrastructure projects in Asia and Africa, demonstrated the virtue of long-term commitment in aid - a salient feature of Japanese aid. An evaluation of 14 cases of aid exits - donors leaving a recipient country - amply illustrates the ambiguities and asymmetry in aid relations. Visions of long-term sustainable development were pushed aside in situations of political discord.

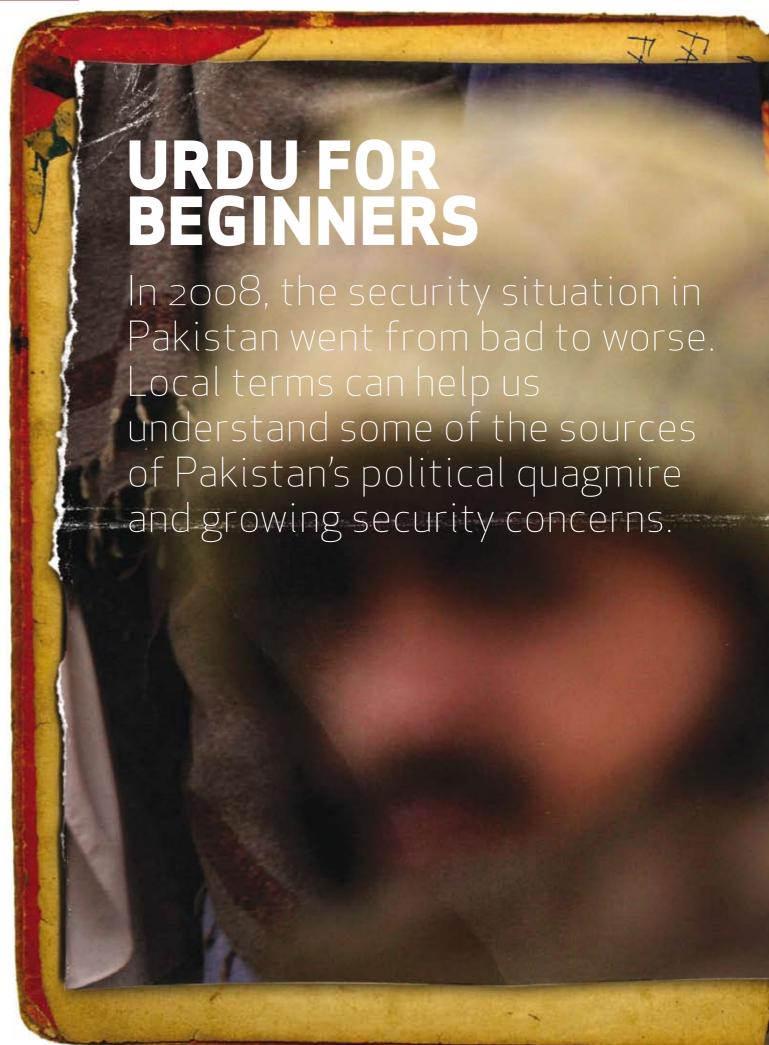


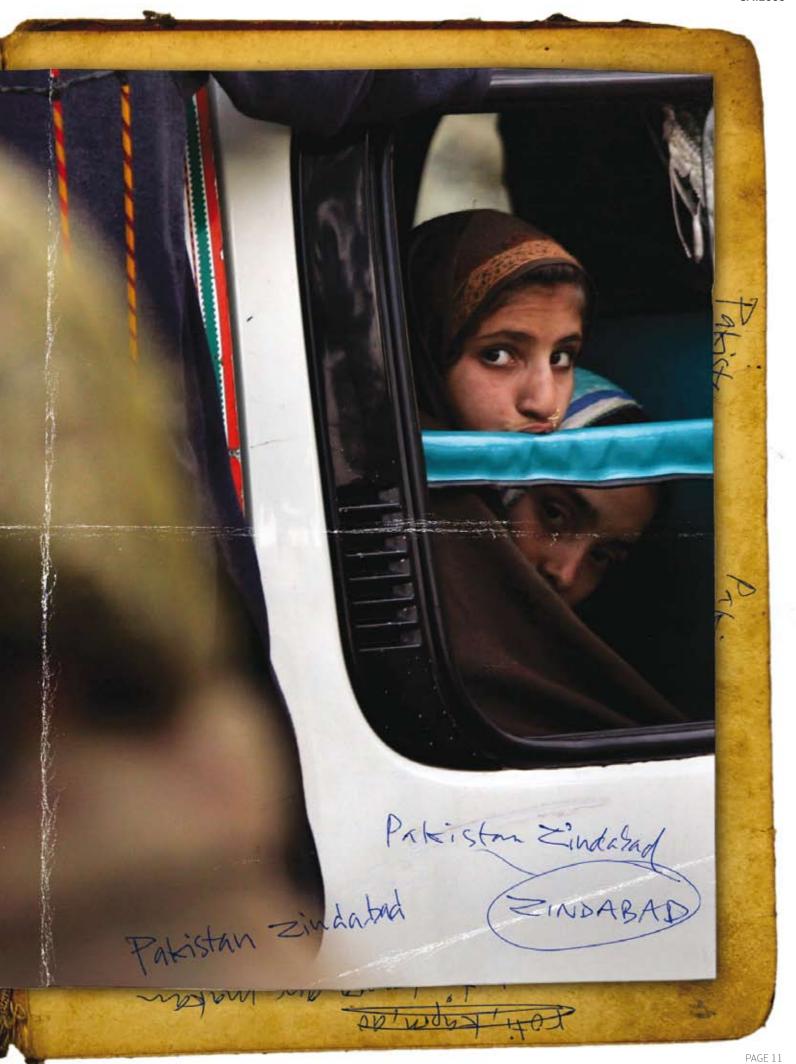


Self-interest and global responsibility: South Korean and Indian aid policies in the making

South Korea and India embody unique development experiences. Today both play important economic and political roles internationally and are both defined as "middle powers". South Korea has developed from being one of the poorest countries in the world to one of the wealthiest. India is a country in transition and is still in a dual position. Despite tremendous economic success it still receives huge amounts of aid and struggles with mass poverty. In fact, one third of the world's poor live in India.

Knowledge on emerging donors is inadequate. Many observers fear that emerging donors might threaten "the aid hegemony" of the traditional donors and hamper what has been achieved in the past. Some believe that new donor countries will take on a key role in international aid in the decades to come, others think they will remain minor players. South Korea and India have chosen very different paths as emerging donors. While India is launching itself as a "non-traditional" donor and is distancing itself from the DAC donor countries, South Korea on the other hand has already decided to apply for DAC membership and is taking steps to move its aid practice in conformity with DAC-standards. A CMI study exploring South Korean and Indian aid-policy in the making, argues that their emergence as donors is first and foremost driven by a wish and a perceived need to increase their international standing and political clout.





URDU FOR BEGINNERS

PAREESA

BAKSHEESH

n 2008, the war in Afghanistan spilled over into Pakistan's border regions, especially in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). The frontier region is now a war zone where "coalition warfare", insurgent militancy and Islamic rebellions kill and displace local people. This has served to multiply Pakistan's existing political and economic problems, and the country is now reeling from a severe governance crisis. I have lived more than two years in Pakistan, but my command of Urdu, Pakistan's national language, was never great. Yet, some of the local terms stuck in my mind, and I think they can help us understand some of the sources of Pakistan's political quagmire and growing security concerns.

Pakistan today tops the list of countries suffering from suicide attacks as more and more men seek to become martyrs (*shaheed*). No country has more martyrs than Pakistan, and none as many as the Bhutto-family. When I lived in Pakistan in the early 1990s, Pakistan's state-run TV-channel PTV ended every newscast with a solemn listing of the *shaheeds* who had given their lives for a Free Kashmir (*Azad Kashmir*). In fact, the Kashmir conflict has given name to all types of intractable problems; everything that has no solution is *Kashmiri*; unending and unsolvable.

One of the country's most Kashmiri problems, is corruption (baksheesh, sifarish). Everywhere you can find corruption; from the policeman flaying a taxi driver, to large scale, grand corruption. In 2007, Pakistan was ranked as number 138 of 179 countries in Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index. Many of the country's most prominent politicians, prime ministers and leaders stand accused of corruption, but only one of them was jailed on corruption charges; Pakistan's current president Asif Zardari, the husband of Shaheed Benazir Bhutto who was assassinated in 2007. Zardari was widely considered the country's most corrupt man, earning him the nickname Mr. Ten Percent. As such, many saw him as an example of the outlaws (dacoits)

that roam the upper Sindh tributaries; Zardari, people said, was the biggest dacoit of them all.

For this reason, most Pakistanis see the government and the state as exploitative and oppressive (zalim), whose main purpose is to prey on the people. Thus, people do not expect much from their governments, nor do they have any reason to. The country's many civilian and military governments (hukumat) have, people believe, ruined the country. One of the most commonly heard terms in Pakistan is kharab, meaning broken, ruined and bad. Everything can be considered kharab, government, leaders, services, roads and houses. Worse still are the politicians who are branded dogs (kutta), windbags (lotaa) and villains (badhmash). Many not only blame their own leaders, but also the United States as the cause of the country's misery and hence its main enemy (dushman). There is a deeply felt belief among ordinary Pakistanis that the country is oppressed by western powers, and especially by the United States which seeks to prevent Pakistan from becoming a Great Nation.

It is therefore not surprising that many see Islam and the implementation of Islamic Law (Sharia) as a solution to the country's many problems. This is one reason why Pakistan has been unable to extricate itself from the state-led Islamisation drive initiated by the Martial Law Administrator Zia ul-Haq. Some of the country's politicians have tried to earn popular support by implementing Sharia in the country, not least the former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif who moved the so-called Sharia Bill before the Senate. In the end the Sharia Bill was dismissed by the Senate, but half-heartedly introduced in parts of the frontier region. This is why people there have, since the early 1990s, demanded full implementation of the Sharia in areas like Swat.

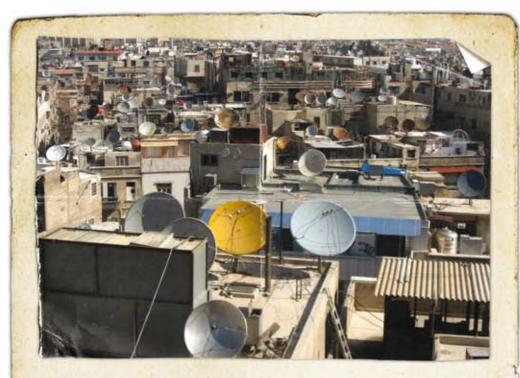
Pakistan spends less than two percent of its GDP on education. This is one reason why it has the highest illiteracy rate in the region. While Pakistan's English-speaking elite sends their children to private schools (and later to Oxford, Yale and Harvard), the so-called Quran-schools (madrassa) are the only alternative for poor people. Yet, as recent studies have shown, madrassas neither enrol as many students as is often claimed nor do graduates figure prominently among the country's many suicide bombers: suicide bombers tend neither to be very poor, nor illiterate.

Nonetheless, being poor (ghareeb) is a perennial problem in Pakistan, and the state has never seriously tried to tackle poverty. More than thirty years ago, the populist Prime Minister Shaheed Zulfigar Bhutto promised the masses "roti, kapra aur makan" (bread, clothes and shelter). Most people got neither, and Pakistan's legislators have since not passed a single law that could ease the pressure on the poor. Even a tax on agricultural land has been resisted by the landed elites who dominate the country's parliament. Instead, Pakistan spends a large part of its GDP on the military (fauj). The army not only spends the country's money, but the Fauji Foundation, one the army's two investment funds, is Pakistan's largest corporation and biggest landowner generating enormous kickbacks for the country's officer corps. It is a befitting irony that the etymological origins of the term "Urdu" for the country's national language, is simply "Army".

Pakistan is considered by many western observers a "failed state" that soon will be faced with imminent collapse. The people are often cast as militant, extremist and jihadist, bent on waging a Holy War. Both these analyses are flawed. Pakistan is not yet a "failed state" but, as I have argued, the politicians and leaders have certainly failed their people. This has undermined generations of hardworking people labouring in the hot sun for little or no pay. They may have lost out, but not lost faith in a better future for themselves and for their country. We should therefore join them in the common call for the country's revival: "Long live Pakistan", Pakistan zindabad.

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POLITICS, MEDIA AND ISLAMISM

he co-operation between Palestinian Institute for the Study of Democracy, Muwatin, in Ramallah/ Palestine, and CMI entered into a fourth phase in 2008.

Media and politics in the contemporary Arab world

The new media have a great potential for changing the landscape of social and political engagement and discourse in the Arab world, where the possibility of mediated socio-political and cultural engagement and contestation remains a necessary if not sufficient condition for political democratisation and change. The general thrust of the research questions centres on the role and impact of these new medias in the social and political landscape of the Arab region in general and Palestine in particular, and an assessment of the socio-political dynamics generated in and through them.

Political Islam and democratisation

All across the Arab region the resurgence of political Islamist movements now pose a serious challenge to established political elites. One can say that their success is a reflection of the failure of the post-colonial nationalists to institute national democratic regimes that could simultaneously fulfil the people's national as well social aspirations, and provide justice and equity within a democratic political system. One of

the main challenges facing democratic transformations is how to mobilise ordinary people, the citizenry, for the struggle for democracy; that is, how to give them a tangible stake in such a transformation. The sheer poverty in the content and practice of citizenship in the region, where people are "subject to power" but citizens only by grace of the regimes, remain one of the major problems facing any popular mass mobilisation of the people. Articulating demands for justice, working among their mass constituencies and providing them with a network of services that the state has abandoned, are some of the sources of strength of the various Islamist movements. It is for this reason many observers believe that the Islamist movements and parties can be the carriers of social and democratic change in the region.

Palestinian political development

This project will study the obstacles to and opportunities for political solutions to the stalled peace process in Palestine in general and the internal division between Fatah and Hamas in particular. This includes studies of the internal political processes (in Hamas and Fatah), the problem of internecine conflict, the potential for third-party mediation and the use of political and economic incentives to end violence.



Why does state-building fail?

The situation in Afghanistan deteriorated in 2008. The security situation deteriorated in the southern parts of the country and the number of civilian war victims increased to its highest level since 2001. Corruption is a major challenge and the legitimacy of the government appears severely undermined. Despite progress in the health and education sectors and a relatively peaceful situation in central and northern parts of Afghanistan, the Afghan population are increasingly wary of the international presence.

CMI's Afghanistan research goes back more than 20 years. Now, there is a close collaboration with the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO) and Afghan researchers and institutions. This allows for informed and critical debate of important research and policy issues, including a CMI/PRIO seminar series hosted by PRIO in Oslo and an active engagement in Norwegian media and policy debates.

CMI research continues to challenge the assumptions of the international statebuilding project in Afghanistan, while also addressing more specific questions such as justice sector reform. A focus area has been the identification of conciliatory approaches to the insurgency, and a mapping of institutions engaged in social science research in Afghanistan. CMI researchers contributed to a major British research project "Understanding Afghanistan" and completed a review of the voluntary return programme from Norway to Afghanistan. Finally, the foundations were laid for the initiation of two new projects starting in 2009; a PhD project on gender and security and a research project on the interactions between internal and external peacebuilders.

Violence in the postconflict state

The ending of wars is often followed by continued or new forms of violence in the affected states. Such violence, whether associated with ex-combatants, organised crime, disaffected warlords, recriminating agents of the state or marginalised groups, seems widespread but poorly understood. This project aims to increase our theoretically informed knowledge about the causes, manifestations and scale of such violence, as well as patterns of transformation. Which conditions and strategies are likely to reduce post-war violence?

Peacebuilding in Sudan: micro- macro issues

In cooperation with the University of Khartoum, Al Ahfad University for Women, the University of Bergen and PRIO, we explore challenges to peacebuilding in Sudan, with a particular focus on (a) the political economy of the transition, including institutional and governance issues, and (b) the role of third party engagement and issues related to the management and coordination of aid. The programme is multidisciplinary and combines macro level studies with research in selected localities and states. It covers basic research, capacity building (primarily in Sudan) and policy oriented needs.

Sowing the oil, developing a nation. Poverty reduction and political conflict in Venezuela

This is a study of how oil revenues are directed towards social and economic development under the current Venezuelan government, focusing on legally grounded, but locally organized community groups in poor urban communities as well as their intersections with state/government entities. Eclipsing this ethnographic focus, the study also seeks to explore how the country's extensive possession of oil is shaping imageries of the nation state, political identities, and social and political conflicts.



the discovery and exploitation of natural resources, commonly lead to higher indices of poverty and violence. Our project builds on a series of in-depth country case studies from Latin America, Africa, the Caucuses and Europe in an effort to better understand the linkages that exist between oil and gas industry development and the generation of conflict and poverty on the one hand, and the possibilities for generating peaceful economic, political and social opportunities on the other. Funded by the Norwegian Research Council for a period of three years, the project will hold its first international conference in La Paz, Bolivia in July 2009.

In search of security: Religious mobilization and violent justice in Indonesia

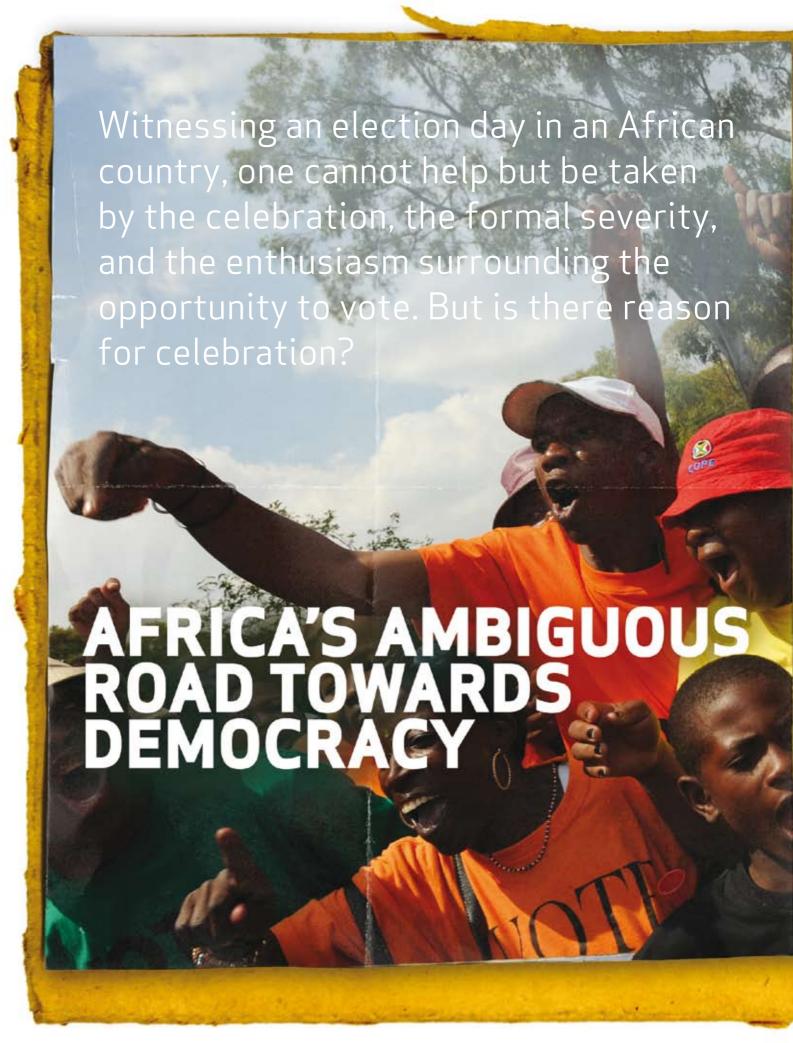
The project explores the links between religious movements and violence in the context of a weakened state, focusing on the faith-based "security" groups that have emerged among Sasak Muslims and Balinese Hindus on the island of Lombok in the post-New Order "reformation" era. The project examines the alternative notions of "justice", "security" and "order" being developed within these vigorous social movements. The project aims to advance knowledge of the structural conditions (local, national, global) which have lead religious actors and movements to assume classical functions of statecraft, thereby challenging the state's monopoly on the legitimate deployment of violence.

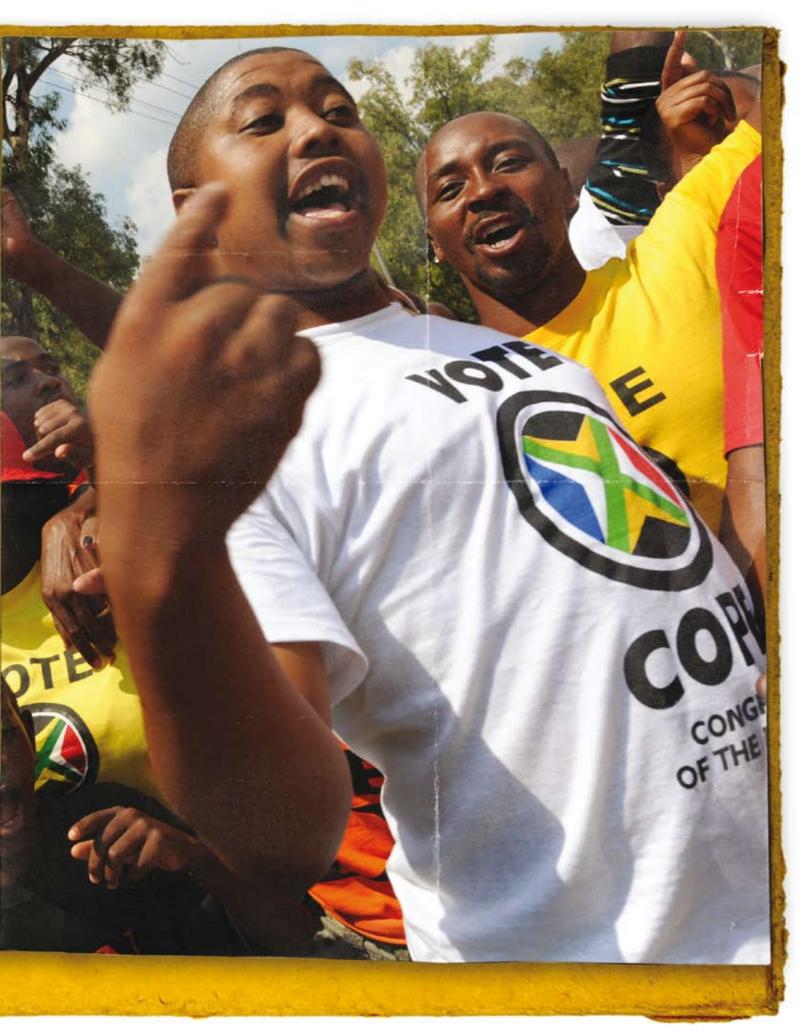
Politics of faith

This interdisciplinary research programme maps and explores the interconnected process of religious resurgence and political development in the South. By examining diverse religious traditions in politics and contemporary conflict across a number of states and societies, the programme attempts to establish a theoretical framework for understanding the force of religion in the developing world.

Palestinian women in Islamic civil society organisations

There is a tendency in academic research and popular presentations to treat women as if they constitute a homogeneous group sharing the same needs and opinions. Taking the women who participate – as activists and beneficiaries - as a point of departure, this project proposes a more nuanced approach, starting by exploring who these women are and why and how they participate in Islamic civil society organisations. This micro-level starting point will serve as an intake to explore the nature of the social work of Islamic civil society organisations. The outcome will be a study that combines political, social and religious dimensions and contributes towards a holistic understanding of Palestinian society, of women's social and political roles, and of the potential role of religious social movements in democratisation processes.





AFRICA'S AMBIGUOUS ROAD TOWARDS DEMOCRACY

n 1989, just before the fall of apartheid in South Africa, three countries in Sub-Saharan Africa were rated as democratic. Today, according to the US based Freedom in the World Report, 33 countries in the region are rated as free or partly free. In two thirds of Africa's nations, leaders are chosen through regular and competitive elections. Much has happened, and Africa has clearly become more democratic. For many young people across Sub-Saharan Africa, casting a vote in order to elect governments in regularised elections is becoming a norm that is no longer questioned. Yet, democracy does not rest on the opportunity to vote alone. A democracy requires mechanisms of accountability between the elected and the electors both at the time of elections and in-between elections. Among other things, it requires institutions able to check and control the actions of the executive, the legislators and the bureaucracy. An independent and farreaching media as well as autonomous courts are also necessary requirements.

Research shows that elections are not cures fixing social and political problems. Regular free and fair elections constitute only one step on the way towards democracy. Today, many of Sub-Saharan African nations have come to occupy a precarious middle ground between outright authoritarianism and full-fledged democracy. Others have experienced reversals to authoritarianism. Combining authoritarian traits with some features of a democracy, are the most common regime type in Sub-Saharan Africa and are also quite common in other regions. Typical traits of these hybrid regimes include populist politics and executive dominance, "hyper-presidentialism", disregard for the rule of law, weak state capacity and high levels of corruption. Across the continent a common feature is a weak and inefficient political opposition and a precarious lack of interplay between ordinary citizens and political parties - particularly opposition parties.

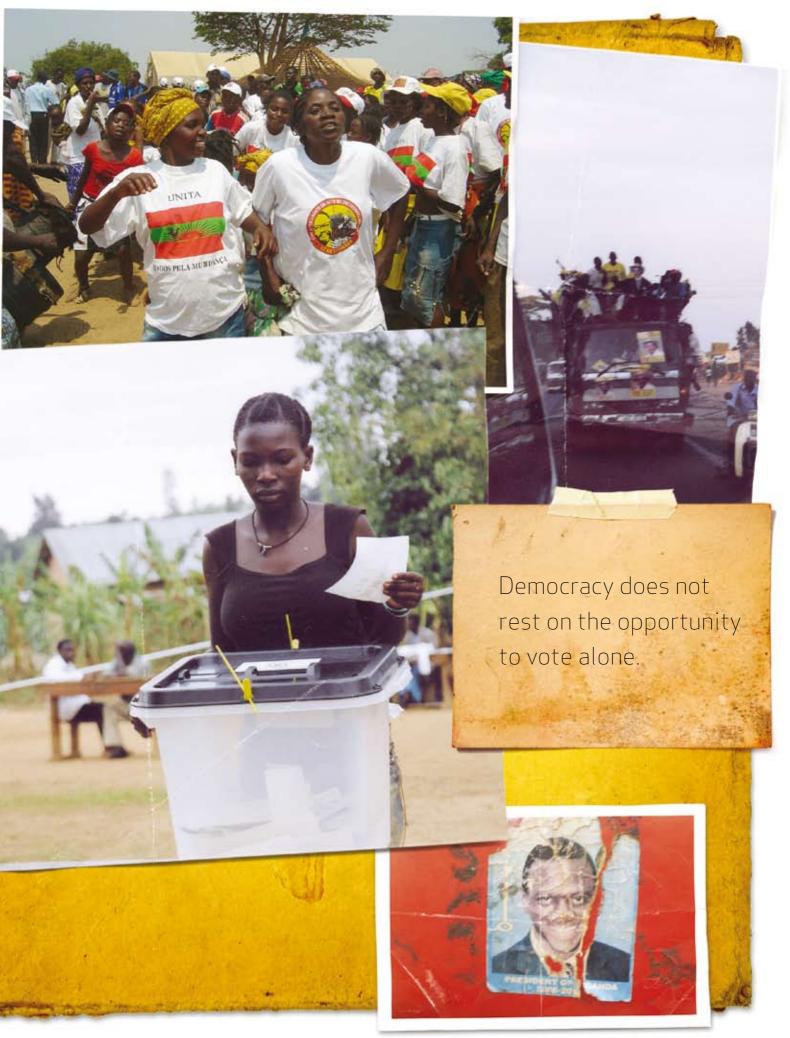
Africa's precarious democratic developments pose challenges for international actors providing support for good governance. It is by now clear that ensuring continued progress after "founding" elections is much more challenging than the transition to democracy itself. Donors have also increasingly come to realise that democracy assistance is inherently political and by empowering one set of institutions and actors over others, donors may shape internal power dynamics. We also know that external actors can contribute positively in efforts to strengthen and consolidate democratic structures, but they cannot act as substitutes when domestic support is lacking.

Donors and international actors must avoid relying on a blueprint of democracy that is not sensitive to context. Failure to tailor support to local context and to ensure that it is the people and organisations in the recipient country that have the primary role and responsibility remains a core challenge. Donors cannot "overload" societies and governance systems with constant changes and long lists of demands. Many areas of democracy support are ripe for increased donor coordination. Pooled support to parliaments and consecutive elections over several years may enhance the quality of the democratic process, sustainability of the institutions and less predictability. In order to enhance the development of democracies, the international community should pay more attention to the role of regional actors, organisations, and mechanisms which may have a better understanding of local and regional contexts. Greater attention to local ideas and capacity may help foster stronger regional and local democratic constituencies and avoid assistance based on a "one size fits all" model so often associated with democracy assistance.

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Today, many of the Sub-Saharan African nations have come to occupy a precarious middle ground between outright authoritarianism and full-fledged democracy.







t seems we would rather be safe and wealthy, than free. The so-called war on terror entailed serious infringements on political rights and civil liberties in the world. There are signs that the current financial turmoil may have a similar effect. In her recent visit to China, US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said she would not let the issue of human rights interfere with efforts to resolve the global economic crisis and combating climate change. Executions of political prisoners in China are apparently less important than jobs in the US. And as the risk of mortgage foreclosures increases, we get less picky about who we get into bed with.

The CMI Human Rights Programme celebrated its 25th anniversary in 2008, against this increasingly bleak backdrop. This also coincided with the 60th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. While some progress has been made in securing the formal rights of people, this is still a world ravaged by conflict and repression, and achievements are vulnerable to crisis reversal.

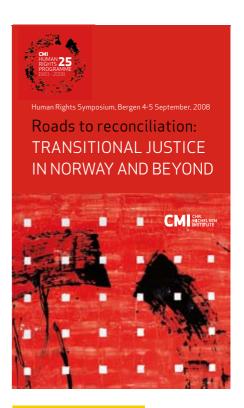
Human rights research is therefore as important as ever. Research that analyses the justification and importance of human rights, the responsibilities rights entail, and the means by which to secure more extensive rights for more people. Research that systematically considers the tradeoffs and interconnections between the right and the good, between freedom and welfare, and between liberty and security. And research that helps us understand how people navigate complex human environments with different and

possibly conflicting representations of the right and the good.

The CMI Human Rights programme continues to contribute to our understanding of these issues. Current activities of the programme revolve around two thematic areas, entitled Transitional Justice and Land and Law.

The Transitional Justice project examines how different formal transitional justice mechanisms (such as trials, truth commissions, and amnesties) and informal transitional justice mechanisms (such as various local rituals) affect the levels of violence and reconciliation after armed conflict. Such mechanisms are frequently employed in order to foster peace, rule of law, and more democratic societies as armed conflicts or dictatorships come to an end. Yet, there is scarce empirical knowledge regarding their impact.

The Land and Law project compares the conditions for rights to land in Africa and Latin America in order to better understand what are often ambiguous and conflicting rules and norms. It asks under what conditions the formal recognition of legal pluralities can function as a mechanism for economic rights. The project asks whether the increasing number of state sponsored initiatives to accept and integrate legal plurality into national law function as realistic mechanisms for the legal empowerment of the poor. The project questions whether legal pluralism plays a role in assisting or complicating the security of livelihoods, of rights and of access to land.



RESEARCH FOCUS



Poverty reduction and gender justice in contexts of complex legal pluralism

There is a majority of women amongst the global poor. Complex legal pluralities play a fundamental role in shaping understandings of gender, justice, community and personhood, and in shaping opportunities for personal autonomy, political participation and access to economic resources (such as education, health, land, water or employment). Thus, legal pluralism plays a critical role in gendered livelihood prospects and in shaping prospects for escaping poverty. This research seeks to explore the relationship between complex legal pluralities and gendered forms of poverty.



Legal cultures in transition: The impact of European integration

The concept of a "United Europe" has been pursued with vigour in recent years. But while European integration is being implemented through the harmonisation of national legislation, some argue that 'genuine partnership can only develop on the basis of shared common values—in particular, democracy, the rule of law and respect for human and civil rights'—which presupposes some harmonisation of legislation and legal culture. In a context where knowledge is scarce, this project generates data on legal culture in five European states (Norway, UK, Poland, Bulgaria and Ukraine).



Going to court to advance the right to health

This research investigates whether going to court to claim the right to health can make health policies and systems in poor countries more equitable by forcing policy-makers and administrators to take on their human rights obligations. Since the 1990s, health court cases have increased dramatically in resource-poor countries. With issues ranging from access to medication and treatment to basic determinants of health (such as food, water, shelter, and a healthy environment), these cases potentially have huge financial and social implications. Yet, little is known about the effects of these cases on health systems and policies - or about who benefits. Is litigation primarily used by the marginalised to gain fair access to medical services, or is it more often a means used by patients with financial resources or creativity to access expensive treatment that is otherwise unavailable?

Cultural cooperation, education and heritage

Culture enhances democracy and critical debate, gives poor people a voice and facilitates their participation in the development process. But whose culture should be supported in heterogeneous societies where cultural expressions often play political roles and may be a dividing factor rather than a unifying one? How should a balance between use and protection of cultural heritage sites be struck, and to what degree are institutions in the North relevant partners for institutions in the South? CMI has evaluated Norwegian support to the protection of cultural heritage between 2000-2008, offering advice on future framing and organisation of such support.

Developmental democracy

Since the early 1990s, Southern African countries have seen the transition to multi-party democracies. However, the new democracies have not produced tangible benefits for the voters. The democratisation process appears to be confined to mere procedures for electing leaders and for making legitimate decisions. It falls miserably short of generating development or what may be called substantive democracy. This study intends to provide a conceptual framework for analysing institutions and substantive policy areas in terms of the output of democratic governance.

Political parties in Angola

This project looks at the Angolan political parties' ability to mobilise electoral support, to represent people throughout the election period, and issues of party responsiveness and representativity. This study will analyse possible structural barriers to party consolidation, and the processes of interest aggregation, leadership, participation and socialisation, bargaining and coalition making.



Decentralisation and gender in Tanzania

This study looked at co-ordination and cooperation in maternal health within local authorities in Tanzania. Key factors in successful maternal health included vertical and horizontal co-operation, voluntary village health workers and health committees, an increase in deliveries at health facilities, mobile clinics and outreach units to isolated areas, improved means of transportation and communication, and committed and serious key staff. Women's economic empowerment was a key factor in all the projects.





PREACHING TAX MORALE BUT PRACTICING TAX AVOIDANCE

n 1993, I got involved in work initiated by the National Planning Commission and the Ministry of Finance in Dar es Salaam to develop a macro economic model as a tool for policymaking and analysis of economic development in Tanzania. My task was to provide inputs to the revenue side of the model. I wrote a background paper on taxation and tax reforms focusing on the tax exemption regime and its impact on government revenues.

Based on data provided by the Ministry of Finance, I found that the revenues lost by exemptions by far exceeded the taxes collected. This applied particularly to customs duties and sales taxes (VAT) on import goods, but revenue losses from corporate income taxes were also substantial. I came across a tax exemption regime captured by powerful individuals within the Ministry. The high occurrence of exemptions reduced the tax base, increased the appearance of loopholes for tax evasion, and created room for bribery and corruption. A vibrant informal market for discretionary exemptions existed within the Ministry of Finance. The Revenue Department in the Ministry, responsible for implementing tax policy, was internally nicknamed the "Tax Exemption Department". In addition, a wide range of stationary tax exemptions were in place: domestic and foreign companies importing so-called 'essential goods', NGOs, religious associations and many others did not pay taxes.

Through this work, I became aware of one of the more murky aspects of the development aid business that has effectively been kept off public development policy agendas; aid agencies successfully demand substantial tax exemptions in the countries they assist: exemptions from customs duties for imports earmarked for aid projects or in-country use of aid agency staff; exemptions from income taxes for expatriates employed by aid donors; and exemptions from VAT and other taxes for foreign companies like construction companies employed by aid donors. Tax

exemptions on donor funded imports have similar distortive effects as the tax-free status of government imports which leak construction materials and capital equipment exceeding project requirements into the domestic market. The import and capital intensive technologies characterising many donor funded projects are indications of the distortions created by the tax free status. Foreign companies engaged by donors have also ousted local companies through this kind of unfair competition.

In my note to the Tanzanian Government, I recommended a thorough review of the tax exemption regime with the aim to rationalise the system. I also argued that the Government should take steps to eliminate tax exemptions related to bilateral and multilateral assistance by fully taxing capital imports financed from abroad and crediting donor accounts for the taxes paid. However, 15 years after I wrote my report, tax exemptions to aid agencies have remained untouchable, not only in Tanzania, but across the developing world. Tax exemptions for donors, and for organisations contracted by donors, is today a significant feature of the tax systems in many poor, aid dependent countries. Developing countries are often forced to administer a myriad of exemptions, which typically vary from donor to donor. This places unnecessary burdens on the already weak tax authorities, and it promotes corruption. Even worse, it fuels a taxexemption culture.

Tackling the shame of tax exemptions for aid agencies has met fierce resistance. The International Tax Dialogue, representing mainly international organisations – the IMF, the Inter-American Development Bank, the OECD and the World Bank - produced a detailed paper on this issue in 2006, making a case for reducing exemptions. The paper was discussed at the United Nations Committee of Experts on International Cooperation in Tax Matters, where it appears to have been effectively buried due to the resistance from bilateral aid donors. Hence, while

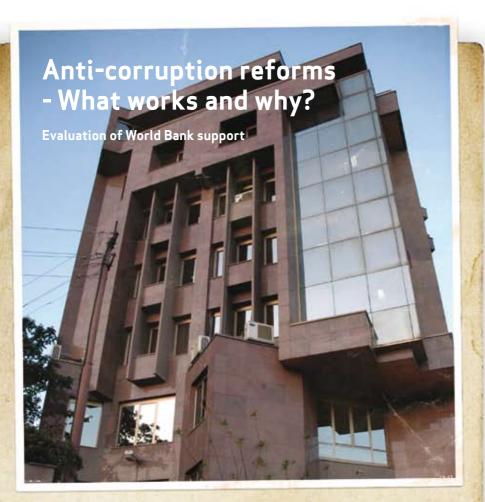


donors typically push very hard to get recipient governments to reduce tax exemptions that fuel political corruption and burden weak tax administrations, donors still insist on tax exemptions for their own staff and operations.

Exemptions for UN organisations are based on a 60-year-old and now outdated convention, and have been extended more broadly to the international community over the years. It is high time to reduce and do away with tax exemptions for UN organisations, multi- and bilateral donor agencies, NGOs and donor funded foreign contractors. If donors are serious about the importance of domestic revenue enhancement, they should agree to pay part of their contribution to the recipient countries by paying taxes and duties just like everyone else. This will reduce the negative effects of the tax exemptions. The removal of tax exemptions granted to aid organisations and their employees, would help boost the credibility of both the revenue administration and the donors in relation to anti-corruption measures, and at the same time, contribute to widen the revenue base and simplify the tax system. While these procedures do not directly add any revenue to the budget, they will introduce a system of controls that may reduce fraud and raise government revenues. It may further improve both budgetary transparency and resource allocation by fully accounting for public investment costs. It may also contribute to a more fair competition between local and foreign companies competing for donor contracts. Finally, it will be a practical demonstration of the willingness of donors to subject themselves to the duties of taxpaying that they so strongly urge on others.

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he public sector is the largest spender and employer in every developing country, and it sets the policy environment for the rest of the economy. About one-sixth of the World Bank projects in recent years, have supported public sector reform. Improving the efficiency of government counterparts, is essential for the effectiveness of the Bank's support to development. The main objective of the evaluation by the Independent Evaluation Group (IEG), was to help the World Bank learn how to contribute more effectively to public sector reform in its member countries.

The evaluation examined World Bank support between 1999 and 2006, in four areas: Public financial management, administrative and civil service, revenue administration, and anti-corruption and transparency. CMI was responsible for the anti-corruption component covering 19 developing and transitional countries. Anti-corruption measures are too often proposed by the Bank without considerations of the political economy and clear strategies on how to win the support of a critical mass of key leaders who would help overcome the inevitable opposition of vested interests. Despite its

mantra of "no one size fits all", the Bank has not developed a framework that adequately recognises that it takes time to reduce corruption, and the differences in where countries need to start.

Evidence from the country case studies, highlights directions for future support to governance and anti-corruption reforms: First, the World Bank needs to do more to understand corruption in the particular country context. The priorities for anti-corruption efforts need to be based on an assessment in each country of the types of corruption most harmful to development. Second, direct measures to reduce corruption, such as the establishment of anti-corruption commissions, rarely succeed because they often lack the required support from political elites and the judicial system. Third, linking governance work with visible public service improvements, may help build the credibility of reforms from the point of view of citizens and government. Fourth, sustaining efforts to reduce corruption, have better prospects when they emphasise making information public and building systems to reduce the opportunities for corruption.

Managing public resources: **Angola**

Angola is in the midst of the immense task of re-building its institutional, social and economic infrastructure. The reconstruction task has been made easier by the accelerated exploitation of the country's enormous natural wealth and an alleviated financial burden. Yet, the constraints to broad based development in Angola are many. The Centro de Estudos e Investigação Científica (CEIC) at the Universidade Católica de Angola (UCAN), is the key policy research think-tank in Angola. The CMI-CEIC cooperation programme (2008-2010) focuses on improving research and dissemination of policy oriented studies that can contribute to policy analysis and policy debate in Angola, particularly on "resource curse" related issues. The cooperation brings together CMI's achievements and experience in policy research and CEIC's thorough knowledge of the social, economic and political situation in Angola. There are 17 projects under four main themes: peace and democratisation; public finance management; public expenditure and the poor; investment, pro-poor growth and the private sector.



Informal practices and corruption in post-conflict areas:

The case of the West Balkans

While much is known about corruption in post-communist states, less is known about the impact of conflict on corruption in such states. This project seeks to fill this void. Large-scale qualitative and quantitative data on informal practice in the West Balkans allows for an investigation of (i) informal practice and corruption as such, (ii) their impact on post-conflict reconstruction, public procurement, politics and the judiciary; (iii) national culture, history, communism, transition and informal practice (iv) informal practice and corruption in the West Balkans, East Central & South East Europe and Ukraine.

Crime, poverty and police corruption in developing countries

Crime and small-scale violence are key economic and social problems in most developing countries, especially for the poor. Extensive corruption in the police, experienced or perceived, contributes seriously to the problem. Police behaviour is important for many key issues in development: State-building and governance in general, the onset or re-appearance of violent conflicts and, of course, the levels of crime. The key question raised is: How is police corruption linked to the wider processes generating crime - including corruption in general, violence and poverty? The project explores the conviction that the relationship between crime, violence and police behaviour causes significant welfare losses for the poor and that it hampers development. The project team organised a session at the World Bank's ABCDEconference in Cape Town in June 2008. The project is carried out in collaboration with NUPI, Oslo.

Coping without the state:

Gender policies and feminisation of poverty in Mozambique

This study is the first in a series of three on gender policies and feminisation of poverty in Mozambique, to be carried out in the period 2008-2010. The studies combine a critical assessment of current government and donor policies, with an assessment of the thesis of a feminisation of poverty in the country. Our main argument in this report is that the recent 'streamlining' or 'essentialisation' of gender policies, largely pushed by international agendas, implies the risk of designing policies that do not relate to national economic and sociocultural realities. Gender relations are essentially socially constituted, and will be perceived differently and have different expressions in different socio-cultural settings. Moreover, while differences in material conditions of income and assets between men and women is an important part of the ongoing feminisation of poverty in Mozambique, it also involves questions around voicelessness and powerlessness in relation to institutions of society and the state, vulnerability to adverse shocks, and the ability to cope with these through social relationships and legal institutions.



Service delivery and infrastructure: Global health and development

The main goal of this research is to increase our knowledge of how health systems in developing countries can be brought to deliver those health services that are so badly needed. Focus is on supply-side constraints such as the current shortage of health workers. The research also examines which factors determine the formation and implementation of national health policies. Linked to this is the scope for joint production of public services through the combined efforts of government and non-government organisations, including private and traditional actors, local communities and donors. The programme seeks answers to questions like:

- What are the relationships between health and economic development?
- How can adequate quality of health services be provided to poor and vulnerable populations?
- How can health workers be stimulated to serve in remote rural areas?
- Why have some low income countries been more successful than others in sustaining high vaccination coverage?
- How can incentives (monetary and non-monetary) affect health worker motivation and performance?
- How does corruption affect the quantity and quality of health services?
- Why does health worker productivity vary strongly within countries?
- How can both ethical and economic considerations be involved in priority setting in health?

The political economy of natural resource management - Ghana and Nigeria

This project addresses the political economy of natural resource management in Nigeria and Ghana. Awareness about the variation in developing countries' ability to draw economic benefits from the exploitation of natural resources for the societies at large is well established. What we have less knowledge about is the importance of country-specific determinants such as the specific political economy behind natural resource management. Most producers of non-renewable resources have significant potential for improved growth through improved regulation of specific sectors and better revenue management. The project aims at identifying challenges in the regulation of industries as well as factors that may explain why returns from the sectors are below their potential. The purpose is to give the development community a better understanding of country-specific challenges behind natural resource management (NRM) and thereby develop more tailor-made policy initiatives. The project is being carried out in six African countries: Nigeria, Ghana, Niger, DRC, Guinea, and Mauritania. It is financed by the World Bank. CMI is responsible for the studies in Ghana and Nigeria, and the research is carried out in collaboration with local country specialists.



THE U4 RESOURCE CENTRE: ADDRESSING AKNOWLEDGE DEFICIT

oday, few people deny that corruption critically impairs development goals. Far from being a "flavour of the month" in the development field, corruption is now a topic of long-term donor engagement both at home and abroad. U4's donor partners signaled their commitment by establishing U4 as a permanent centre at CMI in 2008. Although corruption is officially out of the closet, much learning needs to be done – and documented – about what measures may reduce corruption. This is where U4 comes in.

U4 aims to improve the knowledge base on which anti-corruption programming is conducted. The world of anti-corruption has expanded dramatically from its early roots in prosecutions and legislative reform. Today, it encompasses all aspects of governance including international aspects related to the roles of developed countries and donors themselves in fostering corruption.

Despite the broad scope of anticorruption practice, some common threads emerge in our research and from our personal interactions with development partners. There is a need for more robust analysis of country

and local contexts. Often information and data systems for assessing problems and monitoring progress are weak. Too few resources are allocated to long-term, multi-faceted review of the reform process. There are still many policy-makers and practitioners applying standardized solutions to the problem of corruption - often encouraged by short-term consultants who recommend replicating experiences from one country in completely different contexts. The lesson that anti-corruption agencies generally fail in the absence of a functioning judiciary is still consistently ignored in post-conflict countries. The fact that anticorruption strategies become 'paper tigers' in the absence of political buy-in and meaningful monitoring does not prevent the development of new documents that reflect the same flaws. Donors themselves face disbursement and other pressures that make it difficult to engage strategically. In the coming years, U4 will continue to promote its knowledge-based approach not only in individual country settings but also within the key international debates, such as those concerning alignment of donor support with the United Nations Conventions against Corruption.

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Corruption in natural resource management (NRM)

Donors working in countries richly endowed with natural resources often face the challenge of extensive corruption. U4 continued its NRM focus in 2008 highlighting key actors, corruption mechanisms and potential strategies for donors working in specific resource sectors.

With Africa's marine resources increasingly in demand and gaining in geopolitical importance, incentives for illegal and corrupt activities abound. The U4 Issue Paper Corruption and Industrial Fishing in Africa describes key areas of concern for donors relating to corruption and the exploitation of marine resources by foreign fishing fleets.

Although petroleum-related aid is a key part of donor activities in oil-rich developing countries, more research is required to understand the anti-corruption impact of these programmes. In Mission Improbable: Does Petroleum-Related Aid Address Corruption in Resource-Rich Countries?, the authors conclude that while governance issues are beginning to receive more attention, donor efforts in respect of corruption remain limited.

unconventional and promising ways donors can engage with the private sector in their anti-corruption efforts. The U4 Brief Changing perspectives: How donors can work with the private sector to reduce corruption describes some of the options. Business climate surveys: Experiences from Ghana, Mozambique and South Africa explores how partner governments and donor organizations have started to more systematically analyze and shape a country's business and investment climate.

Public financial management

U4's work concentrated mainly on the role of civil society and parliaments in auditing public expenditures. In Following the money: Do public expenditure tracking surveys matter? the impact of this well-known tool is reviewed in light of recent evaluations.

The UN convention against corruption (UNCAC)

A comprehensive U4 report Anticorruption policy making in practice: Implications for implementing UNCAC attracted much attention at the 2008 Conference of States Party to UNCAC in Indonesia. Other research focused on co-ordination mechanisms for anticorruption reforms and the prerequisites for meaningful monitoring of convention compliance.

Shaping a strategic reform agenda: Engaging online and in-country

During two and a half day in-country workshops in Indonesia, Vietnam, Bangladesh, Tanzania, Nepal, DRC, Mozambique, U4 worked with donors and their partners (from the government and civil society) to identify potential approaches to specific corruption challenges. A new workshop focused on corruption in the health sector was developed and piloted in Mozambique. Together with experts in the field, participants analyse problems, assess alternative strategies for control and prevention, and consider concrete interventions to promote accountability and transparency.

U4 continued to offer its six-week Essentials of Anti-Corruption online course, and introduced a new course, Money in Politics: Curbing corruption in election campaigns and political party finance. Money in Politics is a three-week programme aimed at giving bilateral donors a better understanding of the topic and concrete options for tackling it. The curriculum covers not only key concepts but also the roles of different actors and the impact of international initiatives and conventions.

A GEM OF A RESOURCE

2008 marked the beginning of the end of the traditional CMI library. The first librarian, Ingebjørg Søyland Bøe started working at CMI in 1937, seven years after CMI was founded. In the beginning, the collection reflected the personal research agenda of the CMI researchers with subjects ranging from physics and psychology of religion, to medicine and law. Around 1960 with the arrival of Just Faaland and the establishment of a development economics project, the library started to focus its collection on development studies.

Kirsti Hagen Andersen was hired in 1970, and became the head librarian in 1972 when Bøe retired. She inherited a collection of 5 000 volumes. In 2008, the collection had grown to 80 000 volumes and 300 periodicals. Andersen has built up the largest specialised collection on development studies in Norway. What makes the CMI collection special and highly valued by the research community is the large volume of publications from Africa, Asia and Latin America, publications which are largely unobtainable outside the countries concerned.

Andersen and the other librarians at the CMI library have not only given excellent service to CMI researchers and students, and other users. In line with the CMI agenda, the librarians have also assisted colleagues in the South with the establishment of libraries in countries like Botswana and Ethiopia. Librarians from partner institutions in Namibia, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Bangladesh and other countries, have been trained by the CMI librarians. The library published the Norwegian Development Research Catalogue between 1980-1990, a survey of Norwegian development research. Andersen participated in the creation of the Nordic Working Group for Development Information Libraries and has been active as convenor of the working group for information within The European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes (EADI).

All good things come to an end, but sometimes also to new beginnings. With the decision to move CMI to the centre of Bergen, the idea of transforming the library into a resource centre was born. In 2008, visions of a dynamic centre for development-related studies alive and full of all kinds of activities emerged and grew.

In 2008, 20 000 volumes have been donated to university libraries, the national documentation centre in Mo i Rana, and to CMI staff. Only resources strictly related to development studies will be part of the new collection. The university library will move the Mahmoud Salih Collection, a unique book collection containing about 2000 volumes and rare Sudanese paintings, and its Middle East collection to the resource centre.

In the fall of 2009, the Bergen Resource Centre for International Development opens its doors in Jekteviksbakken 31. The resource centre is a co-operation project between CMI and the University of Bergen (UiB), placed in the heart of the new building for development studies, the hub of CMI and UiB researchers working on development related research. The resource centre aims to contribute to making Bergen the national capital for development studies, creating a place to meet and to explore, a place for formal and informal seminars, debates and discussions, exhibitions and book launches. The resource centre will be a venue for research communication and dialogue at its best.



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The CMI strategy states that we must ensure that our research matters, and that our research only matters if we inform those who need to know with knowledge for development and justice. This report has shared some important findings and lessons from our research. Enclosed is a list of all CMI publications in 2008.

Everything we publish can be downloaded in full-text from www.cmi.no. There you will also find more information on all our projects, publications, staff and activities. Subscribe to our newsletter CMINews on www.cmi.no and we will inform you of new projects, research, seminars, workshops, conferences and of course new publications.

In the fall of 2009, we welcome you to our new location in the heart of Bergen in a brand new building dedicated to development related research housing CMI and researchers working on development related studies from the University of Bergen. We open a new web portal for development related studies in Bergen and a new resource centre, The Bergen Resource Centre on International Development together with the University of Bergen. We look forward to strengthen CMI as a venue for relevant research and discussions on important global issues that matter.

Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI) is an independent centre for research on international development and policy with a focus on poor countries. Conducting both applied and theoretical research, thematic focus is on human rights, poverty reduction, peacebuilding and public sector reform. The geographical focus is Sub-Saharan Africa, Southern and Central Asia, the Middle East and Northern Africa, and Latin America.

CMI research aims to inform and influence policy, and to contribute to the public discourse on international development issues. CMI has an extensive network of research partners, and works in close co-operation with researchers in the South.