

Chr. Michelsen Institute
Annual Report 2015

This is us.

Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI) is an independent development research institute.

With a staff of 70 people, we address issues that shape global developments and find knowledge that can be used to fight poverty, advance human rights, and promote sustainable social development.

Our researchers are social scientists mainly in the fields of anthropology, economics and political science. The pillars of our work are quality research, diversity in disciplines and methods and extensive research communication.

CMI CHR.
MICHELSEN
INSTITUTE

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The director's introduction

People fleeing from war and conflict – a record number of refugees seeking shelter and better lives in different countries. No other event shaped political agendas and priorities more profoundly in 2015.

The establishment of the Sustainable Development Goals was another important landmark. The goals represent a comprehensive global development agenda which sets out a path to economic, social and political transformation for all.

These events carry a common message: Development is a global issue. Development concerns everyone – rich as well as poor. They require placing development at the core of our political agendas, moving beyond the aid discourse.

We were able to play an active role because we have made long-term investments in knowledge about conflict affected countries in the larger Middle-East region – from Afghanistan to Sudan. We are currently expanding this knowledge base through our research programme on *conflict and security*.

We have also continued investing in our other research programmes, including *political inequalities* and *global health and development*. The programme on *jobs and entrepreneurship* was officially launched in the presence of the Minister of EU Affairs and a representative from the World Bank.

“It is my life experience that many of the greatest evils in the world occur because people have forgotten the great law of life – a law of solidarity of all human interests”

CHRISTIAN MICHELSEN (NORWEGIAN PRIME MINISTER 1905-1907 AND FOUNDER OF CMI)

The global development challenges related to security, refugees, climate change, pandemics, and international crime and corruption do not replace those challenges that largely affect the most disadvantaged – they come in addition. Poverty, hunger, poor health, education and gender discrimination, continue to deprive the lives of billions of people.

We are entering a phase with an extremely broad development agenda. The need for knowledge on how to address these inter-linked challenges is larger than ever.

CMI is well positioned to take a leading role in providing this knowledge. In 2015, we saw a surge in the demand for our competence on the drivers of conflicts and migration.

2015 offered a unique opportunity to present the impacts of CMI research. As part of the national evaluation of research institutions in our sector, CMI submitted five impact cases showing our contributions to the success for female entrepreneurs in Ethiopia; a deeper understanding of and change in Norwegian involvement in Afghanistan; capacity building and strengthening of Norwegian diplomacy in Sudan; strengthening of anti-corruption in international aid; and tax reforms in Africa.

This annual review presents additional examples of how CMI contributed in 2015. For all these achievements, we are deeply grateful to our excellent research partners, especially those in the global South.



The refugee crisis has starkly displayed what we all know too well; in the midst of our globalisation era, we live in a divided world. A world divided by national borders, and along economic, social, religious and political dividing lines.

When Christian Michelsen donated his fortune to CMI in 1925, he placed upon the institute a special responsibility to promote tolerance between people and nations across such divides. 2015 has reminded us that this mission is just as important now as then.

CMI Director
Dr. Ottar Mæstad



Petroleum management in developing countries



NATURAL RESOURCES

KEY STAFF:

Kendra Dupuy (coordinator)

Inge Amundsen

Eyolf Jul-Larsen

Arne Wiig

Ivar Kolstad

Odd-Helge Fjeldstad

Siri Lange

David Aled Williams

Osmund Grøholt

John Andrew McNeish



CMI's natural resource cluster is the intellectual home of some of CMI's largest research projects. The cluster's research activities center on understanding how resource-rich developing countries can avoid the "resource curse" – the notion that natural resource wealth often results in non-democratic political leadership, poverty, and armed conflict. Cluster members' research projects range from examining petroleum management in Tanzania and Angola, to the corporate social responsibility (CSR) strategies of Norwegian energy companies operating abroad, to the research and training activities of the U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre about how to mitigate corruption risks in various natural resource sectors.

The "Tanzania as a Future Petro-State" programme, led by Senior Researcher Odd-Helge Fjeldstad, is a cooperative transnational partnership between CMI, REPOA in Tanzania, and the Norwegian Embassy in Dar es Salaam. Tanzania has discovered large quantities of offshore oil and natural gas, with the country set to become a major hydrocarbon exporting country over the next decade. There are high expectations that exploitation of natural resources will substantially increase the country's national income. However, the failure to turn the large revenues that Tanzania has received from the mining sector during the last two decades into tangible development gains highlights the challenges inherent in turning resources into positive and substantial social, political, and economic gains. This research programme aims to enhance the empirical understanding of key prospects and challenges facing Tanzania as a new petro-state, and to provide contextualized and evidence-based policy analysis in order to contribute to avoiding a resource curse situation. A major motivation for the programme is to facilitate and promote informed policy dialogue and debate in Tanzania on petroleum sector governance.

In Angola, CMI researchers are working with the Catholic University of Angola to improve understanding of the social, economic, and political challenges of managing the country's enormous oil wealth. Research in the Angola programme focuses on the analysis of economic and political developments in Angola, examines the

development of new tools and data on economic developments, and analyses governance and democratisation issues. In 2014, Senior Researcher Inge Amundsen published an article in the journal *Comparative Politics* that analyses the quality of institutions responsible for managing Angola's resource wealth, distinguishing between extractive and redistributive institutions. Senior Researchers Inge Amundsen and Aslak Orre also carried out a "risk analysis" for Norad's Oil for Development (OfD) programme, analysing its support to the Angolan Ministry of Petroleum. The report was highly critical of the OfD programme, and was highlighted in the media, generating a lot of public debate and leading to the Norwegian Parliament's *Standing Committee on Scrutiny and Constitutional Affairs* questioning of the Minister of Foreign Affairs about the project's rationale.

2015 was also a productive year for the U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre's programme on natural resource management. U4 published new research-based policy papers on how to address corruption risks among junior mining companies, how corruption enables large-scale mining in protected areas, how to fight corruption in the implementation of Reducing Emissions From Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD+), and on corruption in wildlife trafficking and in fisheries management. U4 also carried out training activities in the Philippines with the Germany Development Cooperation and the Asian Development Bank about how to reduce corruption in climate finance, and in Sweden on ensuring integrity in environmental management in the mining sector.

Finally, in cooperation with the Anthropology Department at the University of Bergen, Senior Researcher Siri Lange is studying how various degrees of state ownership effects the CSR policies of Norwegian energy companies investing abroad. Cluster members have also been engaged in research and conference presentations about how to address corruption risks in resource-rich states such as Mozambique, Ghana, and Nigeria; how to expand foreign direct investment in Bangladesh's energy sector; and on the socio-economic implications of energy transitions beyond oil.

Evaluating development aid

AID

A considerable amount of CMI's activities addresses development aid. This applies to policy development as well operational implementation. Thematically CMI's work covers all research areas and clusters. While much of the commissioned work originates with the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, their embassies and Norad our clients include a large number of bilateral and multilateral development aid agencies. This also includes non-governmental organisations.

CMI's single biggest area of work in this sector is related to policies and programmes to combat corruption and financial management. This also includes running online and in-country training courses and workshops for aid officials from several development aid agencies.

Other recent or ongoing work includes:

- The evolving global development aid regime. This includes projects on policies (from the Millennium Development Goals to the Sustainable Development Goals), on resource mobilisation (taxation, investment, aid and more) and on effectiveness (donor harmonisation and alignment, rise of new donors).
- Framework agreements with Norad and Norwegian embassies for provision of technical assistance and policy studies (on human rights, private sector development, Tanzania)
- Support to capacity building of applied research in several developing countries (often as part of research and institutional collaboration between CMI and partners in the South funded by Norwegian embassies, e.g., in Angola, Sudan and South Sudan, Tanzania)
- Civil society support. This includes assistance in monitoring and evaluation, reviews and research on partnership, organisational development, and the impact on civil society in the South
- Humanitarian assistance, post-conflict reconstruction, external support to fragile states (Sub-Saharan Africa, Afghanistan)

During 2015 CMI helped carry out four of the major evaluations commissioned by Norad's evaluation department:

- Experiences with results-based payments in Norwegian development aid;
- Evaluation of Norway's support to women's rights and gender equality;
- Evaluation of the Norwegian Fredskorpset (Volunteer service) and its role in supporting civil society in the South
- Policy dialogue as an instrument to promote human rights

Most of these projects are carried out in collaborations with local and international partners.





KEY STAFF:

Johan Helland (coordinator)

Elling N. Tjønneland

Inge Amundsen

Espen Villanger

Shubo Li

Arne Strand

Inge Tvedten

David Aled Williams

Nils Taxell

Preventing corruption from harming development progress

U4 ANTI-CORRUPTION RESOURCE CENTRE

When the justice system is part of the problem

Aid effectiveness and good outcomes count, therefore thorough corruption risk assessments and effective anti-corruption enforcement are vital. But sometimes the actors charged with upholding the law are corrupt, too. Justice sector corruption limits everyone's chance of succeeding with anti-corruption initiatives. Health and education programmes, public infrastructure projects, natural resource management, and private sector initiatives all suffer.

The drivers of corruption in the justice system are similar across all countries: developed or fragile. Corruption can affect all stages, from investigations and prosecutions, to trial and incarceration. Any comprehensive anti-corruption strategy and targeted reform effort for the justice sector need to consider the linkages and dependencies within the criminal justice chain. U4 has compiled and analysed available tools to assess justice sector corruption.

Long delays in the resolution of court cases are common, impede anti-corruption efforts, and even induce corruption. It does not help to just hire more judges and reform cumbersome procedures alone, if the incentives are such that judges, lawyers, clerks benefit from delays. Political economy analyses can provide a basis for targeted reforms.

'A fish rots from the head down'

Donor agencies provide technical and financial support to Anti-Corruption Agencies (ACA) in developing coun-

tries, but experts question their effectiveness. An unethical or incompetent leadership can render an entire organisation ineffective or abused for partisan politics. Undue interference with an ACA is likely to target the head. Research on the appointment and removal procedures for heads of 46 ACAs globally, provides guidelines on how to fish for the right ACA heads, keeping them safe, and making sure removal procedures do not skew incentives.

The U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre gives sector-specific insights on how to address corruption so donors' aid efforts can achieve more.

Doing no harm in donor support to justice sector reforms

In complex corruption cases, the success of oversight-, investigating-, and prosecuting institutions, and the judiciary is interdependent. Current U4 research looks at new holistic approaches by bilateral agencies to improve interagency collaboration

in handling corruption cases. Also, the immense challenge of 'doing no harm' when donors support justice sector reform in fragile settings is the subject of another study starting in 2016 study.

'Men are corrupt, women are ethical' – What's gender really got to do with it?

The belief that women are less corrupt than men is widespread, even among development specialists. Variations in risk aversion and reciprocal behaviour may partially explain gender differences in corrupt behaviour and provide some guidance for policy choice. However, nurture seems to trump nature, and contextual factors appear to be the main causes of the observed differences in corrupt behaviour.



KEY STAFF:

Boris Divjak (Director)

Lisa Arnestad

Kirsty Cunningham

Kendra Dupuy

Fredrik Eriksson

Sofie Arjon Schütte

Nils Taxell

David Aled Williams

**Jesper Stenberg Johnsnø
(on leave)**

**Aranzazu Guillan Montero
(on leave)**

Sara ögmundsdóttir

But even if there is no evidence that women are intrinsically less corrupt than men, there is also no evidence that they are more corrupt than men. Increasing women's participation is still a desirable policy choice. Even if it were not to reduce corruption directly, it contributes to gender equality.

The gendered impact of corruption

Most people assume women suffer more, and differently, from corruption than men. A review of the scarce evidence on the direct impacts of corruption qualifies this claim to some extent. A general reduction of gender inequalities can address the root causes of the gendered impacts of corruption. Anti-corruption programming should include an analysis of differences in gender exposure and vulnerability to corruption, while gender programmes would also benefit from an anti-corruption lens.

Future U4 work will study quantitative data and case studies to better understand victimisation by gender and what this may mean for the work of donors.

PHOTO: JIM SALVA

Security and statehood in the Middle East

The conflict and security cluster concentrated its work in 2015 around the creation of a CMI research programme on “Security and statehood in the Middle East”. It aims to analyse the dynamics of contemporary upheavals in the region. From Libya to Afghanistan, violent conflicts have afflicted communities and are threatening the viability of the state.

The spiraling violence in the Middle East has severe, negative developmental effects. The rapidly unfolding destabilisation in the region is arguably one of the greatest setbacks for global development in our times. Problems of poverty, food insecurity, and deteriorating health conditions have emerged in formerly stable, if authoritarian, middle-income countries like Libya, Iraq and Syria. The new research programme is designed to analyse these developments and what they mean for people and politics in the region and beyond.

The programme asks what drives the descent into social and political volatility. It builds on the assumption that the key to understanding the nature of violent upheavals is analysis of the social relationships that have shaped statehood and authority in individual countries, setting the stage for internal and external conflict. It examines how individual states or rulers have organised, mobilised and legitimised their armies and security apparatus, and how these practices are linked to broader processes of governing.

CMI researchers have in-depth knowledge about the chain of countries from Sudan to Afghanistan, including Egypt, Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, and Iran. The research programme serves to bring our efforts together around the common theme of security and statehood in the Middle East.



KEY STAFF:

Kjetil Selvik (coordinator)
Abdel Ghaffar Ahmed
Karin Ask
Thomas Hylland Eriksen
Osmund Grøholt
Michael Hertzberg
Are John Knudsen
Nefissa Naguib
Parisa V. Saeidpanah
Ole-Jacob Sending
Elin Skaar
Arne Strand
Astri Suhrke
Gunnar M. Sørbø
Kari Telle
Elling N. Tjønneland
Liv Tønnessen
Torunn Wimpelmann



PHOTO: JULIEN HARNEIS ON FLICKR

Political inequality and political capture

The 21st century has seen two striking global developments: increasing economic inequality and increasing political inequality. The two are mutually reinforcing; increasing economic differences create increasing political differences, and *vice versa*. The increasing economic inequalities in the world have received much attention; see for instance the debate highlighted by Thomas Piketty, and the discussions on the “1 %” society and the “inequality turn”. World global leaders have even declared rising economic inequality to be a priority.

The ensuing political inequalities, which work against democracy as it implies systematic skewed access to political resources and decision-making, have received much less attention.

At the same time, there is a current backlash against democracy. The demise of military and one-party authoritarian rule has not led to the establishment and consolidation of liberal democracy in the developing world; in fact, multiparty elections co-exist in many countries with persistent autocratic informal institutions and abuse of power. Some state leaders no longer feel the need to “make excuses” or even pretend to adhere to democratic institutions and liberal norms. Simultaneously, Western governments have reduced their pressure for democratic reforms. Economic growth is seen as more important, even when current economic growth models aggravate economic inequalities, and sustain political inequalities.

Therefore, we are developing a new research programme on political inequality, a programme we have called *PINQ*. In this research programme, we link these two global developments, and we will investigate how and why political inequality may drive processes of economic

inequality (and *vice versa*) and of reduced support for democracy.

Using political inequality as an entry point, we will analyse the factors that determine which actors and issues are included and subject to democratic contestation, as well as actors and issues excluded and left out. As a result, we will be able to identify who are the victims of political inequality, and to analyse the “menu of manipulation” that incumbents employ to maintain their hold on power.

We will extend the concept of political inequality to states that are not full democracies; to the so-called hybrid regimes with nominally democratic institutions combined with authoritarian practices. While the formal institutional framework is often inclusive and democratic in these states, powerful interests have captured the informal framework of political institutions and processes. By going beyond the procedural understanding of democracy and by addressing the deeper power relations, we are transgressing the divide between formal and informal institutions, and we are better equipped to explain the mechanisms of “political capture” and why and how some channels of political inclusion are blocked for certain groups.

The aim of *PINQ* is to contribute to conceptual developments, and to contribute to policy debates in Norway and internationally. We want to add to the international policy debate on development and governance with our focus on internal political bargaining between elites and opposition, and a focus on the links between economic and political inequality. The research programme is not limited to Sub-Saharan Africa, but in order to understand the formal and informal mechanisms producing various forms of inequality in hybrid regimes, we will begin our empirical investigations on the African continent.



PHOTO: OXFAM BRAZIL ON FLICKR

KEY STAFF:

Inge Amundsen (coordinator)
Lovise Aalen
Lise Rakner
Kendra Dupuy
Siri Gloppen

Jan Isaksen
Aslak Orre
Nils Taxell
Arne Tostensen
Vibeke Wang

David Aled Williams
Per Aarvik
Bjørn Enge Bertelsen
Daniel M. Brinks
Boris Divjak

Fredrik Eriksson
Kjetil Selvik
Aranzazu G. Montero
(on leave)

Women and politics



KEY STAFF:

Vibeke Wang (coordinator)
Karian Ask
Camila Gianella
Siri Gloppen
Sandra Halvorsen
Liv Tønnessen
Siri Lange
Iselin Åsedotter Strønen
Inge Tvedten
Espen Villanger
Torunn Wimpelmann
Lovise Aalen

PHOTO: ARNE TOSTENSEN

Motivated by an understanding that empowering women is crucial to achieving gender equality, we research gender politics through women's legal mobilisation and beyond. In particular we are concerned with violence against women, family law and sexual and reproductive rights. We look at a variety of arenas and spaces in which women seek empowerment through law reform, including participation in political and economic decision-making processes, and women's – and religious movements. Our research is grounded in local understandings of gender relations, struggles and activism, but nonetheless inherently linked to global discourses.

Highlights of the year include work on gender violence in Afghanistan, assessing Norwegian aid to women's rights and gender equality, and obtaining long-term funding for new, exciting research on gendered electoral financing, political determinants of sexual and reproductive health, and masculinities and sexual politics.

Our work on combating gender violence in Afghanistan (2001-2014) reflects on the efforts over the last decade to combat violence against women through reforms of laws and the justice system. The research identifies factors that have curtailed the transformative impact of these efforts and find that there has been a 'protect and rescue' approach to gender violence that does little to transform the underlying causes of women's subordination.

Another prime example of work conducted on gender politics is this year's evaluation of Norway's support to strengthening women's rights and gender equality in the period from 2007-2013. The evaluation assesses whether results have been achieved and whether they are in line with thematic priorities on political and economic empowerment, sexual and reproductive

health rights, and violence against women. While there are a number of positive and highly innovative projects and programmes in Southern partner countries which have benefitted from Norwegian support, there are also areas in which Norway's record is more limited, and this is exacerbated by relatively weak reporting mechanisms and limited attention to rigorous monitoring, evaluation and learning.

Our research in the coming years will among other things be focused on three broad thematic areas. First, we advance a new research frontier on non-quota measures to enhance women's political representation, taking gendered electoral financing as a point of inquiry. This research analyses the form, causes and particularly the consequences of gendered electoral financing focusing specifically on how such schemes – separate from or in conjunction with gender quotas, interact with electoral processes and institutions that tend to be gendered. Second, we look into the health effects of criminalising sexual and reproductive behaviour and health services, and analyse the political dynamics that drive, hamper and shape the uses of such criminal law. Third, we research changing notions of masculinity by examining marriage and sexual politics in contemporary Afghanistan.

Better health systems

Health research at CMI falls within two main categories: (i) the improvement of general health service delivery and (ii) adolescent girls health. We also ask questions about the broader relationships between health and socio-economic development. Improved health outcomes contribute to economic development. At the same time, economic and social development contribute to improved health outcomes through other channels than health services. For example, we look into the relationship between teenage pregnancies in poor countries and economic opportunities. The cluster collaborates on those themes with strong partners in Norway and abroad.

In 2015, research on results-based financing (RBF) programmes has been our core activity. RBF is gaining momentum as an approach to boost motivation, strengthen health systems and improve health outcomes in low-income countries. CMI's research on RBF looks into the implementation process, cost, and long-term impact of results-based financing in the health sector, including the ways in which RBF affects accountability mechanisms. We continued our research on the pay-for-performance system introduced in the Pwani region of Tanzania and published the first results. In collaboration with the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine and the Ifakara Health Institute, we also started a new large-scale study on the national scale-up of this system.

2015 was also an important year for our long-term project on malaria and children's anaemia in Malawi. Here we study the uptake, feasibility and acceptability of malaria prophylaxis for children delivered through different channels, such as hospitals and community based village health workers, and with and without the use of phone text messaging reminders.





PHOTO: ÅSE JOHANNE ROTI DAHL

Finally, we started a new project to examine links between adolescent pregnancies and different approaches to empower adolescent girls in Zambia. In partnership with CISMALC, the University of Zambia, and the Norwegian School of Economics (NHH), we set up a large randomized controlled trial to measure the impact on adolescent childbearing and marriage rates of providing economic support to girls and families.

KEY STAFF:

Vincent Somville (coordinator)

Ottar Mæstad

Siri Lange

Siri Gloppen

Merima Ali (on leave)

Peter Binyaruka

Gaute Torsvik

Barriers for small-scale businesses

POVERTY

Small-scale business is, together with farming and other manual jobs, a potential pathway out of poverty. Small-scale entrepreneurs face a number of interconnected constraints that vary both between and within regions depending on available resources and the functioning of local labor and credit markets. The poverty group at CMI investigates the role played by different barriers, for different groups, in different contexts. In 2015 a number of findings were published, and new research programmes were set up.

Kolstad and Wiig (*Small Business Economics*) documented that primary education is essential for the success of small-scale entrepreneurs using household data from Malawi. Hatlebakk (*International Journal of Development Issues*) demonstrated that poor people (he studied investments in cycle rickshaws) are forced to make short-sighted decisions simply because they are poor and cannot take on the costs of regular loan payments. Villanger (*Journal of Entrepreneurship*) found that caste-discrimination adds to the difficulties met by small-scale entrepreneurs in the plains of Nepal. Government, as well as non-governmental, organisations may help easing some of these constraints. Berge and Tungodden find (*Management Science*) that a combination of business training and finance is essential for the development of microenterprises, but more so for male entrepreneurs than for female. They used data from a randomised control trial in Tanzania.

The poverty group has a number of new projects on the role of jobs and finance. Somville is investigating how micro-savings programmes may be set up to maximise the amounts saved. He is using data from a randomised control trial in Chattisgarh, India. The group continues the research on female empowerment:

Somville, Berge and Tungodden investigate the impacts of entrepreneurship training and reproductive health information that target young women. Villanger investigates the impacts of female employment on female decision-making power within families, with the use of data from the export flower business of Ethiopia. In sum the group of about ten researchers covers labor markets, entrepreneurship and finance, which are all essential for poverty reduction.

KEY STAFF:

Magnus Hatlebakk (coordinator)

Ivar Kolstad

Vincent Somville

Espen Villanger

Arne Wiig

Merima Ali (on leave)

Lars Ivar Oppedal Berge

Sandra Halvorsen

Bertil Tungodden



PHOTO: INGILD HESTAD

Tax as a tool for development



PHOTO: ANTONIO KLAUS

CMI has over more than two decades been involved in research and advisory work on taxation and public finance management in East and Southern Africa. We study how governments collect and manage revenues to create better services for citizens in developing countries. In particular, we research the role of tax to enhance welfare and build political legitimacy. Our research addresses a wide range of issues on the political-economy of taxation and reform, including the links between taxation and state-building; tax evasion and fiscal corruption; illicit capital flight; fiscal decentralisation; donor support to strengthen the tax systems; and the design and implementation of tax reforms in natural resource rich countries. The research projects are designed and implemented in collaboration with African partners with the aim to build research capacity

and inform policy. Since 2010, the *International Centre for Tax and Development* (www.ICTD.ac) has been a strategic partner for CMI's research on taxation.

Billions of dollars are yearly withheld from national taxation via a handful of tax havens. How does that affect the tax system and people's willingness to pay tax in countries with weak governmental institutions? This is the point of departure for the research project *Taxation, Institutions and Participation* (TIP), led by CMI researcher Odd-Helge Fjeldstad, and funded by the Research Council of Norway. The project investigates the effects of tax havens on the domestic revenue system, institutions and citizen participation in African countries. We want to find out how the taxpaying behaviour of domestic taxpayers is affected by the



elites' and transnational companies' use of tax havens. In Tanzania and Zambia, we find that tax reforms are no longer the exclusive domain of the International Monetary Fund, external experts, and the Ministry of Finance. Increasingly, interest groups shape the tax agenda. Business associations and other lobbying groups join in alliance with multinational companies to get tax exemptions even though they admit that tax incentives are not of major importance for their decision to invest or not.

CMI researcher Merima Ali is working with the *Ethiopian Development Research Institute* (EDRI) to examine the effects of the use of modern information technology to enhance compliance and, thus, tax revenues. In collaboration with the Ethiopian Revenue and Customs Authority, the researchers got access to administrative data covering the entire set of taxpayers registered for Value Added Tax (VAT). Two major patterns were found in the data. First, the average amount of VAT paid by firms increases substantially after the adoption of electronic sales registry machines. Second, this effect is driven by firms that are more likely to evade taxes prior to the use of the machines. Thus, the evidence points to a positive contribution of the IT revolution to enhance tax compliance by strengthening administrative capacity.

In Tanzania, CMI researchers in collaboration with colleagues from REPOA and the *Choice Lab* (NHH) conducted in 2015 a randomised field survey experiment to study the effects of expectations about petro-revenue in Tanzania. The study investigates whether and how expectations about future gas revenues affect citizens' attitudes towards taxation and corruption, and trust in the government. The study also investigates

whether and how expectations affect citizens' corruption and trust behaviour. The results from the survey experiment, covering 3000 respondents, show that low willingness to pay tax is a significant challenge. High tax rates, poor public services and lack of awareness on taxation and public spending are important factors in explaining the low willingness to pay. Expectations about future gas revenues do not affect willingness to pay tax, but cause respondents to expect more corruption in the future. The study shows that information and the way it is framed matter for peoples' perceptions of the effects of future gas revenues. These findings suggest that enhancing tax compliance requires a combination of approaches, including administrative measures such as simplifying tax payment and providing taxpayers with information about the purpose and use of tax payments; and policy measures to build more accountable state-citizen relations around taxation, including better links between tax payment and public service provision.

Members of the cluster have presented research findings and methodologies to a wide range of stakeholders at international conferences, seminars and workshops in South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia, Denmark, Norway, United Kingdom, and USA. CMI researchers were also actively involved in the *African Tax Research Networks'* 1st Annual Congress in Cape Town.

KEY STAFF:

Odd-Helge Fjeldstad (coordinator)

Aslak Orre

Jan Isaksen

Ingrid Hoem Sjursen

Arne Wiig

Lise Rakner

It's not only a question of law

'Human rights can't wait' was the title of a UN poster designed for a campaign to promote human rights some years ago. It depicted a person balancing on a tightrope that was snapping. With a spate of new wars and massive forced migrations, human rights remain even more salient today and require rigorous research.

Our work interrogates conventional wisdom and explores pathways to new thinking in this field. With regard to *transitional justice*, we asked if accountability for past, gross human rights violations contributes to the development of peace and security in the aftermath of armed conflict, as is often assumed. Careful comparative research shows that this is not necessarily so. The results are published in our new book *After Violence: Transitional Justice, Peace and Democracy (2015)* with case studies from Uruguay and Peru (both post-authoritarian countries) and Rwanda and Angola (two post-civil war countries). We found that expectations as to what transitional justice mechanisms (such as criminal prosecutions, truth commissions, and economic and symbolic reparations, and amnesties) can achieve may be too high. Certain national transitional justice strategies combined with a supportive global human rights climate may have a significant impact on the (re)construction of peace and democracy after the end of armed conflict or repressive regimes. Generally, the development of stronger regional and global institutions to protect human rights has created a more favourable climate for pursuing justice for past wrongs. Yet our studies show that the most important factor that determines the impact of transitional justice on peace and democracy is the national context – the balance of power among the key national actors, the nature and length of the conflict, and the strength of local institutions.

Apart from situations of gross and systematic human rights violations, we know that even in more stable political settings, poor and vulnerable people face multiple challenges to their lives, rights and dignity. This is a particular problem in countries where political institutions are weak and rights protection is not a government priority. Another important strand of our research therefore focuses on how litigation before the courts may improve the living conditions of not only individuals, but also of marginalised groups of people.

To address these important issues more systematically, the *Centre on Law & Social Transformation* was officially established at the CMI in 2015 to research the potential and the limits of law as an instrument of social change, locally and globally. The Centre brings together scholars, students and practitioners from across disciplines, institutions, and academic fields to explore questions related to the functioning and effects of law and legal institutions. The aim is to foster a dynamic academic environment for socio-legal studies in Norway, and to serve as the hub of a virtual global centre. During the Centre's annual week of activities in August – the *Bergen Exchanges on Law & Social Transformation* – ideas are shared on the use of law and legal mobilisation in pursuit of social transformation (lawfare) and the consequences of such strategies.

"Litigation can be an effective means to secure economic, social and cultural rights," says CMI researcher Camilla Gianella. But in some contexts it is also an effective tool for more resource-rich actors to secure their interests, for example to expensive medical services. Litigation and other rights based strategies are also used by groups who want to resist social change, for example towards equality for same sex couples –

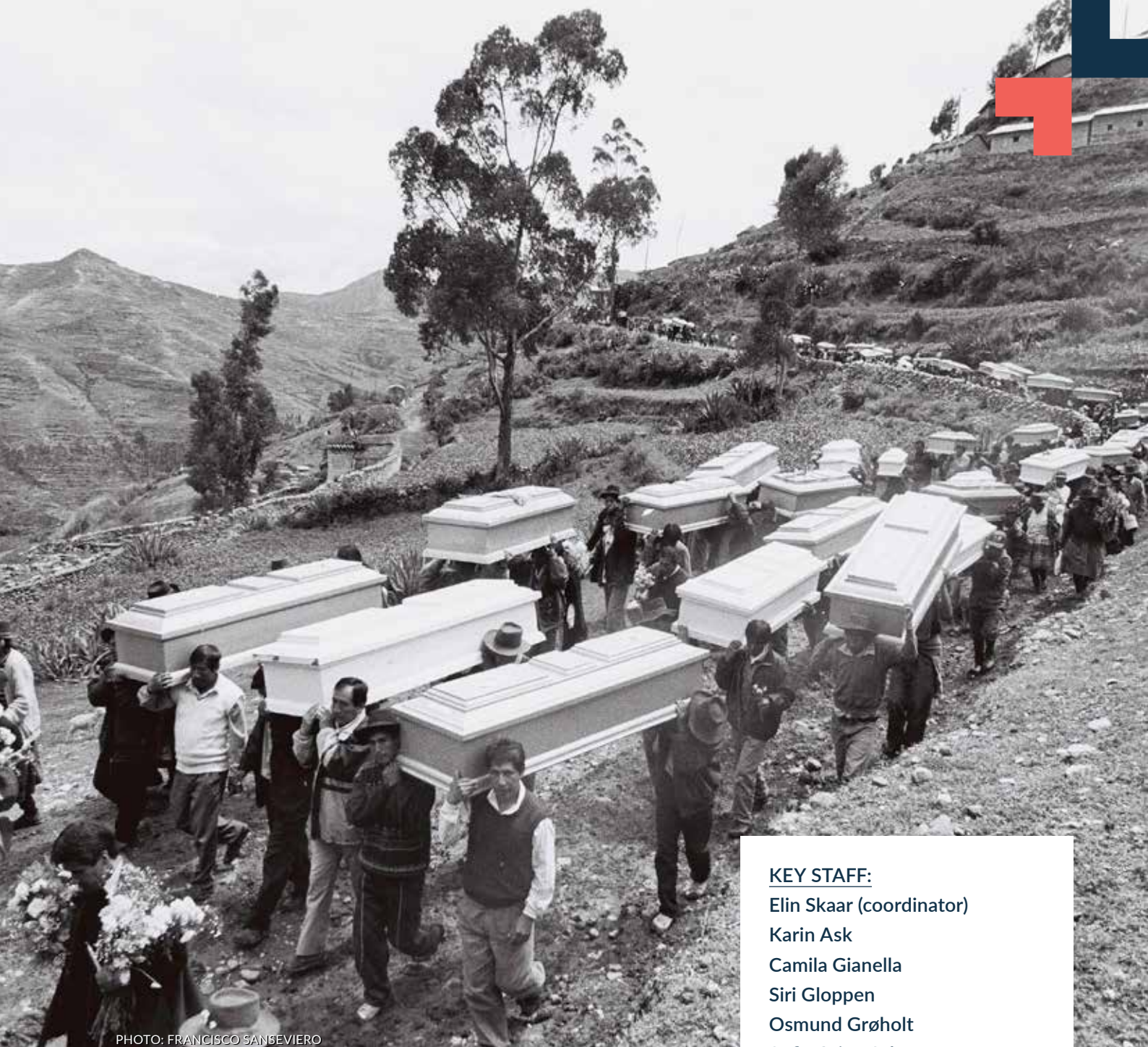


PHOTO: FRANCISCO SANSEVIERO

sometimes with considerable success. In a series of projects on “Sexual and reproductive rights lawfare”, we try to understand under which contexts legal strategies serve progressive reform purposes and when they have the contrary effect.

The Centre recently embarked on a new interdisciplinary research project inquiring into the health consequences of the criminalisation and politicisation of abortion and homosexuality that we see in many countries, not least in Africa. With partners in nine African countries, the project also seeks to understand the processes that trigger politicisation of these issues and changes in the law – whether in a liberal or conservative direction. And it assesses the consequences of involvement by international actors, including donors agencies in these sensitive issues.

KEY STAFF:

Elin Skaar (coordinator)

Karin Ask

Camila Gianella

Siri Gloppen

Osmund Grøholt

Sofie Arjon Schütte

Hugo Stokke

Astri Suhrke

Iselin Åsedotter Strønen

Kari Telle

Liv Tønnessen

Kendra Dupuy

Aranzazu Guillan Montero

(on leave)

Aslak Orre

Parisa V. Saeidpanah

Lise Rakner

Arne Strand

Arne Tostensen

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Dr. Merima Ali (*on leave*)

Dr. Ivar Kolstad

Dr. Odd-Helge Fjeldstad

Dr. Magnus Hatlebakk

Dr. Vincent Somville

Dr. Espen Villanger

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Karin Ask

Dr. Camila Gianella

Osmund Grøholt, *Research assistant*

Johan Helland

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Nils Taxell, *Senior Programme Advisor*

David A. Williams, *Senior Programme Advisor*

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AFFILIATED RESEARCHERS

Dr. Abdel Ghaffar Ahmed

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Dr. Lars Ivar Oppedal Berge

Dr. Bjørn E. Bertelsen

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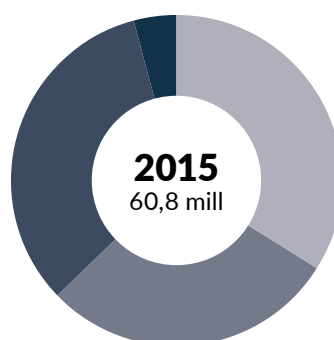
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In 2015, CMI carried out 150 projects for a total of NOK 60,8 million. Our main clients are government administrations and the Research Council of Norway. We are particularly pleased to have successes in the commissioned research market towards new customers both nationally and internationally.

TOTAL REVENUE (NOK)

76,8 MILLION



- Research Council of Norway
- Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs/Norad
- International
- Other

INCOME STATEMENT AS OF 31 DEC. 2015

| | 2015 | 2014 |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|
| Operating revenues | | |
| Project revenues | 46 822 133 | 77 121 947 |
| Other revenues | 412 290 | 196 753 |
| | 77 234 423 | 77 318 699 |
| Operating expenses | | |
| Project expenses | 15 524 978 | 16 257 630 |
| Payroll expenses | 53 735 363 | 50 146 319 |
| Depreciation | 1 302 237 | 1 398 614 |
| Other operating expenses | 7 486 295 | 6 726 845 |
| | 78 048 873 | 74 529 407 |
| Operating result | -814 450 | 2 789 292 |
| Financial income/expenses | | |
| Interest income | 175 712 | 268 672 |
| Other financial income | 651 107 | 1 049 667 |
| Interest cost to enterprise in same firm | -1 194 000 | -1 269 200 |
| Other interest costs | -5 834 | -1 860 |
| Other financial costs | -269 046 | -109 243 |
| | -642 061 | -61 964 |
| Ordinary result before tax | -1 456 511 | 2 727 328 |
| Tax on ordinary result | -312 283 | 0 |
| NET RESULT | -1 768 794 | 2 737 328 |

**BALANCE SHEET** AS OF 31 DEC. 2015

| | 2015 | 2014 |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| ASSETS | | |
| <u>Fixed assets</u> | | |
| Tangible fixed assets | | |
| Building at Jekteviksbakken | 44 795 588 | 45 823 451 |
| Equipment, inventory etc. | 935 433 | 1 209 807 |
| | 45 731 021 | 47 033 258 |
| Financial fixed assets | | |
| Long term receivables | 902 507 | 898 903 |
| Total fixed assets | 46 633 528 | 47 932 161 |
| <u>Current assets</u> | | |
| Debtors | | |
| Accounts receivable | 11 241 705 | 9 696 420 |
| Others debtors | 481 193 | 376 468 |
| | 11 722 898 | 10 072 888 |
| Investments | | |
| Shares in other companies | 183 | 358 |
| Cash and bank deposits | 29 517 825 | 35 077 354 |
| Total current assets | 41 240 906 | 45 150 600 |
| TOTAL ASSETS | 87 874 434 | 93 082 760 |
| EQUITY AND LIABILITIES | | |
| <u>Equity</u> | | |
| Paid-in capital | | |
| Original fund | 15 300 000 | 15 300 000 |
| Retained earnings | | |
| Other equity | 6 867 982 | 8 636 778 |
| Total equity | 22 167 982 | 23 936 778 |
| <u>Liabilities</u> | | |
| Pension funds | | |
| | 327 613 | 1 004 409 |
| Long term liabilities | | |
| Long term loans | 35 000 000 | 38 000 000 |
| Current liabilities | | |
| Accounts payable | 810 411 | 2 137 166 |
| Public duties payable | 4 143 981 | 4 296 232 |
| Other short term liabilities | 25 112 163 | 23 708 175 |
| Tax payable | 312 283 | 0 |
| | 30 378 838 | 30 141 574 |
| Total liabilities | 65 706 451 | 69 145 983 |
| TOTAL EQUITY AND LIABILITIES | 87 874 434 | 93 082 760 |

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P.O.Box 6033, N-5892 Bergen, Norway
Visiting address: Jekteviksbakken 31, Bergen
Phone: +47 47 93 80 00
Fax: +47 47 93 80 01
E-mail: cmi@cmi.no

LAYOUT
Geir Årdal

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