THE INVERSE SOVEREIGNTY EFFECT: AID IN THE PACIFIC

MARS DEN RESEARCH PROJECT
OUTLINE

• Introducing the project (John Overton & Warwick Murray) [15 minutes]

• Case studies
  - Methodology (Nicki Wrighton) [5 minutes]
  - Cook Islands, Marshall Islands, ?? (Nicki Wrighton) [10 minutes]
  - Samoa (Junior Ulu) [10 minutes]
  - Niue (Warwick Murray) [5 minutes]

• Indicators of sovereignty across the Pacific
  - Methodology (Gerard Prinsen) [5 minutes]
  - Indicators on New Caledonia (Severine Blaise/Pierre-Y Le Meur) [15 minutes]

• Preliminary thoughts/findings (John Overton) [5 minutes]

• Responses
Introducing the Project

- Starting points: aid modalities and inverse sovereignty
- Questions of scale and political status
- Flows and questions about aid
OCEANIA – AID FLOWS 2009

Main Donors (excl. China)
- Australia
- Japan
- NZ
- USA
- France
- Global Fund

Circles proportional to total aid

Rapa Nui

Estimations
OCEANIA – AID & DEVELOPMENT

Circles proportional to aid per capita

Sovereignty
Independent
Semi-independent
Dependent

Circles:
- Blue: $2316
- Green: $5980
- Red: $7630
- Orange: $1509
- Purple: $7630
FRENCH AID TO PACIFIC TERRITORIES 1966 – 2008
(OECD DATA - $US mill 2009 constant prices)
Introducing the Project

• Starting points: aid modalities and inverse sovereignty
• Questions of scale and political status
• Flows and questions about aid
• Questions:
  – What is aid?
  – What is sovereignty?
• The project structure (case studies and indicators)
Methodological Issues – Case Studies

Build on Tuvalu work relational advantage
‘Opt in’ principle
Spread case study work over several people

Pacific Island Countries (PIC) Development Partners’ Meeting
2011 – Tuvalu official
2012 – Researcher

Self selection of countries

Pacific Island Forum Secretariat interest
Sovereignty and The Pacific

**Sovereign:** Vanuatu, Kiribati, Fiji, Tuvalu etc
**Dependent:** American Samoa, New Caledonia

In the middle:
Cook Islands – NZ citizens (dependent) but separate diplomatic relations, membership of international organisations.
Marshall Islands – independent but trustee relationship with USA.

Research shows:
• Dependent and semi dependent island states outperform independent states.
• Connection between dependence and foreign aid inflow – which does not match with development needs.
Aid Environment and the Pacific

- In-country aid fragmentation and donor proliferation increased considerably from 2005 onwards.
- Aid in some sectors is far more fragmented than in others.
- Levels and trends of fragmentation are worse for LDCs.

Not surprising that Pacific countries may be finding it increasingly difficult to manage the requirements of the increased number of donors.

OECD *monitors performance* of donors and developing countries against the Paris Principles. Survey 2011 showed:

- where responsibility for change lies with developing country governments progress has been significant
- where responsibility lies primarily with donors progress not significant.
Sovereignty

International legal sovereignty—enter treaties, agreements, juridical equality with other states.

Westphalian sovereignty—absence of need to submit to external authority structures.

Domestic sovereignty—control over what happens within your borders.

What is the relationship between degree of external sovereignty and degree of internal sovereignty in the development setting?
Development Policy Sovereignty

Degree to which countries maintain autonomy over their domestic development policy making: ‘development policy sovereignty’

Politically Sovereign (Independent)
Harder to maintain development policy sovereignty

Politically not sovereign (Dependent or semi dependent)
Easier to maintain development policy sovereignty
Development Policy Sovereignty

Degree to which countries maintain autonomy over their domestic development policy making: ‘development policy sovereignty’

- Politically Sovereign (Independent)
  - Easier to maintain development policy sovereignty
- Politically not sovereign (Dependent or semi dependent)
  - Harder to maintain development policy sovereignty
Field Work

Pacific Countries:
Cook Islands
Republic of the Marshall Islands
Third country  ?????????

Donors:
Bilateral
Regional
Multilateral
Questions

How might Pacific understandings of ‘development sovereignty’ inform debates about aid effectiveness and thereby go some way towards closing the current gap between development policy and practice?

What do Pacific officials feel are the signs that show they have control over development policy and practice in their countries? (identification of markers of development sovereignty)

What do donor officials feel are signs that show their partner countries have control of their own development policy sovereignty?

What is the relationship of current donor practice in the Pacific to the ‘aid effectiveness’ agenda?

How might regionally generated conceptions of ‘development sovereignty’ be mobilised to reduce the gap between the policy of aid effectiveness and its practice?
How does the Government of Samoa assert their development policy sovereignty when working alongside donors?

- Interviews: 7 x Public, 4 x Private, 1 x CSO, 3 x Donors
- Markers of Development Policy Sovereignty:
  - Evaluation of the Paris Declaration on aid effectiveness and the Accra Agenda for Action 2010
  - Samoa Development Strategy
  - Development Cooperation Policy
  - Terminology – Lead donor
  - Missions calendar - mission free zone from Mar - Apr, Nov – Dec
  - Joint Commitments for Development (JCfD)
  - Educated public service, institutional knowledge, well prepared and informed
  - Infrastructure projects
  - Donors (local staff)
Case Studies: Samoa

How does the Government of Samoa assert their development policy sovereignty when working alongside donors?

• Interviews: 7 x Public, 4 x Private, 1 x CSO, 3 x Donors
• Markers of Development Policy Sovereignty:
  ➢ Evaluation of the Paris Declaration on aid effectiveness and the Accra Agenda for Action 2010
  ➢ Samoa Development Strategy
  ➢ Development Cooperation Policy
  ➢ Terminology – Lead donor
  ➢ Missions calendar - mission free zone from Mar - Apr, Nov – Dec
  ➢ Joint Commitments for Development (JCfD)
  ➢ Educated public service, institutional knowledge, well prepared and informed
  ➢ Infrastructure projects
  ➢ Donors (local staff)
• Summary
Niue: Sovereignty Inversion?

- Territory in Free Association? New Zealand’s Realm
- The Shifting Tides of Aid
- Tourism, Marginality and Sovereignty
Aid to Niue
($USD million  2009 constant)
Sovereignty indicators across the Pacific

Methodology

The research project seeks to determine the impact of aid modalities on sovereignty of Pacific island polities.

To discern patterns in the impact of aid on sovereignty of many and diverse Pacific polities, a set of proxy indicators of ‘development policy sovereignty’ is designed...
Sovereignty indicators across the Pacific

Proxy indicators for policy sovereignty

In several brainstorm sessions, six proxy indicators were designed that:

• Allow comparisons among countries:
  o Population: small, medium, and large size
  o Economy: low, medium, and high income
  o Political: independent, semi-dependent, integrated
  o Culture: Polynesian, Melanesian, Micronesian

• Record change in same indicators over time:
  o February and August
  o 2001, 2006 and 2011
Sovereignty indicators across the Pacific

Proxy indicators for policy sovereignty

The indicators also needed to meet the following criteria:

- Easily and directly accessible across all Pacific island polities
- Not politically or culturally sensitive
- Impervious to “collector’s bias”; gender, age, ethnicity, scholar, civil servant, or local student

Between April and July, these six indicators were field-trialled in Tonga, Samoa and Tuvalu.

Four indicators stood the tests...
Sovereignty indicators across the Pacific

Four proxy indicators... and the PIF Secretariat

1. Comments by Health or Education Ministers in local media about donors’ influence or role
2. Scholarships for local civil servants in donor countries
3. Proportional volume of expatriate professionals in civil service
4. Quantitative and qualitative trends in governments’ comments in evaluation reports of programmes

Currently, an MoU is being discussed with PIF Secretariat; adding indicators and sharing data-collection and analysis.
Indicators of sovereignty across the Pacific: New Caledonia

New Caledonia: a ‘frontier case’ within our comparative framework?

• A rich OCT (GDP per capita: 35,242 USD; NZ: 32,619)
• ... though ridden by strong social, economic and ethnic inequalities
• ... engaged in an original process of ‘negotiated decolonisation’ (political agreements of Matignon-Oudinot 1988 and Nouméa 1998): strong and increasing autonomy at NC and provincial levels
• ... dependent (and playing) on two rents: direct state transfers and mining revenues
• Few actors of development finance: French state (dominant), EU, AFD, SPC (marginal bilateral aid)
## New Caledonia – Indicator 1: newspapers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nb of articles</th>
<th>Health related</th>
<th>Comments (positive: + ; negative: –)</th>
<th>Education related</th>
<th>Comments (positive: + ; negative: –)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>February 2001</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1 + government official</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 2001</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 2006</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1 – mayor</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1 + government official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 – province official</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 2006</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1 – Wallisian politician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 2011</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2 + government officials</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1 + province official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 – mayor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 2011</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1 + government official</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1 + government official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 – Loyalist politician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>33</strong></td>
<td><strong>15</strong></td>
<td><strong>4 + ; 3 –</strong></td>
<td><strong>19</strong></td>
<td><strong>3 + ; 2 –</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### New Caledonia – Indicator 2: scholarships

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ministry</th>
<th>Direction of budget and financial affairs</th>
<th>Direction of Education</th>
<th>Direction of health and social affairs</th>
<th>Service of regional cooperation and external Affairs</th>
<th>Other ministries</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of civil servants</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of civil servants on overseas scholarships per Ministry (&gt; 6 months)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NB : before recruitment in the government**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Donor country</th>
<th>a. Number of civil servants studying in donor country (&gt;6 months)</th>
<th>b. Number of civil servants studying in another country with scholarship of donor country (&gt; 6 months)</th>
<th>Total number of scholarship provided to civil servants (a+b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>France: 400 Cadres / Cadre Avenir 2001</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France: 400 Cadres / Cadre Avenir 2006</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France: 400 Cadres / Cadre Avenir 2011</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
New Caledonia – Indicator 3: expatriates

Difficult definition: what is an ‘expatriate’ in NC? e.g. Metropolitan French?
• Institutional criteria: right to vote (province/referendum)
• Identity criteria: being (and being viewed as) as ‘Caledonian’
• Professional criteria: territorial (vs. state) civil servants (but: some State civil servants work in state administration in NC)

Politically sensitive indicator (+ data confidentiality)

Approximate criteria (and figures)
• 95% territorial civil servants (not all of them Caledonian)
• 5% State civil servants in secondment posts granted to the NC (not all of them metropolitan)
• + contract agents
• Note: strong variations between the different directions
New Caledonia – Indicator 4: evaluation reports

Evaluation processes of development projects in NC are relatively weak

• One report available for EU (not yet received)
• No evaluation for the French state (to be implemented) and other donors

“Regarding SYSMIN projects, some objectives were too ambitious and hardly reachable. At the same time, the DIMENC (Direction of Industry, Mines and Energy) who was in charge of the projects, has put forward difficulties inherent to EDF procedures, considered as complex and little flexible. Doubtlessly, these problems could be overcome by training New Caledonia’s officials [...] Besides, the obligation to purchase materials from the European Union can raise problem in New Caledonia, in particular with regard to materials from Australia, often technically better adapted to local needs and faster to import in the territory. The positive aspects [of evaluation] are the implementation of very useful and innovative projects for the territory which had an indisputable leverage” (EU-Government of NC, 2011, 15-16)
Indicators of sovereignty across the Pacific: New Caledonia

*New Caledonia: a ‘frontier case’ within our comparative framework?*

- Methodological adaptation to the political/institutional multilayered context? (ind.1: newspapers)
- Irrelevance (modification) (ind.2: scholarships)
- Political sensitiveness + confidentiality (ind.3: expatriate staff)
- Weak monitoring (ind.4: evaluation reports)
Indicators of sovereignty across the Pacific: New Caledonia

“Sovereignty, that’s the right to choose partnerships; independence is the power to manage all the affairs (of state) created by colonisation (...) It is sovereignty that gives us the right and the power to negotiate interdependencies. For a small country like ours, independence is a matter of carefully calculating interdependencies.”

Jean-Marie Tjibaou, 1985
Preliminary Thoughts/Findings

• “We’ll always have Paris”
• Size matters
• Sovereignty matters