



Kona market, 2013. Photo: Habibatou Gologo/Oxfam

MALI: A NEW DEVELOPMENT CONTRACT

What kind of aid is needed to end the crisis?

Mali needs a comprehensive response to the problems of poverty and governance. It is the third largest producer of gold in Africa and yet one in five Malians still live in extreme poverty. The Donor Conference in Brussels on 15 May 2013 is an opportunity to set in motion a new development contract for Mali, which must first and foremost be negotiated between the Malian authorities and citizens. Development must be informed by the needs and interests of ordinary people, who need to be much more involved in decisions that will determine their future. Donors also have an important role to play, given the magnitude of aid they provide, starting with a commitment to continue providing aid for the next 15 years. Aid can also contribute to improving the governance and transparency of the Malian authorities. Donors should evaluate the impact of their aid to Mali over the past two decades and set an example with transparent aid that does not fuel conflict but rather helps to build lasting peace.

SUMMARY

In the north of Mali, the military operation against armed groups led by French and Malian troops is still ongoing. Support is being provided by soldiers in the International Support Mission for Mali (MISMA), which will hand over to a UN Peacekeeping Mission (MINUSMA) in July 2013.

Meanwhile, the interim Malian authorities have announced presidential elections and are seeking to re-establish the administration in the centre and north of the country. Donors have been called on to provide funding commitments to meet significant humanitarian needs. And many donors have already announced that they will restart their development aid. The Donor Conference for Mali comes at a critical juncture where a broad range of principles and actions need to be agreed to put the country on the path to peace and prosperity.

Poverty reduction and good governance must be placed at the heart of these discussions. Even before the crisis, one in five Malians lived in extreme poverty – not having enough resources to meet their basic nutritional needs. The population suffers from chronic vulnerability and has faced three food crises in the last seven years. More than 12 months of conflict, insecurity and human rights violations have further weakened communities in the north. They are now facing their second food crisis in less than two years, with experts predicting an emergency situation in the coming months if nothing is done. As a result of the recurrent crises, Mali now ranks as one of the five poorest countries in the world.

Development in Mali will not be achieved unless real governance reforms are implemented, starting by giving citizens and those responsible for holding the government to account a more central role. Oxfam is calling for a new development contract between citizens and the Malian authorities to be agreed so that the latter can be held accountable for the policies they implement. Through this new contract, the authorities should commit to a fairer redistribution of the revenues from extractive industries; greater transparency in the management of public policies; and effectively tackling corruption.

Donors also have an important role to play in supporting this contract and should commit to providing aid for at least the next 15 years. This is the time-frame that will be needed to successfully accompany governance reforms (much more so than has taken place to date), and to tackle the root causes of poverty. Donors can also set the example by involving civil society and communities in their aid programmes, and should promote greater transparency by publishing the expected outcomes from their projects. They should also ensure that all aid is exclusively allocated on the basis of need and that programming is conflict-sensitive – so that aid doesn't enflame the conflict, but rather directly contributes to peace-building.

MAIN RECOMMENDATIONS

A full set of recommendations can be found at the end of this paper.

The Malian authorities must

- **reform governance** to ensure greater transparency and accountability in public administration;
- **increase its domestic resources** through equitable tax reforms;
- **develop action plans** for poverty reduction, human rights and transparency and accountability.

Donors active in Mali must

- **evaluate** the outcomes and impact of international aid to date on poverty reduction and governance;
- **coordinate aid** with the Mali authorities and with civil society; particularly the conditionalities placed on budget support;
- **build capacity** by dedicating at least 5 percent of budget support aid to civil society and other groups that can hold the government accountable;
- **commit more humanitarian aid** to meet the immediate needs of the population;
- **increase aid flexibility**, ensuring that aid modalities allow for a smooth transition from emergency aid, to reconstruction and to equitable development.

Civil society must

- **improve its own governance** to ensure that it can credibly and legitimately raise the voices of the most vulnerable and marginalized members of society.

The whole aid community must

- **allocate aid impartially** on the basis of comprehensive needs assessments;
- **deliver conflict-sensitive aid**, ensuring that aid ‘does no harm’;
- **support reconciliation** through specific peace building programmes.

GOVERNANCE AND POVERTY AT THE HEART OF MALI'S CRISIS

Development challenges, poor governance, corruption and a growing perception of inequality in access to resources lie at the heart of the crisis in Mali. Beyond re-establishing security, Mali needs a comprehensive response which addresses both poverty and governance.

Worrying poverty levels

In Mali, Africa's third largest producer of gold, one in five people still lives in extreme poverty,¹ with insufficient income to meet their basic nutritional needs.

Statistics show that poverty in Mali has declined overall in the period 2001 to 2010. It is nonetheless worth looking more closely at trends in extreme poverty region by region.

- In urban areas and in Sikasso, Mopti and Segou regions, extreme poverty has risen slightly since 2006.²
- In the regions of Timbuktu, Gao and Kidal, in contrast with the situation in other regions, there has been no overall fall in extreme poverty between 2001 and 2010, but rather a 10 percent increase.³

These figures call into question the ability of public policies, even before the current crisis, to adequately meet the needs of the poorest sections of society and leave some doubt as to whether it can provide a sustainable redistribution of the dividends of economic growth, which in 2011 stood at 5 percent.

What is more, as a result of the political and security crisis and the suspension of international aid in 2012, the country dropped seven places on the 2011 Human Development Index, and Mali now ranks among the five poorest countries in the world.

Chronic vulnerability

The impact of climate change is being felt across the Sahel region, and is adding to the challenges already faced as a result of Mali's isolation and harsh climate. The vast majority of Mali's population is rural. In 2009 as much as 20 percent of the population was affected by the drought and, became food insecure.⁵ In seven years, no fewer than three food crises – in 2005, 2010 and 2012 – weakened whole communities.⁶

In the third largest producer of gold in Africa, 1 people out of 5 live in extreme poverty.

In 2010, just 29% of adults could read and write. The proportion of women able to do so is half that of men.

INSTAT

Climate change may push an additional one million people under the poverty threshold in Mali by 2050.

FAO⁴

In the north of Mali, the repeated crises since the great drought of 1972–1974 has accelerated the impoverishment of pastoral communities and forced many to be less nomadic. At the same time, riverine communities have increasingly had to turn to herding in order to diversify their sources of income.⁸ As a result, the socio-economic balance has shifted within these communities and traditional solidarity has declined. The limited economic opportunities for young people, leaves them vulnerable to the temptations of armed groups. Increasing poverty has also directly contributed to an increasing sense of marginalization and abandonment by the state.⁹

'We haven't seen anything of the thousands and millions in aid here on the ground. Just small crumbs actually reach their intended destination'

Inhabitants from northern Mali⁷

Poor governance driving political instability

The causes of the conflict are numerous and well known: the establishment of international criminal networks and armed groups and the resurgence of separatist demands alongside a system of governance that insufficiently represents the voices and needs of different communities; and inadequate state services and elected officials.

'Focusing on terrorism does not leave room for a dispassionate review of the real problems of the north. In drawing a hierarchy of the causes of the crises, corruption and laxness in governance are way ahead of the terror issues, Tuareg or even north-south.'

International Crisis Group, 2013.¹⁰

CITIZENS, SIGNIFICANT ACTORS IN GOVERNANCE

Overall responsibility for establishing a new development contract lies with the Malian government.

Decentralization is not yet providing the solution

A process of decentralization was launched in the 1990s, with the aim of speeding up development and improving dialogue between the state and its citizens. Yet, so far, it has failed to meet the needs of the population. The ability to access social services is often limited due to cost, quality, or distance. 'Officially, since 1991, there have been no fees for primary education in public schools in Mali. In reality, most families are still paying for the education of their children'.¹² Beyond the capacity of elected officials and the quality of decentralized services, the system still faces major challenges in terms of its financial viability¹³ and thus relies heavily on international aid. A system of local patronage has developed, sometimes leading to cases of embezzlement, especially in the awarding of public contracts¹⁴. Whatever the outcome of future political dialogues, the involvement of communities and civil society organizations at a local and national level will be essential.

'In 2008 and 2009, 93% of subsidies given to local authorities (for their infrastructure) came from donors.'

Ministry in charge of local administration and local authorities, 2011.¹¹

Transparency and accountability at the heart of the new development contract

The annual reports of the Auditor General¹⁶ shed light on part of the financial mismanagement and misuse of funds in services of the Malian state at the level of Bamako and within the regions. Alongside legal reform, the Malian authorities must overall ensure that institutions responsible for oversight, parliamentarians, civil society and any other mechanisms for introducing greater accountability are able to fulfil their role, ensuring they have access to the information they need. There will not be effective development in the country without national governance reforms that put people at the heart of decisions and strengthen oversight and accountability.

REFORMING AID

Aid is critical to the efforts to tackle poverty and reform governance in Mali. The impact of aid on these issues over the last two decades should be assessed in order to make it even more effective in the future. Donors should commit to providing aid to Mali for at least the next 15 years – to overcome the structural challenges of poverty across the country and to offer a sustainable resolution of the current crisis.

According to the Budget Monitoring Group,¹⁷ the suspension of international aid following the coup in Mali in March 2012 has reduced the state budget by about one-third compared with original expectations. Mali's dependence on international aid is substantial. However, to date, donors have not sufficiently used their influence to encourage greater accountability of the Malian authorities towards their citizens.

Evaluating donor performance for smarter aid

The European Union and other donors have already decided to resume budget support to the Malian government. Oxfam supports this type of assistance that strengthens the state, especially in a context of fragile states.¹⁹ However, it must go hand-in-hand with a stronger political dialogue than in the past, focussed on the transparency and accountability of the Malian authorities. Donors have pushed some reforms, such as the controversial privatization of the cotton sector.²⁰ Now they must shift their attention to the fight for poverty reduction, human rights and good governance. They should support measurable action plans for each of these areas, and if no progress is observed, general budget support should be reviewed and the option of channelling aid through other mechanisms considered.

By supporting a diverse and vibrant civil society, donors, international NGOs and other members of the international aid community can further promote increased accountability at all levels of decision making, helping to raise the voice of the poorest communities. They can also actively contribute to a culture conducive to oversight and scrutiny.

'Free education is only a slogan. If you have one teacher for 6 classes, who is really being educated? No one! If the state says that education is free, it must ensure that each class has a good teacher ... Slogans like 'A school in each village' are interesting but have not been acted on.'

A member of the school management committee in Doro, in Gao region.¹⁵

The suspension of international aid following the coup in March 2012 reduced by about one-third the state budget that was originally planned

Budget Monitoring Group in Mali¹⁸

Setting the example with aid

Aid must be predictable, with long-term commitments over a number of years to promote the sort of institutional transformation required. It is a pre-requisite for sound budgetary planning by the Malian government and for strategic investment. Oxfam believes that, if donors are serious about tackling poverty and governance, aid should be provided for at least the next 15 years.

When it comes to the implementation of aid programmes, the risks of the misuse of aid are less significant than in other sectors because of the large degree of oversight on aid flows. Nevertheless, these risks exist, for example, the Global Fund to fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria had to be suspended from 2010, following a major corruption scandal.²² To avoid a repetition of such events in the future, donors should publish the expected outcomes of their projects and inform the public, so as to promote the accountability of the various actors, both national and international, involved in the implementation of projects. Citizen oversight can be further strengthened through the involvement of communities, from the design phase through to the evaluation of projects, to ensure greater efficiency and impact and that programmes are better adapted to the needs of the population.

In order to promote the accountability of the Malian authorities towards their citizens, donors should also support a diverse civil society at all levels of the country, which can make the voices of the poor heard, and encourage a favourable environment for debate.

An ongoing, underfunded humanitarian crisis

In the north of Mali there are still significant humanitarian needs. Insecurity has led to a massive displacement of population. Internally displaced persons (IDPs) are estimated at more than 282,000 and refugees in neighbouring countries at nearly 174,000.²⁴ The population remaining in the north face a food security crisis for a second consecutive year.²⁵ According to the Malian government and to food security experts, if there is no improvement, the situation could get worse and food insecurity drop to emergency levels – the phase just before famine. That is already the case for two districts in Kidal.²⁶ Those who have fled the country do not fare much better. The conditions in refugee camps are becoming increasingly difficult, and health risks are on the rise. Refugees are mostly hosted by vulnerable communities who are themselves still recovering from the 2012²⁷ food crisis in the Sahel region. Despite this, the UN humanitarian appeal is just 28 percent financed.²⁸ Timely humanitarian aid, commensurate to need, is urgently needed and can provide a platform for the genuine revival of the country and a sustainable exit from crisis.

In fragile states, aid is twice as volatile as in other developing countries.

World Bank, 2011²¹

One in three people from northern communities have fled their region.²³

AID THAT BUILDS PEACE

The tensions generated by conflict and the violations of human rights committed by all parties have reopened divisions between communities, and even within communities. Historic bonds between groups that had defined relations have been fundamentally challenged.³⁰ Throughout 2012, large numbers of people chose to leave their homes for fear of reprisals at the hands of the Malian army or of local populations, and further waves of displacement from January 2013 followed the military offensive led by French and Malian troops.³¹

In one camp in Burkina Faso, one child in four is malnourished.

HCR²⁹

Impartial aid

Oxfam has pointed out the extent to which donors and aid agencies have struggled to prevent political considerations diluting aid's focus on poverty reduction.³² In Afghanistan, for example, political interests meant that certain communities got more aid than others: communities living in conflict-affected areas received more aid per capita than communities in peaceful regions which had comparable or even greater needs.³³ Such tendencies must be avoided in Mali if the conditions for sustainable peace are to be established. The relative needs of populations in the north and the south has long been a sensitive and hotly debated subject.

In the current difficult context in Gao, tensions are already emerging between displaced and returning populations and those who have stayed in the region throughout the instability, with the latter claiming that they should have priority access to any economic opportunities that may emerge. Appropriate solutions need to be identified to ensure that aid is allocated impartially, on the basis of comprehensive needs assessments.

Understanding the context to 'do no harm'

Many development agencies have encountered difficulties in fully integrating an understanding of conflict dynamics into the day-to-day planning of aid programmes and projects. Programming based on a rigorous analysis of conflict at local, regional and national levels is fundamental if the underlying and multiple causes of conflict are to be successfully overcome and a narrow approach to security avoided.

At the very least, this analysis should increase awareness of the potentially positive or negative impact a programme may have on conflict dynamics. All organizations must ensure that their programmes by no means contribute to further fuelling of the conflict, and, where possible, help to reduce tensions. In order to achieve this, capacity building and the adaptation of programmes is required. Oxfam is working to establish a more integrated approach to conflict within its programming to both minimize the risks and also to gradually develop programmes that can have a positive, transformative impact on conflict.³⁴ Conflict analysis should pay particular attention to gender relations, relations between and within communities and to socio-economic ties. It may be that through such actions the beginnings of a sustainable peace can be found in Mali, complemented by programmes that specifically address reconciliation and peace building.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1 For a new development contract that delivers good governance ...

The Mali authorities must

- **promote transparent and participatory system of governance** via a greater involvement of communities and civil society organizations, particularly women's groups, in development policy making at a local and national level; making information on government budgets available to citizens and promoting community participation in the preparation and monitoring of state and local authority budgets; and adopting a law on access to information;
- **improve the management of its domestic resources**, particularly through equitable tax reforms. In view of the current and future exploitation of natural resources,³⁵ the highest standards of transparency of revenues from extractive industries should be implemented, and revenues maximized in order to contribute to equitable poverty reduction throughout Mali;³⁶
- **develop action plans** for poverty reduction, respect for human rights and the transparency and accountability of authorities towards citizens. These action plans must include clear and independently verifiable indicators.

Donors active in Mali must

- **undertake a thorough evaluation** of the outcomes and impact of international aid over the last twenty years in terms of poverty reduction and governance in Mali;³⁷
- **support the development and implementation of action plans** for poverty reduction, respect for human rights, and transparency and accountability. The lack of measurable progress in these areas should lead to the allocation of direct budget support being reconsidered;
- **coordinate the conditions for budget support** across the donor community, the Malian authorities and in consultation with civil society, and publish them for greater accountability in line with the Paris Declaration and other aid effectiveness commitments. The indicators of general budget support should include concrete measures for improving budget transparency and fighting corruption. These conditions should not serve the political, economic and security interests of donors;
- **dedicate at least 5 per cent of aid**, in the form of budget support, to strengthen local civil society, the national parliament, media and other institutions responsible for oversight. Donors must also ensure that civil society organizations can carry out their activities in a favourable environment and facilitate their participation in public affairs at national and local levels.

All aid agencies and donors must

- foster a diverse and vibrant civil society at all level of decision making, to help raise the voices of vulnerable and marginalized communities, by adopting more flexible funding mechanisms for civil society support.

Civil society organizations must

- improve their internal governance, to include the voices of the most vulnerable and marginalized people and guarantee their political neutrality and respect for human rights to ensure the effective monitoring of public policies and of donor activities.

2 For predictable and effective aid ...

The Malian authorities and local officials must

- coordinate donor initiatives and those of international aid organizations, in line with their priorities, in an ad hoc sub-regional mechanism (such as the Commission in the North that will be assessed). This should include elected officials, civil society groups, and leaders and representatives of the different communities in order to restore confidence after so many months in which the state has been absent in these regions, especially in the north.

Donors active in Mali must

- **make fresh humanitarian aid commitments** to priority sectors to meet the most urgent needs in Mali and those of refugees and host communities in neighbouring countries;
- **adopt flexible funding mechanisms** to ensure a smooth transition between emergency response, reconstruction, and development;³⁸
- **strengthen coordination** through joint needs assessments, both at local and national level (bringing together the cluster system and thematic development groups), ensuring alignment with local and national priorities.

3 For aid that can build peace ...

The Malian authorities, donors and all aid organizations must

- **allocate aid impartially**, strictly on the basis of need, without the interference of political or security objectives;
- **ensure that aid ‘does no harm’**³⁹ in Mali’s current fragile context, by adopting conflict-sensitive approaches. This should involve a regularly updated context analysis, including a thorough conflict analysis and of gender relations, and an ongoing process of monitoring and adapting programmes to ensure no negative impacts;
- **invest in specific programmes** on reconciliation and peace building, driven by an understanding of the impact of the crisis on social relations.

NOTES

- 1 'Households in extreme poverty are defined as being those where the living standards do not reach their basic nutritional needs', National Institute of Statistics (INSTAT), p.48, 'Enquête par grappe à indicateurs multiples et de dépenses des ménages (MICS/ELIM 2010)', may 2011, p. 48 : <http://bamakobruce.files.wordpress.com/2012/01/rapport-elim-draft-juin-2011.pdf>
- 2 In 2010, the adult literacy rate was 41.6% for men and 18.8% for women, INSTAT, op.cit. p. 21
- 3 The three regions in the north of the country have experienced a 10% increase in extreme poverty between 2001 and 2010. All other regions have seen an overall reduction in extreme poverty over the same period (ranging from a 63% decrease for Koulikoro and Kayes region to a 9% decrease for Sikasso region), despite a small increase since 2006 in the proportion of populations living in extreme for some. Calculations made by author drawing on figures available in INSTAT, op.cit. p. 21.
- 4 M. Pedercini, H. Kanamaru. and S. Derwisch (2012). 'Potential impacts of climate change on food security in Mali', Natural Resources Management and Environment Department, FAO, Rome.
- 5 'The Early Warning System estimates that 2.8 million people were affected by the drought and thus are believed to be suffering from food insecurity' in 'Cadre stratégique pour la croissance et la réduction de la pauvreté 2012 – 2017', 2011, p. 24.
- 6 Oxfam, 'Learning the lessons? An assessment of the response to the 2012 food crisis in the Sahel to build resilience for the future' April 2013: <http://www.oxfam.org/en/policy/learning-lessons-sahel>
- 7 Ibrahim AG YOUSSEF, Ferdaous BOUHLEL, André MARTY, Jeremy SWIFT, 'Etude sur les stratégies de développement économique et social des régions nord du Mali (Tombouctou, Gao, Kidal)', March 2012, commissioned by the Programme Spécial pour la Paix, la Sécurité et le Développement dans le Nord du Mali (PSPSDN) as well as the Swiss Embassy and French Development Agency (AFD) p. 52.
- 8 Abdul Aziz DIALLO, 'Etude relative à l'analyse de l'impact de la crise pastorale sur les moyens de vivre des populations vulnérables des zones semi-arides du Sahel', commissioned by Oxfam GB, 2010.
- 9 'Etude sur les stratégies de développement économique et social des régions nord du Mali (Tombouctou, Gao, Kidal)', March 2012, op. cit.
- 10 International Crisis Group 'Mali : sécuriser, dialoguer et réformer en profondeur', 11 April 2012 : <http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/africa/west-africa/mali/201-mali-securiser-dialoguer-et-reformer-en-profondeur.pdf>
- 11 These figures come from the National Agency for Investment in Local Authorities (Agence nationale d'investissements pour les collectivités territoriales – ANICT) and are not a complete list of public financing of local government bodies in Ministry of Regional Administration and Regional Authorities, "Etude sur le bilan et les perspectives de la décentralisation au Mali", March 2011, p. 44: <http://www.matcl.gov.ml/PDF/ForumRapport.pdf>
- 12 'The visits carried out by Oxfam and reports from its partners show that charges are between 1,500 and 3,000 FCFA per child per year (3 to 6 USD/2,30 to 4,60 EUR).' in Coalition of Civil Society Organizations for Education for All in Mali (Coalition des organisations de la société civile pour l'Education Pour Tous au Mali – COSC-EPT) and Oxfam, 'Assurer l'éducation pour tous au Mali', research report, June 2009, p. 20: <http://www.oxfamfrance.org/Assurer-l-education-pour-tous-au,582>
- 13 'Etude sur le bilan et les perspectives de la décentralisation au Mali', 2011, op.cit., p. 44
- 14 According to an official of a Kidal development program, corruption of local public powers, which is relatively recent, is as a consequence of a phenomenon which has become widespread. He explains 'There are, for example, political brokers that ingratiate themselves in local deals between the town council and businesses. That is new. Take an example: a town council has to build a school. The mayor ensures someone that will bring him a particular electorate, it is through him that a company will carry out the work. You could say that they only influence each other, except that in reality the mayor takes a cut for having given the contract, and the broker also takes a cut. The business ends up with little money to build the school. The business owners don't complain because it's still not a bad deal, and so they make do with what they have. That's how the corruption involved with large public deals is carried out in the south of Mali, and now it's happening in the north.' in 'Etude sur les stratégies de développement économique et social des régions nord du Mali (Tombouctou, Gao, Kidal)', (Study on social and economic development strategies in the regions of northern Mali: Timbuktu, Gao, Kidal) op. cit. p. 27.
- 15 Coalition of Civil Society Organizations for Education for All in Mali and Oxfam, op. cit., p. 14.
- 16 The position of Auditor General ("Vérificateur général") was created in 2003, with the objective of overseeing the use of public resources. Any citizen has the power to refer to

- the Auditor General who presents a report each year to the President of the Republic and the President of the National Assembly, on the basis of the audits carried out.
- 17 The Mali Budget Tracking Group (Groupe Suivi Budgétaire au Mali) is a civil society coalition with the objective of providing oversight of national and local budgetary processes.
 - 18 Of an initial forecast of 1483.5 billion FCFA, the total expenses for the 2012 budget were revised to 988.6 billion FCFA, representing a significant decrease of 33.4%, which was due in particular to the cancellation of financial engagements from the majority of financial partners, 'Rapport d'analyse de la loi de finance rectificative 2013', April 2013, p. 6.
 - 19 Oxfam is particularly worried about the underfunding of sectors that are deemed to be a priority: food security, water, hygiene and sanitation, protection, education, health and livelihood programmes in OCHA, 'Malian complex emergency', Report 31, 25 April 2013: http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Mali%20Urgence%20complexe%20Rapport%20de%20situation%20no%2031_25%20avril%202013.pdf
 - 20 'The World Bank had made CMDT privatisation and liberalisation of the textile sector one of the conditions of its support. Formally accepted by President Alpha Oumar Konaré's team as of 1999, the privatisation process was moved back numerous times (to 2005, 2008, then July 2010)' in Isaline BERGAMASCHI, 'Appropriation' et 'lutte contre la pauvreté' au Mali. Interprétations, pratiques et discours concurrents appropriation', Revue Tiers-Monde, n° 205, January – March 2011, p.145.
 - 21 World Bank, 'World Development report. Conflict , security and development', 2011, p. 25 : http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDRS/Resources/WDR2011_Full_Text.pdf
 - 22 'A study carried out at the beginning of 2011 by the inspector general of the Global Fund enabled an update on the embezzlement of around 4 million dollars (2,86 million euros). On 2 March 2011, the executive director of the Fund, Michel Kazatchkine, announced that he would that day suspend a grant of nearly 10 million euros previously allocated to fighting AIDS in the country. In 2010, the Global Fund suspended two grants in Mali destined towards fighting malaria and had put an end to a third grant targeting tuberculosis, having established that the funds had been embezzled and that certain expenses were not justified.' in Jeune Afrique, 11 February 2013: <http://economie.jeuneafrique.com/regions/afrique-subsaharienne/15470-le-fonds-mondial-renoue-avec-le-mali.html>
 - 23 'There are 1.3 million people in the north of Mali (which covers 66% of the country's territory). Between 1960 and 2010, the population of Mali multiplied by 3.2: in the North, that figure was 1.9. It is therefore a region of net emigration linked both to the harshness of the environment and chronic security problems.' in West Africa and the Sahel Club, 'Le complexe sécurité et développement- Défis régionaux' June 2012 : http://www.oecd.org/fr/csao/evenements/colloque_Fr.pdf
 - 24 OCHA, 'Mali complex emergency', Report 31, 25 April 2013 : http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Mali%20Urgence%20complexe%20Rapport%20de%20situation%20no%2031_25%20avril%202013.pdf
 - 25 Oxfam, 'Learning the Lessons? Assessing the response to the 2012 food crisis in the Sahel to build resilience for the future', April 2013
 - 26 The harmonized framework created by the Permanent Interstate Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel (CILSS) estimates that between 26 and 65% of people in northern Mali, depending on the region, are at risk of extreme food insecurity, <http://www.oxfam.org/fr/pressroom/pressrelease/2013-04-25/nord-mali-communautés-affectées-crise-alimentaire>
 - 27 Oxfam, 'Mali's conflict refugees: A growing crisis', January 2013, p.11: <http://www.oxfam.org/en/policy/malis-conflict-refugees>
 - 28 Oxfam is particularly worried about the underfunding of sectors that are deemed to be a priority: food security, water, hygiene and sanitation, protection, education, health and livelihood programmes in OCHA, 'Malian complex emergency', Report 31, 25 April 2013: http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Mali%20Urgence%20complexe%20Rapport%20de%20situation%20no%2031_25%20avril%202013.pdf
 - 29 UNHCR Mali situation update as of 31 March 2013 (report date 12/04/2012): <http://data.unhcr.org/MaliSituation/regional.php>
 - 30 Interviews conducted during an Oxfam workshop with Malian civil society, Bamako, September 2012.
 - 31 Interviews with Oxfam staff in Gao, January 2013. UN Secretary General's report to the Security Council, 26 March 2013, paragraph 16, p.4 OCHA (2013) 'Mali: Humanitarian Snapshot', 17 Janvier, <http://reliefweb.int/map/mali/mali-humanitarian-snapshot-17-january-2013-enfr>.
 - 32 Oxfam, 'Whose aid is it anyway? Politicising aid in conflict and crises', February 2011, <http://www.oxfam.org/en/policy/whose-aid-it-anyway>
 - 33 Research carried out by Oxfam showed that while information is very patchy, in Afghanistan, since 2004, more than 70% of OECD DAC aid targeting specific geographic areas were spent in the Afghan capital, Kabul, or in the three provinces (out of a total of 34) – Kandahar, Herat and Helmand – where the majority of military

operations involving NATO and Afghan troops against the insurrection were taking place. The centre and North of Afghanistan, poor but peaceful, on the other hand, was largely overlooked. Information available in Oxfam's Report, 'Whose aid is it anyway?' op.cit., p. 12.

- 34 See in particular Oxfam, Jo Rowlands, 'Programming in Fragile and Conflict-Affected Countries: Programme policy guidelines', April 2011: <http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/programming-in-fragile-and-conflict-affected-countries-programme-policy-guideli-139791>
- 35 According to Agency for the Promotion of Investment in Mali (API): 'Oil and gas research is being carried out currently in five sedimentary basins (Taoudeni, Tamesna, lullemeden, Gao graben, Nara/Macina basin) subdivided in 28 blocks of regular size', http://www.apimali.gov.ml/uploads/profil_secteurs/mines.pdf. 'To date, no large mining company has persevered with operations in the north of Mali. However, some are showing a lot of interest. The Italian company ENI and the Algerian Sipex, a subsidiary of Sonatrach, are among the interested parties. In partnership, the two biggest in 2006 focused on blocks 4 and 20 out of the 29 blocks previously carved up by AUREP. However, since then ENI and Sipex have not carried out the necessary drilling for the project to progress. They had planned to carry out the drilling in February 2012.' (Frederic Powelton, Sahel intelligence, le 20 juillet 2012.
<http://fr.scribd.com/doc/100733786/Nord-Mali-Le-Petrole-du-MUJAO> and Benjamin Augé, researcher at IFRI in Le Monde of 4 April 2012, 'Au Mali, le pétrole est pour le moment un mirage'. Regarding uranium 'Since 2007, the Australian company Oklo Uranium Limited has been exploring the mountainous region of Adrar des Iforas. Uranium has been found there but is not yet being mined.'
(<http://www.arte.tv/fr/7273746.html> and <http://carnegieendowment.org/2013/01/22/uranium-in-saharan-sands/f4ej>).
- 36 See Oxfam America, 'Hidden treasure? In search of Mali's gold-mining revenues', 2007 (<http://www.oxfamamerica.org/publications/hidden-treasure>) and Oxfam International, 'Lifting the Resource Curse. How poor people can and should benefit from the revenues of extractive industries', 2009, (<http://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/bp134-lifting-the-resource-curse-011209.pdf>)
- 37 Katrin Hoyer of International Alert suggests that donors go further to accompany future political dialog in Mali, by evaluating the impact of their actions since the democratic revolution on democracy and peace in the north: 'A useful contribution to this would be an objective review of Western involvement in Mali over the past two decades since the end of the Moussa Traoré dictatorship, exploring the degree to which it fostered or undermined democratic progress and peace in the north, perhaps using recent OECD Development Assistance Committee statebuilding and peacebuilding norms as a reference. This would help identify practices to maintain or avoid in the next phase', Katrin Hoyer, 'Crisis in Mali. A peacebuilding approach', Peace Focus March 2013, p. 4.
- 38 Humanitarian funding, in line with the Good Humanitarian Donorship principals, should be preventative and spread out over the long term (18 months minimum, ideally 26 months) rather than for multiple short projects. It should also be flexible from a geographic programmatic point of view. Development funding should integrate risk analysis in order to be more flexible and able to react quickly to avert imminent crises. Flexible funding arrangements on a 6 to 12 year scale would be most appropriate.
- 39 Humanitarian organisations in particular should respect minimum Sphere Project standards in each sector and Sphere protection principals.

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For further information on the issues raised in this paper please e-mail advocacy@oxfaminternational.org

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