

**WWS 571b/Politics 586  
Fall 2008  
Topics in Development: Development Policy in Africa**

**Widner**

Investment levels do not explain patterns of growth and development in sub-Saharan Africa. Increasingly, economists have pointed to the influence of institutions and vulnerability to a variety of “traps” in explaining patterns of economic success or failure. Using this recognition as a point of departure, this seminar asks how to make public services work under the conditions that prevail in different parts of continent today. It uses an eclectic array of resources, drawn from several fields, to provide background and stimulate discussion and research.

The course is designed for several groups of people: public managers with no background in Africa, those who know the region but want to think hard about institutional capacity building and development management in an African context, and Ph.D. candidates interested in either subject, who want to supplement more extensive academic reading with classroom discussion.

The first two hours of each session tackle a particular challenge, analyzing alternative diagnoses and responses. With some exceptions, we will use the remaining 40 minutes for a series of lectures/briefings that provide an introduction to aspects of the subject matter that will arise the week following.

The course is open to Woodrow Wilson School graduate students and to Ph.D. candidates from Politics, WWS, and other departments.

## Session 1 Africa at a Juncture

Focus: The puzzles and challenges that motivate the course

Howard White and Tony Killick. *African Poverty at the Millennium*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 2001, chapters 1-3.

World Bank. "Inequity within Countries" and "Equity from a Global Perspective," pp. 28-54 and 55-69 in *Equity and Development*, World Development Report 2006, Washington, D.C.: World Bank and Oxford University Press, 2005.

William Easterly. *The Elusive Quest for Growth*. MIT Press, 2001, Chapters 1-8 and 11.\*

Paul Collier. "African Growth: Why a 'Big Push'?" *Journal of African Economies*, AERC Supplement 2 (2006): 188-211. (useful ideas but you may skip the last part of the article)

Dani Rodrik. "Second-Best Institutions" *American Economic Review*, 98, 2 (2008): 100-104. Optional; required for Ph.D. candidates

Briefing: Are African Contexts Distinctive Part 1? Orientation to a continent with a footnote on measuring development outcomes

## Part I: The Context: Does Africa Present Special Challenges?

### Session 2 Geography, Governance, and Development

Focus: How does geography affect development? Is geography destiny?

Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority And Control*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000. Chapters 1-2, 4-5, 8-9. \*

David Bloom, Jeffrey Sachs, Paul Collier, and Christopher Udry, "Geography, Demography, and Economic Growth in Africa," *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, 2 (1998): 207-295.

Paul Collier. "Landlocked with Bad Neighbors," pp. 53-63 in *The Bottom Billion*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007. \*

Briefing: Geography and governance revisited: segmentary societies and centralized societies.

\* indicates source available for purchase at Labyrinth. Other resources are available on e-reserves. All materials are on reserve at Stokes.

### Session 3 Risk, Trust & Culture

Focus: How do patterns of risk shape behavior and ideas? Is it accurate or useful to talk about shared patterns of behavior as “culture”? Why does a book about a burial fight appear among the readings? There is a lot of reading for this session but it is worth the effort.

#### Building Blocks

Harold Aldreman, Pierre-Andre Chiappori, Lawrence Haddad, John Hoddinot, and Ravi Kanbur, “Unitary versus Collective Models of the Household: Is it Time to Shift the Burden of Proof?” *World Bank Research Observer*, 10, 1 (February 1995): 1-19.

#### Sharing & Insurance

Mike Tidwell, pp. 78-91 and 257-259 from *The Ponds of Kalambayi*. Lyons & Burford, 1990.

David William Cohen and Atieno Ojiambo, *Burying S.M.* Heinemann, pp. 1-29.

Peter Ekeh, “Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement,” *Comparative Studies of Society and History* 17, 1 (1975): 91-112.

#### Honor and Order

Robert Bates, “The Preservation of Order in Stateless Societies: A Reinterpretation of Evans-Pritchard’s *The Nuer*,” pp. 7-20 in *Essays on the Political Economy of Rural Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.

#### Ambiguity

Cheikh Amadou Kane, *Ambiguous Adventure*. Portsmouth: Heinemann. \* (a novella)

Briefing: Great Expectations, Bold Ideas: Africa at Independence

### Session 4 Legacies

Focus: How have the past fifty years shaped development challenges today?

Robert Bates, *Markets & States in Tropical Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983. \*

Paul Collier and Jan Willem Gunning. “Sacrificing the Future: Intertemporal Strategies And their Implications for Growth,” pp. 202-224 in Benno Ndulu, Stephen O’Connell, Robert Bates, Paul Collier, Chukwuma Soludo, eds., *The Political Economy of Economic Growth in Africa, 1960-2000*. Cambridge University Press, 2008.

\* indicates source available for purchase at Labyrinth. Other resources are available on e-reserves. All materials are on reserve at Stokes.

“Why Africa Had to Adjust,” *Adjustment in Africa*. Washington: The World Bank, 1994, pp. 17-41.

Nicolas van de Walle, from *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, chapter one.

Paul Collier, “The Failure of Conditionality,” Overseas Development Council Policy Essay No. 22. Washington, D.C.: Overseas Development Council.

William Reno. “How Sovereignty Matters: International Markets and the Political Economy of Local Politics in Weak States,” pp. 197-215 in Thomas Callaghy, Ronald Kassimir, and Robert Latham, eds., *Intervention and Transnationalism In Africa*. Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Briefing: The “Anthropology of Anger”: Political change in Africa post-1989

## **Part II      The High Politics of Reform**

### **Session 5      Political Accountability and Political Will**

Focus: In promoting attention to the needs of the poor, what do policy makers mean by “political will” and why does it matter? Do elections make leaders more responsive to the welfare of citizens and if so, what is it about “democratization” that matters? If elections don’t work, are there any other ways to shape the preferences of leaders and the people with whom they surround themselves? What is different about the incentives facing leaders in the G-11 compared to incentives facing leaders in Zimbabwe and the Sudan, if anything?

Robert Bates, “The Impulse to Reform,” in Jennifer A. Widner, *Economic Change and Political Liberalization in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994, pp. 13-28.

Daniel Posner and Daniel Young. “The Institutionalization of Political Power In Africa,” *Journal of Democracy*, 18, 3 (July 2007): 126-140..

David Stasavage. “Democracy and Education Spending in Africa.” *American Journal of Political Science*, 49, 2 (April 2005): 343-358.

Philip Keefer and Stuti Khemani, “Democracy, Public Expenditure and the Poor,” World Bank Policy Research Working Paper #3164 (2003)

Gary C. Hufbauer and Barbara Oegg. “Targeted sanctions: A Policy Alternative” *Law and Policy in International Business*, Fall 2000

Briefing: Dealing with Dictators (or guest talk on Zimbabwe, Kenya, Sudan)

## Session 6      **Seizing Opportunities**

Focus: Under what conditions is reform more likely to get a toe hold? To win implementation? To become institutionalized? Are there general guidelines we can offer to leaders who take the interests of their citizens seriously?

Jennifer Widner, *Building the Rule of Law*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2001,  
Read the last chapter first, skim the opening, and focus on the middle sections\*

Peter Lewis. *Growing Apart: Oil, Politics, and Economic Change in Indonesia and Nigeria*. University of Michigan Press, 2007 selections TBA\*

Briefing: The Botswana Exception

## Part III      **Selected Challenges and Responses**

### Session 7      **Building Public Sector Capacity/Eluding Governance Traps**

Focus: In trying to make services work for poor people, what do we know (or not know) about the pros and cons associated with different accountability structures? About building capacity within the public service?

Patrick Meagher. "Service Delivery in Fragile States: Framing the Issues," IRIS Center, University of Maryland, College Park, July 25, 2005.

David K. Leonard. *African Successes: Four Public Managers of Kenyan Rural Development*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991,  
On Charles Karanja and the KTDA see pp. 39-46, 125-144 on Ishmael Muriithi see pp. 54-62, 145-167, and on what happens see 168-182.

Plus at least two of the following:

Rudolf Knippenberg, Fatoumata Traore Nafu, Raimi Osseni, Yero Biye Camara, Abdelwahid El Abassi, Agnes Soucat. "Increasing Clients' Power to Scale up Health Services for the Poor: The Bamako Initiative in West Africa," July 2003 (on the web; background paper for the 2004 World Development Report).

MIT Poverty Action Lab. "Controlling Corruption: Auditing versus Community Participation," Policy Briefcase No. 5, March 2008.

Ritva Reinikke and Jakob Svensson, "Fighting Corruption to Improve Schooling: Evidence from a Newspaper Campaign in Uganda. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 3 (2005): 259-67.

\* indicates source available for purchase at *Labyrinth*. Other resources are available on e-reserves. All materials are on reserve at *Stokes*.

Richard Swanson. “National Parks and Reserves—Madagascar’s New Model for Biodiversity Conservation: Lessons Learned Through Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDPs),” Report submitted to USAID, January 1997.

Briefing: Challenges in Building Public Sector Performance in Africa (or guest)

## Session 8      Institutions & Agricultural Markets

Focus: Markets are institutions. What is required to make them work well as ways to organize production and distribution of goods and services in African contexts? What is their relationship to rights, if any? Are there any insights you can glean from the “ground up” view offered in the Honey Care case?

A view from the ground

Honey Care Africa: A Tripartite Model for Sustainable Beekeeping. Case Study Richard Ivey School of Business, University of Western Ontario, distributed through Harvard Business School Publishing.

Making Markets Work

Marcel Fafchanmps, “Markets and Traders,” pp. 1-48 in *Market Institutions in Sub-Saharan Africa: Theory and Evidence*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 2004.

Mylene Kherallah, Christopher Delgado, Eleni Gabre-Madhin, Nicholas Minot, Michael Johnson, *Reforming Agricultural Markets in Africa*. Washington, D.C.: IFPRI with Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002, pp. 151-169.

Famines and rights

Amartya Sen, from *Poverty and Famines*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1981, pp. 39-51, 86-129.

Amartya Sen, “Freedoms and Needs: An Argument for the Primacy of Political Rights,” *The New Republic*, January 10-17, 1994, pp. 31-36, 38.

Green Revolution?

Norman Borlaug. “The Green Revolution Revisited and the Road Ahead,” Special 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Lecture, The Norwegian Nobel Institute, Oslo, September 8, 2000.  
[http://nobelprize.org/nobel\\_prizes/peace/articles/borlaug/borlaug-lecture.pdf](http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/articles/borlaug/borlaug-lecture.pdf) (optional)

Briefing: Either genetically modified crops or a Green Revolution for Africa

## Session 9 Health Care Delivery/Health Care Interactions with Other Reforms

### Focus:

World Bank. *Better Health in Africa: Experience and Lessons Learned*. Washington, D.C. , 1994, chapters 4, 5, and 10. (view from 1994).

John Iliffe. *The African AIDs Epidemic*. James Curry/Ohio, 2006. \*

Plus one of the following:

James Putzel. "Institutionalising an Emergency Response: HIV/AIDS and Governance in Uganda and Senegal," Report Submitted to the Department for International Development, May 2003.

Narathius Asingwire and Swizen Kyomuhendo. "Turning the Tide: How Openness and Leadership Stemmed the Spread of HIV/AIDs in Uganda," chapter 13 in Louise Fox and Robert Liebenthal, *Attacking Africa's Poverty: Experience from the Ground*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 2006.

Briefing: Guest lecture or preview of the resource trap

## Session 10 Escaping the Natural Resource Trap

Focus: Many of Africa's countries have natural resource wealth. Is this wealth a trap and is it possible to escape the trap without international collective action?

Greg Campbell. *Blood Diamonds*. Boulder: Westview, 2002. (a quick read)\*

Paul Collier. "The Natural Resource Trap," pp. 38-52 in *The Bottom Billion*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

And/or

Macartan Humphreys, Jeffrey D. Sachs, and Joseph Stiglitz. "Introduction: What is the Problem with Natural Resource Wealth?" pp. 1-20 in *Escaping the Resource Curse*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.

### Responses

Ian Smillie. "What Lessons from the Kimberly Process Certification Scheme?" pp. 47-68 in Karen Ballentine, ed., *Profiting from Peace*. New York: International Peace Academy, 2005.

\* indicates source available for purchase at Labyrinth. Other resources are available on e-reserves. All materials are on reserve at Stokes.

Gavin Hayman and Corene Crossin. "Revenue Transparency and the Publish What You Pay Campaign.," pp. 263-286 in Karen Ballentine, ed., *Profiting from Peace*. New York: International Peace Academy, 2005

Paul Collier, chapter on charters in *The Bottom Billion*.

Macartan Humphreys and Martin E. Dandbu. "The Political Economy of Natural Resource Funds," pp. 194-233 in *Escaping the Resource Curse*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.

Erika Weinthal and Pauline Jones Luong, "Combating the Resource Curse: An Alternative Solution to Managing Mineral Wealth," *Perspectives on Politics*, 4, 1 (March 2006): 35-53.

Briefing: More facts and analysis on the resource curse in Africa

## **Session 11 Ethnic Clashes and Humanitarian Intervention**

Focus: Minerals fuel conflict in Africa but what do we know about the other underlying causes of civil war and, in particular, what do we know about the origins of genocide? Is it possible to create a genocide early-warning system? How can countries that have experienced ethnic clashes or genocide rebuild?

### Origins of Ethnic Clashes

Philip Gourevitch. *We Wish to Inform You that Tomorrow We Will Be Killed with Our Families*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1998.\*

And

Scott Strauss. Pp. 122-174 in *The Order of Genocide*. Cornell University Press, 2006.

Or

Gerard Prunier. *Darfur: The Ambiguous Genocide*, Cornell University Press, 2005, Especially pp. especially chapters 2-4 (skim)

### Responses

Mahmood Mamdani. From *When Victims Become Killers*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001, pp. 262-282.

Frontline, "Ghosts of Rwanda" (film shown outside of class)

Briefing: Rwanda and Darfur Compared

\* indicates source available for purchase at Labyrinth. Other resources are available on e-reserves. All materials are on reserve at Stokes.

## Session 12 Peace Building

Allister Sparks. *Tomorrow is Another Country*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1995. \*

Richard A. Wilson. *The Politics of Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa*.  
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, excerpts.

Films: *Mandela & de Klerk* and *Long Night's Journey into Day*

Briefing: Peace Building in Africa

### More about the Course

This course will frustrate you. It leaves vast amounts of important subject matter untouched. It proceeds topically, for the most part, not as a narrative, so people new to the continent may find themselves a little lost at times. It includes some engrossing reading but it does not include other, seminal writing on Africa that the instructor would love to have us discuss together. Writing by African authors consumes too small a proportion of the list. Welcome to a lifetime of learning. We are all, always, beginners and must listen to each other.

Given the inevitable limitations, what objectives should a course of this type aim to fulfill? One aim is to develop familiarity with the core theories and approaches in the field—to extend the background you have acquired in your introductory courses. To this end, each unit introduces and debates a theoretical insight that has practical importance for policy. On occasion, we borrow material about other regions of the world to set forth the issues. Unlike the “boot camp” courses in the curriculum, another aim of this class is to *begin* to build a repertoire of fact as a point of departure for your future work. That is, you actually need to remember some of the “data” in this kind of course—not everything, but at least enough to explain an event or trend to others. You should also aim to build your knowledge of the resources available to Africa specialists.

A third ambition of this course is to engage you in a dialogue among policy makers and social scientists about “what works” under “what circumstances” and “why.” In the best of all possible worlds, the guidelines aid agencies issue to policy makers would flow from convincing theories that have been well tested. In reality, the academic world often ignores important issues, while policy makers and practitioners understand the questions and have ideas but rarely are able to subject these hunches to tests. In this course we try to encourage a meeting of the minds.

\* indicates source available for purchase at Labyrinth. Other resources are available on e-reserves. All materials are on reserve at Stokes.

### ***What can you do to make yourself feel more at home?***

Whenever you come to the name of a country, culture, or person you don't know, look up basic background information on the web. The web resources on Africa are impressive and some useful links appear on our Blackboard site. Better still, try old-fashioned print yearbooks.

Follow the news through the BBC Focus on Africa Program or other web resources. You will find several quick links in a folder on the Blackboard site.

### ***Where to find materials***

Asterisked selections are available for purchase. All other materials, including optional selections, are available through e-reserves. Books on Africa are expensive because of small press runs. Remember that all materials listed for purchase are available on reserve at the library too. "Required" means you are required to read the material, not to buy the book.

### ***Reading***

Each week you will receive a handout that provides some background about the intellectual history of the next week's subject matter, key debates, and new directions. You should skim the handout before you begin the reading. (A handout for the first week's readings will be available on the Blackboard site before the term begins.) You may have read some selections already. There are others included to help you expand your horizons!

The reading assignments span a range of genres. Be prepared for variety. Remember that some of the readings provide theories. Others measure and test. Still others distill guidelines or prompt you to generate guidelines from other readings and use these to resolve a problem or react to a case study. Before you jump in, figure out what you want to extract from any particular selection and then go after that particular point. ...And, yes, all of the reading is required unless otherwise indicated, though it is sometimes possible to skim.

- Explanation or diagnosis is one part of our enterprise in this course. When you read the explanatory theories, first identify exactly what the author wants to explain (in social science parlance, the dependent variable). Then pick out the elements of the explanation (key factors or independent variables). Finally, note the story line that connects the independent variables (causes) to the dependent variable (effect).
- How adequate are our ways of measuring the subject of the week's discussion? What do the standard measures include or leave out? Do any authors suggest innovative ways to assess the state of the subject matter? Remember that both practitioners and social scientists have to think about how they will assess results or progress!

*\* indicates source available for purchase at Labyrinth. Other resources are available on e-reserves. All materials are on reserve at Stokes.*

- Do the practical or policy guidelines follow from the explanations discussed? From other plausible explanations? Or are they poorly grounded in logic and evidence?
- If the case presents a dilemma, how might you resolve the problem posed, drawing on the explanations and best practice guidelines available? Does your gut tell you that following these guidelines makes sense? If not, what is the source of your unease? Does the case lead you to suggest revisions in the guidelines or expansion of them?
- Some readings draw on knowledge of statistics, but the instructor will provide some guidelines to help those unfamiliar with these methods of analysis. Do not give up.

Please remember that unfamiliar names tend to slow the pace of reading. Luckily, almost all African names and terms are phonetic. They are evenly accented, or accented lightly on the second syllable. Try sounding out the names and saying them aloud before you read, and your speed will improve.

### **Written assignments**

Everyone who joins the course is expected to prepare well and participate in the discussion. In addition, each person must complete the following written assignments:

- A five-page single-spaced memo on an organizational innovation or practice that appear successful, the metrics of success you use, why you think the innovation or practice works, and how you might better test your evaluation (due at session 7)
- An expansion and revision of this memo in response to feedback from the instructor and the class (revision should total no more than 8 single-spaced pages; due at last class)
- A three-page single-spaced discussion of the logic underlying one of the assigned readings during the first three weeks of the course, including your criticisms, your evaluation of what the contribution does well (a three-page single-spaced discussion of the logic underlying one of the assigned readings in weeks 4-12 (due before the start of class on the day the material is discussed)
- a three-page single-spaced discussion of the logic underlying one of the assigned readings in weeks 4-12 (due before the start of class on the day the material is discussed)

You will find useful information on projects/innovations on the websites posted to the Blackboard site, although you will have to find more.

***Communicating***

Office hours are currently scheduled for Thursday mornings 10:30-12 and Mondays 11-12. Questions via email are welcome, although it may take a few hours to receive a response. The email address is [jwidner@princeton.edu](mailto:jwidner@princeton.edu). The office is 441 Robertson Hall.