

Political Science Y673, Spring 2008
Implementation Challenges of Governance Reform in Developing Countries
Michael McGinnis and Amos Sawyer

Meets Tuesday, 3:30-5:45
Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis, 513 N. Park
Section 10675
Last revised Feb. 22, 2008

This seminar focuses on the challenges of *implementing* governance reform in developing countries. In recent years countries in every region of the world have been planning, undertaking, or have recently completed governance reform programs. Designed largely in the aftermath of internal wars or as a consequence of pressures from the “international community,” these reform programs not only establish or strengthen systems of democratic governance at national levels, but also reconstitute multi-level governance arrangements related to the ways in which public goods and services are selected, financed and produced to meet the needs of populations.

The challenges of *implementing* governance reform have not claimed as much scholarly attention as have the puzzles of conceptualizing and designing reform programs. The bulk of the scholarly literature on governance reform focuses on such general issues as macro-economic institutions, the security sector, decentralization, etc. Too often practical problems of implementation are dismissed as being of concern only to practitioners. This course explores the design-implementation nexus by identifying and analyzing the challenges in translating design ideas into workable governance institutions and organizations that can achieve *and sustain* desired outcomes.

Most course sessions will focus on specific reform areas such as security, judicial, land and mineral resources, among others. Readings will include scholarly works as well as unpublished reports and policy evaluations. Dilemmas faced by reformers in Liberia will receive particular attention, given the close involvement of Prof. Sawyer in that ongoing process. More generally, the course draws upon the collective experiences of faculty, students, and visiting scholars associated with the Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis with the implementation of governance reform programs and the assessments of international development assistance programs in several countries in Africa, Asia and Central America.

Students will be expected to complete a seminar paper tightly focused on practical challenges related to implementing specific reform proposals in a country of particular relevance to their own future research. These papers will be presented and critiqued in a mini-conference held at the conclusion of the spring semester.

The spring Y673 seminar is part of a two-semester series on the study of institutional analysis, but the fall seminar is not a prerequisite for taking the spring seminar. The first few first weeks of this seminar will focus on summarizing the foundational principles of the institutional analysis framework largely for the benefit of those who have not taken the fall seminar.

Student Assignments

Each student's final grade will be based on two equally weighted components: (1) a research paper and (2) discussion memos and participation in class discussion.

Students will be required to complete a **research paper** for presentation at a **mini-conference** to be held at the end of the semester. As is traditional at the Workshop, each student's paper will be presented by another member of the extended Workshop community, either by a faculty member, visiting scholar, or more senior graduate student. The presenter is asked to summarize the student's paper in a 10-minute presentation and then add some 5 minutes of comments and constructive suggestions for further development of that student's research idea. The author will then get a few minutes to respond to these comments, after which other participants in that conference will be encouraged to join in the discussion. We usually devote some 30 minutes for each paper, which ensures that the author will receive extensive feedback on his or her project.

For this semester, each student's paper should focus on practical challenges related to *implementing* specific reform proposals in a country of particular relevance to his/her own future research. The topic should be relatively narrowly defined, in order to facilitate a sharply focused analysis. We realize that few (if any) students will be able to complete the necessary research during the course of this semester, but this paper should make a concrete contribution towards the completion of a practical research project.

The mini-conference format is viable only if other participants have sufficient time to read papers carefully, and the presenter/discussant especially needs to have plenty of time to read and digest the author's argument. In order to encourage timely submission of these research papers, the Workshop will pay the cost of making copies of the papers for those papers which are turned in on time, by the beginning of class on **Tuesday, April 15** (otherwise known as Tax Day). Those students who feel they need some extra time will be responsible for the cost of making copies, and the absolute final deadline is **Tuesday, April 22**, again at the beginning of class.

Each week, a few students will be asked to submit brief **discussion memos** on the assigned readings. As memos, they should be less than 2 pages in length and sharply focused on a small number of specific points. These memos should NOT summarize the readings, but instead make important comments about the readings or raise especially pertinent questions that can be addressed during our discussion of those readings. These memos will be distributed to the entire class via a list-serve, and seminar participants are encouraged to read these memos before coming to class. Memos are due **Monday morning by 10:00 AM** and should be sent to workshop_y673@listserv.indiana.edu. Memos will not be individually graded, but students should expect to hear their comments incorporated into class discussions, and they need to be prepared to explain their comments in class.

Each student should expect to submit 4 memos over the course of the semester, starting with the second class session, Jan. 15, and ending on April 8, the week before the research paper is due on April 15. The rotation scheme to be implemented this semester will be negotiated during the

initial class session. Our initial proposal is to divide the class into three groups, of 3 or 4 members each. Members of each group will be responsible for submitting a memo every fourth class session, beginning the rotation in a way to be defined during the first class session. However, these “groups” may prove to be temporary, since students may exchange their assigned weeks amongst themselves. Each student will, in effect, “own” a share in four separate weeks, and students will then be allowed to trade shares. All trades must, of course, be voluntary, and no trade is final until the instructors have been notified of the exchange. Also, no one can receive credit for more than one memo for a single week. Under this scheme, we will receive three or four memos for each of 12 weeks, but each week there may be a different group of students writing memos.

Detailed Listing of Seminar Topics and Reading Assignments

Part I. Theoretical Approaches to Governance Reform and Implementation

1. (Jan. 8) Overview of Seminar

The Workshop: A Thematic Overview (Power Point Presentation on e-reserves)

2. (Jan. 15) Towards an Alternative Understanding of Governance

Amos Sawyer, *Beyond Plunder: Toward Democratic Governance in Liberia*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005.

Dwan, Renata, and Laura Bailey. 2006. “Liberia’s Governance and Economic Management Assistance Programme (GEMAP),” a joint review by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations’ Peacekeeping Best Practices Section and the World Bank’s Fragile States Group, UN and World Bank, May 2006. <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTLICUS/Resources/DPKOWBGEMAPFINAL.pdf>

Louise Andersen, Bjorn Moller and Finn Stepputat, editors. 2007. *Bridging the Security Gap: Fragile States and Insecure People*, Part I, pp. 3-43.

3. (Jan. 22) Applying Institutional Analysis to Development Assistance

Clark C. Gibson, Krister Andersson, Elinor Ostrom, Sujai Shivakumar, *The Samaritan’s Dilemma: The Political Economy of Development Aid*, Oxford University Press, 2005, chapters 1-6, pp. 1-128.

4 (Jan. 29) Dilemmas of Implementation at Home and Abroad

Clark C. Gibson, Krister Andersson, Elinor Ostrom, Sujai Shivakumar, *The Samaritan’s Dilemma: The Political Economy of Development Aid*, Oxford University Press, 2005, chapters 7-11, pp. 131-234.

Pressman, Jeffrey L., and Aaron B. Wildavsky. 1973. *Implementation: How Great Expectations in Washington Are Dashed in Oakland; Or, Why It's Amazing that Federal Programs Work at All, This Being a Saga of the Economic Development Administration as Told by Two Sympathetic Observers Who Seek to Build Morals on a Foundation of Ruined Hopes*. Chapters 1, 2, 5, 6, pp. 1-34, 87-146. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Optional Reading: Wunsch, James S. 1986. "Administering Rural Development: Have Goals Outreached Organizational Capacity?", *Public Administration & Development* 6, (3), 287-308.

5. (Feb. 5) Implementation in Different Policy Sectors and Organizational Settings

Matland, Richard E. 1995. "Synthesizing the Implementation Literature: The Ambiguity-Conflict Model of Policy Implementation," *Journal of Public Administration Research & Theory*, 5 (2), 145-175.

Crosby, Benjamin L. 1996. "Policy Implementation: The Organizational Challenge," *World Development* 24 (9), 1403-15.

Martin, Eric C. 2007. "The Co-Evolution of Development Needs and IOR Form: Development by Committee in Bosnia," *International Public Management Journal* 10 (1), 59-77.

Brinkerhoff, Derick W. and Arthur A. Goldsmith. 2006. "Organising for Mutual Advantage: Municipal Associations in Bulgaria," *Public Administration and Development* 26, 373-382.

Fischer, Anke, Lorenz Petersen, Christoph Feldkötter, and Walter Huppert. 2007. "Sustainable Governance of Natural Resources and Institutional Change—An Analytical Framework," *Public Administration and Development* 27, 123-137.

Marcia E. Greenberg and Elaine Zuckerman. 2006. "The Gender Dimensions of Post-Conflict Reconstruction: The Challenges in Development Aid," United Nations University-World Institute for Development Economics Research (UNU-WIDER) Research Paper No. 2006/62.

6. (Feb. 12) Millennium Development Goals (MDG) and Related Implementation Strategies

Ghaus-Pasha, Aisha. 2007. *Governance for the Millennium Development Goals: Core Issues and Good Practices*. Prepared for the 7th Global Forum on Reinventing Government: Building Trust in Government, 26-29 June 2007, Vienna, Austria. United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA), Division for Public Administration and Development Management (PDADM),

ST/ESA/PAD/SER.E/99

<http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/un/unpan025110.pdf>

Nelson, Paul J. 2007. "Human Rights, the Millennium Development Goals, and the Future of Development Cooperation," *World Development* 35 (12), 2041-2055.

"Building Poverty Reduction Strategies in Developing Countries," Development Committee, World Bank and IMF, September 22, 1999.

http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPRS1/Resources/383606-1092340662634/build_en.pdf Accessed Jan. 2, 2008 [also on e-reserves]

Students are encouraged to read the most recent PRS paper for a country of particular interest to them; see the [World Bank website](#)

Optional: "Review of the PRSP Experience: An Issues Paper for the January 2002 Conference," World Bank,

http://povlibrary.worldbank.org/files/15055_issues.pdf, Accessed Jan. 2, 2008 [also on e-reserves]

Grindle, Merilee S. 2004. "Good Enough Governance: Poverty Reduction and Reform in Developing Countries," *Governance* 17 (4), 525-548.

Grindle, Merilee S. 2007. "Good Enough Governance Revisited," *Development Policy Review* 25 (5), 553-574.

Part II. Reform and Implementation in Specific Sectors

7. (Feb. 19) Implementing the Rule of Law

David Williams

Tamanaha, Brian. 2007. "A Concise Guide to the Rule of Law," St. John's University School of Law, Legal Studies Research Paper Series, paper #07-0082, Sept. 2007. <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1012051> [also on e-reserves]

Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance [IDEA]. 2006. *Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook*, chapters 1,3 and 6.

<http://www.idea.int/publications/esd/index.cfm#toc> [and on e-reserves]

Stromseth, Jane, David Wippman, and Rosa Brooks. 2006. *Can Might Make Rights? Building the Rule of Law After Military Interventions*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 178-248, 347-350, 376-387. [on e-reserves]

Samuels, Kirsti. 2006. "Rule of Law Reform in Post-Conflict Countries: Operational Initiatives and Lessons Learnt," Social Development Papers, Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction, Paper No. 37.

8. (Feb. 26) Decentralization

James Wunsch

- James Ferguson, *The Anti-Politics Machine: "Development," Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*, University of Minnesota Press, 1994.
- Mabogunje, Akin L. 2000. "Institutional Radicalization, the State, and the Development Process in Africa," *PNAS* December 5, 2000, 97, 25, 14007-14014.
- Catherine Boone. "Decentralization as Political Strategy in West Africa." *Comparative Political Studies*, 36.4. may, 2003. 355-380

Read some combination of the following:

- Wunsch, James. 1991. "Institutional Analysis and Decentralization: Developing an Analytical Framework for Effective Third World Reform." *Public Administration and Development* 11:431-51. Reprinted in M. McGinnis, *Polycentric Governance and Development*, 1999. Michigan, pp. 243-268.
- _____. "Decentralization, Local Governance and 'Recentralization' in Africa," *Public Administration and Development* October 2001, 21(4): 277-288.
- _____. and Dele Olowu. "Regime Transformation from Below: Decentralization, Local Governance, and Democratic Reform in Nigeria." *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Winter 1996/97, 31(4):66-82
- Wunsch, James S. and Dan Ottemoeller. 2004. "Uganda: Multiple Levels of Governance." In Olowu and Wunsch, eds., *Local Governance in Africa*, Lynne Rienner, pp. 181-209.
- Olowu, Dele and James S. Wunsch. 2004. "Conclusions: What Have We Learned?" in Olowu and Wunsch, eds., *Local Governance in Africa*. Rienner, pp 237-272.
- Wunsch, James S. 2008. "Sources of Order and Disorder in Africa: Local Governance in State-Centric Regimes," forthcoming in Filippo Sabetti, Barbara Allen, and Mark Sproule-Jones, ed., *The Practice of Constitutional Development*, Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

By **12 Noon on Monday, March 3**, all students should submit a brief prospectus of their paper, focusing on the substance of the policy problem they will examine, the overall nature of the relevant implementation process and the specific challenges involved, and, finally, just how they propose to go about studying these challenges.

9. (March 4) Land Reform, Conflict, and Political Development

Gustavo Gordillo

- Hans Binswanger, Klaus Deininger and Gershon Feder. 1993. "Power, Distortions, Revolt and Reform in agriculture land relations", World Bank, July 1993. Part 1; (print pp. 1-38 only) http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/TW3P/IB/1993/07/01/000009265_3961005024555/Rendered/PDF/multi_page.pdf

- Alain de Janvry and Elisabeth Sadoulet. 2001. "Access to Land and Land Policy Reforms," UNU World Institute for Development Economics Research (UNU/WIDER), Policy Brief No. 3. http://www.wider.unu.edu/publications/policy-briefs/en_GB/pb3/files/78807311726739871/default/pb3.pdf
- Gustavo Gordillo, Alain de Janvry and Elisabeth Sadoulet. 1998. "Between Political Control and Efficiency Gains: The Evolution of Agrarian Property Rights in Mexico," *ECLAC Review* December 1998.

Optional Background Readings:

- Gustavo Gordillo. 1997 "On Land Tenure Reform," *Forum Valutazione*.
- Gustavo Gordillo. 2007. "Constitutional Change within an Authoritarian Regime," working paper, Nov. 24, 2007.

SPRING BREAK

10. (March 18) Peacekeeping Operations and Local Actors

- Beatrice Pouligny, *Peace Operations Seen from Below: U.N. Missions And Local People*, Kumarian Press, 2006.
- Louise Andersen, Bjorn Moller and Finn Stepputat, editors. 2007. *Bridging the Security Gap: Fragile States and Insecure People*. Part II, pp. 47-147.
- International Crisis Group. 2006. *Beyond Victimhood: Women's Peacebuilding in Sudan, Congo, and Uganda*. Africa Report 112, 28 June 2006.
http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/africa/112_beyond_victimhood_women_peacebuilding_in_sudan_drc_and_uganda.pdf

- Additional Reading: Ploch, Lauren. 2007. *Africa Command: US Strategic Interests and the Role of the US Military in Africa*, Congressional Research Service (CRS) Report for Congress, updated July 6, 2007.
<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/RL34003.pdf>

11. (March 25) Land Tenure in Africa

- Boone, Catherine. 2007. "Property and constitutional order: Land tenure reform and the future of the African state," *African Affairs* 106 (425), 557-586.
- Nyamu-Musembi, Celestine. 2006. "Ruling out Gender Equality? The Post-Cold War Rule of Law Agenda in Sub-Saharan Africa," *Third World Quarterly* 27 (7), 1193-1207.
- Wiley, Liz Alden. 2007. *So Who Owns the Forest: An Investigation into Forest Ownership and Customary Land Rights in Liberia*. Sustainable Development Institute. [Summary Report posted on e-reserves; with link to complete report]

- Bruce, John W. 2007. "Insecurity of Land Tenure, Land Law and Land Registration in Liberia: A Preliminary Assessment of Issues and Options," Briefing Paper (10 pages), Oct. 2007.
- Optional Reading: Bruce, John W. 2007. "Insecurity of Land Tenure, Land Law and Land Registration in Liberia: A Preliminary Assessment," (96 pages), Oct. 2007.

Optional Background Reading:

- Paul Richards, et al. 2005. *Community Cohesion in Liberia: A Post-War Rapid Social Assessment*, World Bank: Social Development Papers, Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction, Paper No. 21, January 2005.

12. (April 1) Security Sector Reform and Local Actors

- Louise Andersen, Bjorn Moller and Finn Stepputat, editors. 2007. *Bridging the Security Gap: Fragile States and Insecure People*. Parts III and IV, pp. 151-246.
- Anderson, Louise. 2006. "Post-Conflict Security Sector Reform and the Challenge of Ownership: The Case of Liberia," DIIS Brief, Danish Institute for International Studies.
- Gompert, David C., Olga Oliker, Brooke Stearns, Keith Crane, K. Jack Riley. 2007. *Making Liberia Safe: Transformation of the National Security Sector*, Summary, pp. xiii-xxiii, and Chapter 7: "Key Findings and Implementation Priorities," pp. 75-80. Washington, DC: RAND National Defense Research Institute.
- Governance Commission (Liberia). 2007. *National Security Strategy of the Republic of Liberia*, draft, Dec. 9, 2007.
- Suzette Heald. "State, Law, and Vigilantism in Northern Tanzania." *African Affairs*. 105/419, 265-283 (April 2006)
- Bruce Baker: "Multi Choice Policing in Uganda." *Policing and Society*, 15,1(march 2005) pp19-41.

13. (April 8) Local Governments: Finances, Capacity, and Accountability

- Carnahan, Michael. 2007. *Options for Revenue Generation in Post-Conflict Environments*, University of Massachusetts Amherst, Political Economy Research Institute (PERI), Working Paper Series number 137, May 2007. .
http://207.44.194.27/fileadmin/pdf/working_papers/working_papers_101-150/WP137.pdf
- Jackson, Paul. 2005. "Chiefs, Money and Politicians: Rebuilding Local Government in Post-War Sierra Leone," *Public Administration and Development* 25, 49-58.
- Pur, Kripa Ananth. 2007. "Rivalry or Synergy? Formal and Informal Local Governance in Rural India," *Development and Change* 38 (3), 401-421.

14. (April 15) Community Management of Forestry Resources Mini-Conference Papers Due

- Daubon, Ramon E., and Harold H. Saunders. 2002. "Operationalizing Social Capital: A Strategy to Enhance Communities' 'Capacity to Concert'," *International Studies Perspectives* 3, 196-191.
- Sustainable Development Institute (SDI), "Clarifying Forest Ownership in Liberia: The Way Forward to Integrate Economic Growth with Social Justice in the Forest Sector," SDI Occasional Briefing Note #3/2007, October 2007.
- Brown, David. 2007. "Community Involvement in Forest Management in Liberia: How the Forest Sector can Help Liberia Meet the MDGs," SDI Briefing Note #4/2007.
- Howard, Patricia L., and and Gorettie Nabanoga. 2007. "Are there Customary Rights to Plants? An Inquiry among the Baganda (Uganda), with Special Attention to Gender," *World Development*, 35 (9), 1542-1563.
- Perz, Stephen G., Marcellus M. Caldas, Eugenio Arima and Robert J. Walker, 2007. "Unofficial Road Building in the Amazon: Socioeconomic and Biophysical Explanations," *Development and Change* 38 (3), 529-551.

15. (April 22) Misc. Policy Areas: Education, Health, and Basic Infrastructure FINAL DEADLINE for Mini-Conference Papers

- Rao, Nitya. 2007. "Custom and the Courts: Ensuring Women's Rights to Land, Jharkhand, India," *Development and Change* 38 (2), 299-319.
- Mehrotra, Santosh. 2006. "Governance and Basic Social Services: Ensuring Accountability in Service Delivery through Deep Democratic Decentralization," *Journal of International Development*, 18, 263-283.
- van der Wiele, Cynthia F. 2006. "Using Integrated Pest Management-Farmer Field Schools as 'Development Relief'—A Field Report from Liberia." *Journal of Humanitarian Assistance* <http://jha.ac/2006/05/23/using-integrated-pest-management-farmer-field-schools-as-developmental-relief-a-field-report-from-liberia-2/>
- Silkin, Trish. 2005. "Veterinary Services in the Horn of Africa: Where Are We Now?" *Development in Practice* 15(1):40–48.
- Borges, Andre. 2007. "From Patronage Politics to Community Deliberation: The Recent Experience of Democratic School Management in Brazil," *Public Administration and Development* preprint.
- Paul M. Pronyk, James R. Hargreaves, and Jonathan Morduch. 2007. "Microfinance Programs and Better Health: Prospects for Sub-Saharan Africa," *Journal of the American Medical Association (JAMA)*, 298 (16), 1925-1927.
- Dauda, Carol. 2004. "The Importance of DeFacto Decentralization in Primary Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: PTAs and Local Accountability in Uganda," *Journal of Planning, Education and Research*. 24:28-40.

Golooba-Mutebi, Frederick. 2005. "When Popular Participation Won't Improve Service Provision: Primary Health Care in Uganda," *Development Policy Review* 23 (2), 165-182.

Mini-Conference Saturday, April 26 and Monday afternoon, April 28