

## From Politics to Power? Rethinking the Politics of Development

ESID Conference, 9-11 September, 2019

Hosted by the Global Development Institute and the University of Manchester

### Day 1, Monday, 9 September, 2019

<b>9:30 – 13:30:</b>	<b>Conference Registration</b>		
<b>11:00 – 12:30:</b> <b>New Insights into the Politics of Development</b>	<p><b>Panel 1: Domestic and Foreign Aid Bureaucracies</b></p> <p><b>Paper 1:</b> The contradictions of the authoritarian developmental state: Policy-making and the energy boom in Rwanda – <i>Barnaby Dye (University of Manchester)*</i></p> <p><b>Paper 2:</b> Party patronage and merit-based bureaucratic reform in Pakistan – <i>Sameen Ali (Lahore University of Management Sciences)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 3:</b> Enforcement or evasion? Institutions and the political economy of regulation in the Greater Dhaka Watershed –</p>	<p><b>Panel 2: Political Coalitions and Patronage Structures</b></p> <p><b>Paper 1:</b> Power and authoritarian party (dis)continuities: The case of Tanzania’s President Magufuli and the “New” Chama Cha Mapinduzi – <i>Michaela Collord (University of Oxford)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 2:</b> How do local government fragmentation and political patronage affect the geographical allocation of development expenditure in Bangladesh? – <i>Amin Ali (University of Manchester)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 3:</b></p>	<p><b>Panel 3: Rights, Social Protection and State-Society Relations</b></p> <p><b>Paper 1:</b> The politics of social protection reforms in Malawi (2006-2014) – <i>Hangala Siachiwena (University of Cape Town)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 2:</b> The politics of excluding labour from Bangladesh’s social protection design – <i>Nabila Idris (University of Cambridge)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 3:</b> ‘Rethinking the politics of implementing social protection: the case of Ghana’s LEAP, 2009-2016’, <i>Edward Ampratwum (University of Manchester)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 4:</b></p>

	<p><i>Rebecca Peters (University of Oxford)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 4:</b> Leveraging aid transparency for political gain: Project evaluations as donor bargaining chips in international cooperation negotiations – <i>Jennifer Rogla (University of Southern California)</i></p> <p><b>Discussant:</b> Merilee Grindle <b>Chair:</b> David Hulme</p>	<p>Inside the green growth leaders’ coalition: How coalition structure matters – <i>Aidan Craney (La Trobe University)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 4:</b> Not about rules, but good deals that bring good investments – Black economic empowerment and platinum mining in South Africa – <i>Musawenkosi Nxele (University of Cape Town)</i></p> <p><b>Discussant:</b> James Robinson <b>Chair:</b> Pritish Behuria</p>	<p>Moving informality from paper to praxis: A case study of street vendors and planners in Accra, Ghana – <i>Kimberly M Noronha (University of Pennsylvania)</i></p> <p><b>Discussant:</b> Prerna Singh (tbc) <b>Chair:</b> Tom Lavers</p>	
<b>12:30 – 13:30:</b>	<b>Lunch</b>			
<b>13:30 – 15:00:</b> <b>Opening Plenary</b>	<p><b>The Politics and Development Agenda: Completing the ‘Almost Revolution’?</b></p> <p><i>Merilee Grindle (Professor Emeritus, Harvard)</i> ‘The challenge of taking politics seriously’ <i>Sam Hickey (ESID and GDI, University of Manchester):</i> ‘An introduction to the conference via nine years of ESID research’ <b>Chair:</b> Margaret Kakande (Ministry of Finance, Government of Uganda and Chair of ESID’s Advisory Group)</p>			
<b>15:00 – 15:30:</b>	<b>Tea and Coffee Break</b>			
<b>15:30 – 17:00:</b> <b>Parallel Session 1</b>	<p><b>Rethinking the Politics of Development I</b></p> <p><b>Paper 1:</b> Political settlements and pathways to development: from theory to practice – <i>Nicolai Schulz (ESID and LSE) and Tim Kelsall (ESID and ODI)</i> *</p>	<p><b>Coping with Conflict and Violence</b></p> <p><b>Paper 1:</b> Contesting accountability – <i>Anuradha Joshi and Colin Anderson (IDS)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 2:</b> Violence matters: inequality, development and peace –</p>	<p><b>Work and Informality: New Social Contracts?</b></p> <p><b>Paper 1:</b> Financializing inclusion: the gig economy and the new social contract – <i>Kate Meagher (LSE)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 2:</b> Rethinking civil society and</p>	<p><b>Thinking and Working Politically I</b></p> <p><b>Paper 1:</b> Thinking and working politically – learning from practice – <i>Neil McCulloch and Laure-Helene Piron (The Policy Practice)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 2:</b></p>

	<p><b>Paper 2:</b> Political settlements revisited – <i>James Putzel (LSE)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 3:</b> Elite cohesion and institutional development in weak states – <i>Rachel Strohm (University of California, Berkeley)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 4:</b> Political settlements and state performance in the developing world – <i>Matthias vom Hau (IBEI) and Sam Hickey (University of Manchester) *</i></p>	<p><i>Behrooz Morvaridi (University of Bradford) and Caroline Hughes (University of Notre Dame)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 3:</b> Adaptive management in large governance programmes in fragile, conflict and violence-affected settings: From theory to practice – <i>Duncan Green (LSE &amp; Oxfam)</i></p>	<p>democracy: Lessons from construction workers in Beijing and Delhi – <i>Irene Pang (Simon Fraser University)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 3:</b> Taxation and the informal economy in the Global South: Strengthening the social contract or sowing divisions? – <i>Michael Rogan (Rhodes University)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 4:</b> The winners and winners of globalization, but who is winning more? A case study of the construction industry in Ghana – <i>Serena Masino (University of Westminster) and Mavis Akuffobe (CSIR – STEPRI)</i></p>	<p>From thinking to working politically in practice: Tunisia and what the textbooks do not tell you – <i>Simon O’Meally and Tony Verheijen (World Bank, Tunisia)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 3:</b> From ownership to responsiveness: Opening up the policy space in developing countries – <i>Maia King (University of Oxford)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 4:</b> The dark sides of working politically on legal and institutional reform, or the developmental politics of legal indeterminacy – <i>Deval Desai (Albert Hirschman Center on Democracy, Graduate Institute)</i></p>
<p><b>17:15 – 19:00:</b> <b>Plenary 2: Public Lecture and Book Launch</b></p>	<p><b>Rethinking the Politics of Progress: Development as Liberty</b> <i>Harriet Baldwin, Minister of State for International Development (DFID) and Minister of State for Africa (FCO)</i> <i>James Robinson, (University of Chicago) ‘The narrow corridor: States, societies, and the fate of liberty’.</i> Professor Robinson will draw from his new book, which was co-authored with Daron Acemoglu and shares the same title as the talk. <b>Chair:</b> David Hulme (ESID and GDI, University of Manchester)</p>			
<p><b>19:30:</b></p>	<p><b>Drinks reception: Sackville Street Building</b></p>			

## Day 2, Tuesday, 10 September, 2019

<b>9:00 – 10:30: Plenary 3</b>	<b>The Politics of Growth and Human Development</b> <i>Prerna Singh (Brown University) 'How identities, ideas and institutions can transform human development'</i> <i>Lant Pritchett (University of Oxford) 'The difficult dynamics of deals and development: Transitions and decisions' *</i> <b>Chair:</b> Tim Kelsall (ESID and ODI)			
<b>10:30 – 11:00:</b>	<b>Tea and Coffee Break</b>			
<b>11:00 – 12:30: Parallel Session 2</b>	<b>The Politics of Governing Natural Resources I</b>  <b>Paper 1:</b> Is a response to transnational development to become more national? The politics of Indonesian gold mining and the domestic turn – <i>Jenny Goldstein and Tom Pepinsky (Cornell University)</i> <b>Paper 2:</b> What is the politics of corporate social responsibility? Political settlements, political ecology and risk in the mining sector – <i>Tomas Frederiksen (University of Manchester) *</i> <b>Paper 3:</b> The politics of natural resource investments in	<b>State-Business Relations I</b>  <b>Paper 1:</b> A political economy account of middle income (and other) development traps – <i>Michael Walton (Harvard), Brian Levy (SAIS) and Ishac Diwan (Harvard) *</i> <b>Paper 2:</b> State-business relations, politics and development in India – <i>Pallavi Roy (SOAS) and Michael Walton (Harvard) *</i> <b>Paper 3:</b> The political economy of scarcity in Africa: Sugar and rice production and trade in Tanzania – <i>Antonio Andreoni (SOAS), Deograsias Mushi</i>	<b>Rethinking the Politics of Developmental States</b>  <b>Paper 1:</b> Against legitimacy? The democratic deficit of developmental state theory – <i>Jamie Doucette (University of Manchester)</i> <b>Paper 2:</b> Developmental states in the twenty-first century: From urgency to agency – <i>Judith Ricz (Hungarian Academy of Sciences)</i> <b>Paper 3:</b> Developmental conglomerates? Rethinking the developmental state through the lens of business groups – <i>Antonio Andreoni (SOAS)</i>	<b>The Politics of Social Protection</b>  <b>Paper 1:</b> The politics of distributing social transfers in Sub-Saharan Africa: The intersection of political competition and state capacity – <i>Tom Lavers (University of Manchester)*</i> <b>Paper 2:</b> The state at the margins: The impact of cash transfer programmes on citizen-state relations in rural Kenya and Tanzania – <i>Alesha Porisky (University of Toronto)</i> <b>Paper 3:</b> Social protection in emerging market economies: Exploring the 'politics of the poor' –

	<p>Africa: Rights, exchange and holding power – <i>Lars Buur (Roskilde University), Jose Jaime Macuane (University of Eduardo Mondlane), Rasmus Pedersen (Danish Institute for International Studies) and Malin Nystrand (University of Gothenborg)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 4:</b> The political economy of diversification in resource rich countries – <i>Addisu Lashitew and Erik Werker (Simon Fraser University)</i></p>	<p><i>(EconResearch Group) and Ole Therkildsen (Danish Institute for International Studies)</i></p>	<p><b>Paper 4:</b> Varieties of economic transformation in Africa: The politics of difference in ‘developmental states’ – <i>Pritish Behuria (University of Manchester)*</i></p>	<p><i>Indrajit Roy (University of York)</i></p>
<b>12:30 – 14:00</b>	<b>Lunch</b>			
<b>13:00 – 14:00: Plenary 4 (Over Lunch)</b>	<p><b>Thinking and Working Politically: from Evidence to Action</b> Lead presentation: <i>Niheer Dasandi (DLP, University of Birmingham)</i> ‘What does the evidence tell us about ‘thinking and working politically’ in development assistance?’ Practitioner perspectives: <i>Sakuntala Akmeemana (DFAT)</i> and <i>Verena Fritz (World Bank)</i> <b>Chair:</b> Heather Marquette (DFID and University of Birmingham)</p>			
<b>14:00 – 15:30: Parallel Session 3</b>	<p><b>Thinking and Working Politically II</b></p> <p><b>Paper 1:</b> Organised crime, development and the potential unintended</p>	<p><b>State-Business Relations II</b></p> <p><b>Paper 1:</b> The political economy of private sector growth in the Middle East – <i>Ishac Diwan</i></p>	<p><b>The Politics of Governing Natural Resources II</b></p> <p><b>Paper 1:</b> Economic nationalism? Domestic gas, rent capture and power generation: A</p>	<p><b>Governing Cities</b></p> <p><b>Paper 1:</b> Maintaining dominance in capital cities: A comparison of Ethiopia and Uganda –</p>

	<p>consequences of interventions: Lessons for thinking and working politically – <i>Heather Marquette (University of Birmingham) and Miriam Light (DFID)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 2:</b> Donor-funded reform coalitions: The case of the Philippines – <i>Gerard Clarke (University of Swansea)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 3:</b> Power, agency and development: Unpacking politics in Melanesia – <i>Glenn Banks, Regina Scheyvens, Litea Meo-Sewabu, Henna Steven and Suli Vunipolo (Massey University)</i></p>	<p>(Harvard)</p> <p><b>Paper 2:</b> Are women less likely to receive good deals? A cross-country firm level analysis – <i>Sayema Haque Bidisha (University of Dhaka) *</i></p> <p><b>Paper 3:</b> Filling entrepreneurs’ institutional voids, framing their legal sentiments: Political ties and firm innovation in China’s private sector – <i>Junmin Wang (University of Memphis)</i></p>	<p>comparative analysis of Mozambique and Tanzania – <i>Thabit Jacob (Roskilde University), Padil Salimo (University of Dodoma) and Jose Jaime Macuane (University of Eduardo Mondlane) *</i></p> <p><b>Paper 2:</b> Moving straight to Norway: Are ‘best-practice’ reforms helping Africa’s new oil producers to govern oil effectively? – <i>Sam Hickey (University of Manchester) *</i></p> <p><b>Paper 3:</b> Sustaining the unsustainable? Political institutions and development in Sub-Saharan Africa’s resource economies – <i>Alecia Ndlovu (University of Cape Town)</i></p>	<p><i>Tom Goodfellow (University of Sheffield) *</i></p> <p><b>Paper 2:</b> Seeking dominance in capital cities: A comparison of Bangladesh and Zambia – <i>David Jackman (University of Oxford), Marja Hinfelaar (SAIPAR), Sishuwa Sishuwa (University of Cape Town) and Danielle Resnick (IFPRI) *</i></p> <p><b>Paper 3:</b> Arbitrary power and social control in authoritarian states: Governance through unpredictability in Museveni’s Uganda – <i>Rebecca Tapscott (Albert Hirschman Center on Democracy, Graduate Institute)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 4:</b> Understanding how civil society contributes to urban inclusion in India – <i>Diana Mitlin (University of Manchester) *</i></p>
<p><b>15:30 – 16:00:</b></p>	<p><b>Tea and Coffee Break</b></p>			

<p><b>16:00 – 17:30:</b> <b>Parallel Session 4</b></p>	<p><b>Rethinking the Politics of Development II</b></p> <p><b>Paper 1:</b> Problematising the democratic imperative: The challenge of transition and consolidation in weak states – <i>Teddy Brett (LSE)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 2:</b> The politics of change: Addressing inequalities in the development agenda – <i>Anna Chernova (Oxfam)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 3:</b> Institutional externalities: Structural arrangements and their distributive effects – <i>Nadia Von Jacobi (University of Pavia) and Alex Nicolls (University of Oxford)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 4:</b> Distributional coalitions, ideology, and institutions in Brazil: Lessons for public sector reform – <i>Roland Clark (World Bank)</i></p>	<p><b>The Political Economy of Transformation in Africa</b></p> <p><b>Paper 1:</b> Facing up to Africa’s development challenge: Rethinking the political economy of transformation – <i>David Booth (ODI)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 2:</b> How does the ability of the state to produce political order relate to its ability to foster economic transformation? Political settlements and economic change in Tanzania and Vietnam – <i>Hazel Gray (University of Edinburgh)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 3:</b> The jobs gap: Making inclusive growth work in Africa – <i>Kartik Akileswaran (Tony Blair Institute for Global Change)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 4:</b> Getting out of the learning trap: African-owned firms building capabilities to</p>	<p><b>State Capacity I: War and Revenue</b></p> <p><b>Paper 1:</b> Fiscal capacity in times of war: Bolivia, Chile and Peru during the War of the Pacific (1879-1883) – <i>Jose Peres Calias (Lund University)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 2:</b> Wars, conquests and state capacity: Conflicting legacies of precolonial centralization under the 19<sup>th</sup> century Merina Empire – <i>Frank-Borge Wietzke (IBEI)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 3:</b> What determines administrative capacity in developing countries? – <i>Antonio Savoia (University of Manchester), Kunal Sen (UNU-WIDER) and Roberto Ricciuti (University of Verona)*</i></p> <p><b>Paper 4:</b> Tax base erosion: A cautionary tale of the DR Congo – <i>Laure Gnassou</i></p>	<p><b>The Politics of Service Delivery</b></p> <p><b>Paper 1:</b> Two-headed monsters? The politics of public-private relations in water &amp; sanitation provision in Brazil – <i>Isadora Araujo Cruxen (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 2:</b> Varieties of bureaucracy: How frontline agencies implement primary education in rural India – <i>Akshay Mangla (University of Oxford)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 3:</b> Public service and state legitimacy: Challenging the idea of a linear link – <i>Aoife Mccullough (ODI) and Clare Cummings (University of Manchester)</i></p>
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		compete in global value chains – <i>Lindsay Whitfield (Roskilde) and Cornelia Staritz (University of Vienna)</i>	(MONUSCO)	
<b>17:45 – 19:15: Plenary 5</b>	<b>The Politics of Recognition and Democratisation</b> <i>Anne Marie Goetz (New York University)</i> ‘Women’s rights politics in development policy-making: Making states matter again’ <i>Emmanuel Gyimah-Boadi (CDD, Ghana)</i> ‘Democratisation and development in sub-Saharan Africa’ <b>Chair:</b> Sohela Nazneen (IDS)			
<b>19:30:</b>	<b>Conference Dinner</b>			

### Day 3, Wednesday, 11 September, 2019

<b>9:00 – 10:30: Parallel Session 5</b>	<b>The Politics of Women’s Empowerment</b>  <b>Paper 1:</b> Negotiating gender equity: Elites, informal networks and resistance – <i>Sohela Nazneen (IDS), Josephine Ahikire (Makerere University) and Maheen Sultan (BRAC Institute of Governance and Development) *</i> <b>Paper 2:</b> Women in politics: Gaining ground for progressive outcomes in Pakistan – <i>Ayesha Khan and Zonia Yousuf (Collective for Social</i>	<b>Tax and the Social Contract</b>  <b>Paper 1:</b> Fiscal capacity in non-democratic states – <i>Per Andersson (European University Institute)</i> <b>Paper 2:</b> Sorting out the confusion: Conceptualising the fiscal contract – <i>Ane Karoline Foged (Aarhus University)</i> <b>Paper 3:</b> The new politics of revenue bargaining – <i>Marianne Ulriksen (University of Southern Denmark) and</i>	<b>State Capacity II: Pockets of Effectiveness (PoEs)</b>  <b>Paper 1:</b> Bureaucratic ‘PoEs’ as windows onto the politics of state- building in Africa: Comparative insights from a political settlements perspective – <i>Sam Hickey (University of Manchester) and Giles Mohan (Open University)*</i> <b>Paper 2:</b> Unexpected PoEs: A comparison of Uganda’s water utility and Zambia’s seed control agency – <i>Marja</i>	<b>The Transnational Politics of Development I</b>  <b>Paper 1:</b> The state, local industrial development and market-seeking GVCs: The case of pharmaceuticals in Sub-Saharan Africa – <i>Rory Horner (University of Manchester)</i> <b>Paper 2:</b> The politics of banking regulation in developing countries in an era of financial globalization – <i>Emily Jones (University of Oxford)</i> <b>Paper 3:</b> The dynamics of dispersed
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	<p><i>Science Research</i>)</p> <p><b>Paper 3:</b> When do shifting social norms generate backlash? Findings from a survey of perceptions of women's leadership in Indonesia – <i>David Hudson, Claire Mcloughlin (Developmental Leadership Program), Anna Margret, Dirga Ardiansa, Yolanda Panjaitan and Mia Novitasari (Cakra Wikara Indonesia)</i></p>	<p><i>Anne-Mette Kjaer (Aarhus University)</i></p>	<p><i>Hinfelaar (SAIPAR) and Badru Bukenya (Makerere University) *</i></p> <p><b>Paper 3:</b> Beyond executive will: When merely interested or inattentive elites foster PoEs in state administration – <i>Erin McDonnell (University of Notre Dame)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 4:</b> Public-private partnerships can create PoEs through embedded autonomy: The case of a Brazilian healthcare public-private partnership – <i>Maria Joachim (University of Michigan)</i></p>	<p>global governance: Explaining 'developing' country challenges to the global governance of foreign direct investment – <i>Stephen Buzdugan (Manchester Metropolitan University)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 4:</b> The politics of trade protection in North Africa – <i>Adeel Malik (University of Oxford)</i></p>
<b>10:30 – 11:00:</b>	<b>Tea and coffee break</b>			
<b>11:00 – 12:30:</b> <b>Parallel Session 6</b>	<p><b>Power and the Contested Politics of Inclusion</b></p> <p><b>Paper 1:</b> Rethinking empowerment and accountability in difficult settings – <i>John Gaventa (IDS) and Katy Oswald (IDS)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 2:</b> Why does inclusion matter?</p>	<p><b>Thinking and Working Politically III</b></p> <p><b>Paper 1:</b> Interrogating the new politics of development – <i>Rajesh Venugopal (LSE)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 2:</b> Fighting the party machine: Outsiders' incentives for</p>	<p><b>State Capacity III: State-Building and Performance</b></p> <p><b>Paper 1:</b> The politics of state-building in Africa: The cases of Ghana and Rwanda – <i>Abdul-Gafaru Abdulai (University of Ghana) and Benjamin Chemouni (University of Cambridge) *</i></p>	<p><b>The Transnational Politics of Development II</b></p> <p><b>Paper 1:</b> In China's wake: A typology of political-economic trajectories among resource-exporters during the commodity boom – <i>Nicholas Jepson (University of</i></p>

	<p>Assessing the links between inclusive processes and inclusive outcomes – <i>Alina Rocha Menocal (ODI)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 3:</b> National identity data bases, asymmetric information and asymmetric power: A political settlements analysis – <i>Mushtaq Khan and Pallavi Roy (SOAS)</i></p>	<p>programmatic governance reform in emerging democracies – <i>Jonathan Phillips (University of São Paulo)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 3:</b> Learning to think and research politically: Confessions of the Developmental Leadership Programme - <i>Chris Roche (La Trobe University), Claire Mcloughlin, David Hudson (Developmental Leadership Program, B'ham) and Chris Adams (University of Oxford)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 4:</b> PEA in the trenches: How organizational processes and political analysis intersect in aid programmes – <i>Pablo Yanguas (ESID) *</i></p>	<p><b>Paper 2:</b> What is the state for? Contestations around the definition of ‘good governance’ in post-apartheid South Africa – <i>Tracy Ledger (University of the Witwatersrand)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 3:</b> Reshaping the uneven territorial reach of the state: The politics of a teacher payment reform in the DRC – <i>Tom De Herdt and Cyril Owen Brandt (University of Antwerp)</i></p>	<p><i>Manchester)</i></p> <p><b>Paper 2:</b> Labour rights: It’s all our business – <i>Alice Evans (King’s College London) *</i></p> <p><b>Paper 3:</b> Special economic zones, structural transformation and inclusive growth in the context of China’s expanding global influence – <i>Liliane Mouan (Coventry University), Jan Knoerich and Charlotte Goodburn (King’s College London)</i></p>
<b>12:30 – 14:00:</b>	<b>Lunch</b>			
<b>14:00 – 15:30:</b> <b>Plenary 6:</b> <b>Closing Roundtable</b>	<p><b>Moving the Politics and Development Agenda Forward</b> <i>David Booth (ODI), Naomi Hossain (IDS and ESID) and Chigo Mtegha-Gelders (Head of Profession for Governance, DFID).</i></p> <p><b>Chair:</b> Sam Hickey (ESID and GDI, University of Manchester)</p>			