

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

Renold Building, 32a Altrincham St, Manchester M1 7DN. Room numbers are in italics e.g.: *D7*

Day 1, Monday, 9 September, 2019

10.00 – 13:30:	Conference registration and coffee		
11:00 – 12:30: New Insights into the Politics of Development	<p>Panel 1: Domestic and Foreign Aid Bureaucracies <i>D7</i></p> <p>Chair: David Hulme (University of Manchester)</p> <p>Paper 1: The contradictions of the authoritarian developmental state: Policy-making and the energy boom in Rwanda – <i>Barnaby Dye (University of Manchester)*</i></p> <p>Paper 2: Party patronage and merit-based bureaucratic reform in Pakistan – <i>Sameen Ali (Lahore University of Management Sciences)</i></p> <p>Paper 3: Enforcement or evasion? Institutions and the political economy of regulation in the Greater Dhaka Watershed –</p>	<p>Panel 2: Political Coalitions and Patronage Structures <i>D1</i></p> <p>Chair: Prithish Behuria (University of Manchester)</p> <p>Paper 1: 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>Paper 2: 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>Paper 3:</p>	<p>Panel 3: Rights, Social Protection and State-Society Relations <i>D2</i></p> <p>Chair: Tom Lavers (University of Manchester)</p> <p>Paper 1: The politics of social protection reforms in Malawi (2006-2014) – <i>Hangala Siachiwena (University of Cape Town)</i></p> <p>Paper 2: The politics of excluding labour from Bangladesh’s social protection design – <i>Nabila Idris (University of Cambridge)</i></p> <p>Paper 3: ‘Rethinking the politics of implementing social protection: the case of Ghana’s LEAP, 2009-2016’, <i>Edward Ampratwum (University of Manchester and ESID)*</i></p> <p>Paper 4:</p>

* denotes ESID research

	<p><i>Rebecca Peters (University of Oxford)</i></p> <p>Paper 4: 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>Discussant: <i>Merilee Grindle (Harvard University)</i></p>	<p>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>Paper 4: The alliance of technopols: The politics of transforming a Ugandan utility into a pocket of effectiveness – <i>Badru Bukonya (Makerere University and ESID)</i></p> <p>Discussant: <i>James Robinson (University of Chicago)</i></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>Paper 5: Securing Land Rights through Citizenship – Aware Negotiating: The Case of the Mukuru Special Planning Area – <i>Ruth Murumba (Moi University)</i></p> <p>Discussant: <i>Kate Meagher (LSE)</i></p>	
12:30 – 13:30:	Lunch C15			
13:30 – 15:00: Opening Plenary	<p>The Politics and Development Agenda: Consolidating the ‘Almost Revolution’? C2</p> <p>Chair: Emmanuel Gyimah-Boadi (Afrobarometer, Ghana)</p> <p><i>David Hulme (ESID and GDI, University of Manchester)</i> ‘Welcome’</p> <p><i>Merilee Grindle (Professor Emeritus, Harvard University)</i> ‘The challenge of taking politics seriously’</p> <p><i>Sam Hickey (ESID and GDI, University of Manchester):</i> ‘From politics to power? A conversation between ESID and the field’</p>			
15:00 – 15:30:	Tea and Coffee Break C15			
15:30 – 17:00: Parallel Session 1	<p>Rethinking the Politics of Development I C2</p> <p>Chair: Diana Mitlin (Manchester)</p> <p>Paper 1: Political settlements and pathways to development: from theory to practice –</p>	<p>Coping with Conflict and Violence D1</p> <p>Chair: Rebecca Tapscott (The Graduate Institute, Geneva)</p> <p>Paper 1: Contesting accountability – <i>Anuradha Joshi and Colin Anderson (IDS)</i></p>	<p>Work and Informality: New Social Contracts? D2</p> <p>Chair: Naomi Hossain (IDS)</p> <p>Paper 1: Inclusion on the edge: digital labour and the social contract in Nigeria – <i>Kate Meagher (LSE)</i></p>	<p>Thinking and Working Politically I D7</p> <p>Chair: David Hudson (DLP, Birmingham)</p> <p>Paper 1: Thinking and working politically – learning from practice – <i>Neil McCulloch and</i></p>

	<p><i>Nicolai Schulz (ESID and LSE) and Tim Kelsall (ESID and ODI) *</i></p> <p>Paper 2: Political settlements revisited – <i>James Putzel (LSE)</i></p> <p>Paper 3: Political settlements and state performance in the developing world – <i>Matthias vom Hau (IBEI) and Sam Hickey (University of Manchester) *</i></p>	<p>Paper 2: Violence matters: inequality, development and peace – <i>Behrooz Morvaridi (University of Bradford) and Caroline Hughes (University of Notre Dame)</i></p> <p>Paper 3: Adaptive management in large governance programmes in fragile, conflict and violence-affected settings: From theory to practice – <i>Duncan Green (LSE & Oxfam) and Irene Guijt (Oxfam)</i></p> <p>Paper 4: Paths between peace and public service: a comparative analysis of public sector reform trajectories in post conflict countries - <i>Jurgen Blum, Marcos-Ferreiro Rodriguez and Vivek Srivastava (World Bank)</i></p>	<p>Paper 2: Rethinking civil society and democracy: Lessons from construction workers in Beijing and Delhi – <i>Irene Pang (Simon Fraser University)</i></p> <p>Paper 3: Taxation and the informal economy in the Global South: Strengthening the social contract or sowing divisions? – <i>Michael Rogan (Rhodes University)</i></p> <p>Paper 4: 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 Akuffo-bea (CSIR – STEPRI)</i></p>	<p><i>Laure-Helene Piron (The Policy Practice)</i></p> <p>Paper 2: From ownership to responsiveness: Opening up the policy space in developing countries – <i>Maia King (University of Oxford)</i></p> <p>Paper 3: 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>17:15 – 19:00: Plenary 2: Public Lecture and Book Launch</p>	<p>Rethinking the Politics of Progress: Development as Liberty C2</p> <p>Chair: Naomi Hossain (IDS)</p> <p><i>Noel Castree (Professor of Geography and Director of Research School of Environment, Education and Development, University of Manchester) Welcome to Manchester</i></p> <p><i>James Robinson, (University of Chicago) ‘The narrow corridor: States, societies, and the fate of liberty’.</i> Professor Robinson will</p>			

	draw from his new book, which was co-authored with Daron Acemoglu and shares the same title as the talk.
19:00:	Drinks reception, book sale and signing (James Robinson): Renold Building C15

Day 2, Tuesday, 10 September, 2019

9:00 – 10:30: Plenary 3	The Politics of Recognition and Democratisation C2 <i>Anne Marie Goetz (New York University) 'Women's rights politics in development policy-making: Making states matter again'</i> <i>Emmanuel Gyimah-Boadi (Afrobarometer, Ghana) 'Democratisation and development in sub-Saharan Africa'</i> Chair: Sohela Nazneen (IDS and ESID)			
10:30 – 11:00:	Tea and Coffee Break C15			
11:00 – 12:30: Parallel Session 2	The Politics of Governing Natural Resources I D1 Chair: Giles Mohan (Open University) Paper 1: 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> Paper 2: What is the politics of corporate social responsibility? Political settlements, political ecology and risk in the mining sector	State-Business Relations I C2 Chair: David Booth (ODI) Paper 1: A political economy account of middle income (and other) development traps – <i>Michael Walton (Harvard), Brian Levy (SAIS) and Ishac Diwan (Harvard) *</i> Paper 2: State-business relations, politics and development in India – <i>Pallavi Roy (SOAS) and Michael Walton (Harvard) *</i> Paper 3: The political economy of	The Politics of Women's Empowerment D2 Chair: Anne-Marie Goetz (New York University) Paper 1: Negotiating gender equity: Elites, informal networks and resistance – <i>Sohela Nazneen (IDS and ESID), Josephine Ahikire (Makerere University) and Maheen Sultan (BRAC Institute of Governance and Development) *</i> Paper 2: Women in politics: Gaining ground for progressive outcomes in Pakistan – <i>Ayesha Khan (Collective for</i>	The Politics of Social Protection D7 Chair: Tim Williams (ESID) Paper 1: 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> Paper 2: 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>

	<p>– <i>Tomas Frederiksen (University of Manchester) *</i></p> <p>Paper 3: The politics of natural resource investments in Africa: Rights, exchange and holding power – <i>Lars Buur (Roskilde), Jose Jaime Macuane (University of Eduardo Mondlane), Rasmus Pedersen (Danish Institute for International Studies) and Malin Nystrand (Gothenborg)</i></p> <p>Paper 4: The political economy of diversification in resource rich countries – <i>Addisu Lashitew and Erik Werker (Simon Fraser University)*</i></p>	<p>scarcity in Africa: Sugar and rice production and trade in Tanzania – <i>Antonio Andreoni (SOAS), Deograsias Mushi (EconResearch Group) and Ole Therkildsen (Danish Institute for International Studies)</i></p>	<p><i>Social Science Research)</i></p> <p>Paper 3: 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>Paper 3: Social protection in emerging market economies: Exploring the ‘politics of the poor’ – <i>Indrajit Roy (University of York)</i></p>
12:30 – 14:00	Lunch C15			
13:00 – 14:00: Plenary 4 (Over Lunch)	<p>Thinking and Working Politically: from Evidence to Action C2 Chair: Heather Marquette (DFID and University of Birmingham) 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) and Verena Fritz (World Bank)</i></p>			
14:00 – 15:30: Parallel Session 3	<p>Thinking and Working Politically II D7</p> <p>Chair: Peter Evans (DFID) Paper 1:</p>	<p>State-Business Relations II C2</p> <p>Chair: Michael Walton (Harvard)</p>	<p>The Politics of Governing Natural Resources II D1</p> <p>Chair: Anne-Mette Kjaer (Aarhus University)</p>	<p>Rethinking the Politics of Developmental States D2</p> <p>Chair: Benjamin Chemouni (Cambridge and ESID)</p>

	<p>Organised crime, development and the potential unintended consequences of interventions: Lessons for thinking and working politically – <i>Heather Marquette (University of Birmingham) and Miriam Light (DFID)</i></p> <p>Paper 2: Donor-funded reform coalitions: The case of the Philippines – <i>Gerard Clarke (University of Swansea)</i></p> <p>Paper 3: Power, agency and development: Unpacking politics in Melanesia – <i>Glenn Banks, Regina Scheyvens, Litea Meo-Sewabu, Hennah Steven and Suli Vunipolo (Massey University)</i></p>	<p>Paper 1: The political economy of private sector growth in the Middle East – <i>Adeel Malik (Oxford) and Ishac Diwan (Harvard)</i></p> <p>Paper 2: Are women less likely to receive good deals? A cross-country firm level analysis – <i>Sayema Haque Bidisha (University of Dhaka) *</i></p> <p>Paper 3: 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>Paper 1: Economic nationalism? Domestic gas, rent capture and power generation: A comparative analysis of Mozambique and Tanzania – <i>Thabit Jacob (Roskilde University), Padil Salimo (Roskilde University) and Jose Jaime Macuane (University of Eduardo Mondlane) *</i></p> <p>Paper 2: Moving straight to Norway: Are ‘best-practice’ reforms helping Africa’s new oil producers to govern oil effectively? – <i>Kojo Asante, Sam Hickey and Giles Mohan (University of Manchester) *</i></p> <p>Paper 3: Sustaining the unsustainable? Political institutions and development in Sub-Saharan Africa’s resource economies – <i>Alecia Ndlovu (University of Cape Town)</i></p> <p>Discussant: <i>Ricardo Soares de Oliveira (University of</i></p>	<p>Paper 1: Against legitimacy? The democratic deficit of developmental state theory – <i>Jamie Doucette (University of Manchester)</i></p> <p>Paper 2: Developmental states in the twenty-first century: From urgency to agency – <i>Judit Ricz (Hungarian Academy of Sciences)</i></p> <p>Paper 3: Conglomerates and Organisational Integration of Rents: Rethinking the Developmental State through the lenses of Business Groups – <i>Farwa Sial (SOAS and Manchester) and Antonio Andeoni (SOAS)</i></p> <p>Paper 4: Varieties of economic transformation in Africa: The politics of difference in ‘developmental states’ – <i>Pritish Behuria (University of Manchester)*</i></p>
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15:30 – 16:00:	Tea and Coffee Break C15			
16:00 – 17:30: Parallel Session 4	<p>Rethinking the Politics of Development II D7</p> <p>Chair: Tim Kelsall (ODI and ESID)</p> <p>Paper 1: Elite cohesion and institutional development in weak states – <i>Rachel Strohm (University of California, Berkeley)</i></p> <p>Paper 2: The politics of change: Addressing inequalities in the development agenda – <i>Anna Chernova (Oxfam)</i></p> <p>Paper 3: Institutional externalities: Structural arrangements and their distributive effects – <i>Nadia Von Jacobi (University of Pavia) and Alex Nicolls (University of Oxford)</i></p>	<p>The Political Economy of Transformation in Africa C2</p> <p>Chair: Pritish Behuria (University of Manchester)</p> <p>Paper 1: Facing up to Africa’s development challenge: Rethinking the political economy of transformation – <i>David Booth (ODI)</i></p> <p>Paper 2: 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>Paper 3: The jobs gap: Making inclusive growth work in Africa – <i>Kartik Akileswaran (Tony Blair Institute for Global Change)</i></p>	<p>State Capacity I: War and Revenue D1</p> <p>Chair: Marianne Ulriksen (University of Southern Denmark)</p> <p>Paper 1: Fiscal capacity in times of war: Bolivia, Chile and Peru during the War of the Pacific (1879-1883) – <i>Jose Peres Cajias (Universitat de Barcelona) and Oriol Sabate Domingo (Lund University)</i></p> <p>Paper 2: Wars, conquests and state capacity: Conflicting legacies of precolonial centralization under the 19th century Merina Empire – <i>Frank-Borge Wietzke (IBEI)</i></p> <p>Paper 3: What determines administrative capacity in developing countries? – <i>Antonio Savoia (University of Manchester), Kunal Sen</i></p>	<p>The Politics of Service Delivery D2</p> <p>Chair: Anuradha Joshi (IDS)</p> <p>Paper 1: Two-headed monsters? The politics of public-private relations in water & sanitation provision in Brazil – <i>Isadora Araujo Cruxen (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)</i></p> <p>Paper 2: Varieties of bureaucracy: How frontline agencies implement primary education in rural India – <i>Akshay Mangla (University of Oxford)</i></p> <p>Paper 3: Public service and state legitimacy: Challenging the idea of a linear link – <i>Aoife Mccullough (ODI) and Clare Cummings (University of Manchester)</i></p>

		<p>Paper 4: Getting out of the learning trap: African-owned firms building capabilities to compete in global value chains – <i>Lindsay Whitfield (Roskilde) and Cornelia Staritz (University of Vienna)</i></p>	<p><i>(UNU-WIDER) and Roberto Ricciuti (University of Verona)*</i></p> <p>Paper 4: Tax base erosion: A cautionary tale of the DR Congo – <i>Laure Gnassou (Independent Economist)</i></p>	
<p>17:45 – 19:15: Plenary 5</p>	<p>The Politics of Growth and Human Development C2 Chair: Tim Kelsall (ESID and ODI) <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></p>			
<p>19:30:</p>	<p>Conference Barbecue with drinks and music by Manchester-based singer-songwriter Hannah Ashcroft</p>			

Day 3, Wednesday, 11 September, 2019

<p>9:00 – 10:30: Parallel Session 5</p>	<p>Governing Cities D1 Chair: Indrajit Roy (York) Paper 1: Maintaining dominance in capital cities: A comparison of Ethiopia and Uganda – <i>Eyob Balcha Gebremariam (LSE) Tom Goodfellow (University of Sheffield) *</i> Paper 2: Seeking dominance in capital cities: A comparison of</p>	<p>Tax and the Social Contract D2 Chair: Antonio Savoia (Manchester) Paper 1: Fiscal capacity in non-democratic states – <i>Per Andersson (European University Institute)</i> Paper 2: Sorting out the confusion: Conceptualising the fiscal contract – <i>Ane Karoline Bak</i></p>	<p>State Capacity II: Pockets of Effectiveness (PoEs) C2 Chair: Abdul-Gafaru Abdulai (Legon and ESID) Paper 1: Bureaucratic 'PoEs' as windows onto the politics of state- building in Africa: Comparative insights from a political settlements perspective – <i>Sam Hickey (Manchester) et al *</i></p>	<p>The Transnational Politics of Development I D7 Chair: Pritish Behuria (University of Manchester) Paper 1: The state, local industrial development and market-seeking GVCs: The case of pharmaceuticals in South Africa – <i>Rory Horner (University of Manchester)</i> Paper 2:</p>
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	<p>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>Paper 3: 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>Paper 4: Understanding how civil society contributes to urban inclusion in India – <i>Diana Mitlin (University of Manchester) *</i></p>	<p><i>(Aarhus University)</i></p> <p>Paper 3: The new politics of revenue bargaining – <i>Marianne Ulriksen (University of Southern Denmark) and Anne-Mette Kjaer (Aarhus University)</i></p>	<p>Paper 2: Beyond executive will: When merely interested or inattentive elites foster PoEs in state administration – <i>Erin McDonnell (University of Notre Dame)</i></p> <p>Paper 3: 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>The politics of banking regulation in developing countries in an era of financial globalization – <i>Emily Jones (University of Oxford)</i></p> <p>Paper 3: The dynamics of dispersed global governance: Explaining ‘developing’ country challenges to the global governance of foreign direct investment – <i>Stephen Buzdugan (Manchester Metropolitan University)</i></p> <p>Paper 4: The politics of trade protection in North Africa – <i>Adeel Malik (University of Oxford)</i></p>
10:30 – 11:00:	Tea and coffee break C15			
11:00 – 12:30: Parallel Session 6	<p>Power and the Contested Politics of Inclusion C2</p> <p>Chair: Emmanuel Gyimah-Boadi (Afrobarometer, Ghana)</p> <p>Paper 1:</p>	<p>Thinking and Working Politically III D7</p> <p>Chair: Maia King (University of Oxford)</p> <p>Paper 1: Interrogating the new politics</p>	<p>State Capacity III: State-Building and Performance D1</p> <p>Chair: Erin McDonnell (University of Notre-Dame)</p> <p>Paper 1: The politics of state-building</p>	<p>The Transnational Politics of Development II D2</p> <p>Chair: Rory Horner (Manchester)</p> <p>Paper 1: In China’s wake: A typology</p>

	<p>Rethinking empowerment and accountability in difficult settings – <i>John Gaventa (IDS) and Katy Oswald (IDS)</i></p> <p>Paper 2: Why does inclusion matter? Assessing the links between inclusive processes and inclusive outcomes – <i>Alina Rocha Menocal (ODI)</i></p> <p>Paper 3: National identity data bases, asymmetric information and asymmetric power: A political settlements analysis – <i>Mushtaq Khan and Pallavi Roy (SOAS)</i></p>	<p>of development – <i>Rajesh Venugopal (LSE)</i></p> <p>Paper 2: Fighting the party machine: Outsiders’ incentives for programmatic governance reform in emerging democracies – <i>Jonathan Phillips (University of São Paulo)</i></p> <p>Paper 3: 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>Discussant for Thinking and Working Politically Stream: <i>Taylor Brown (Palladium)</i></p>	<p>in Africa: The cases of Ghana and Rwanda – <i>Abdul-Gafaru Abdulai (University of Ghana) and Benjamin Chemouni (University of Cambridge) *</i></p> <p>Paper 2: 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>Paper 3: 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>of political-economic trajectories among resource-exporters during the commodity boom – <i>Nicholas Jepson (University of Manchester)</i></p> <p>Paper 2: Labour rights: It’s all our business – <i>Naomi Hossain (IDS) *</i></p> <p>Paper 3: 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>
12:30 – 14:00:	Lunch C15			
14:00 – 15:30: Plenary 6: Closing Roundtable	<p>Moving the Politics and Development Agenda Forward C2</p> <p>Chair: Sam Hickey (ESID and GDI, University of Manchester)</p> <p>Panellists: <i>David Booth (ODI), Naomi Hossain (IDS and ESID) and Chigo Mtegha-Gelders (Head of Profession for Governance, DFID).</i></p>			