University of Toronto
Department of Political Science

POL410/2391H: **TOPICS IN COMPARATIVE POLITICS**

THE POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS OF DEVELOPMENT:
ELITES, REVENUE, CONFLICT AND AID

Time: Monday 1700-1900
Place: Larking Building 340
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220 Munk School of Global Affairs Building, 315 Bloor St.
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Office hours: Tuesday 1615-1800

Overview

This course explores the foundations of successful development by focusing on factors that explain the emergence of effective and responsive states. Development discourse has tended to be dominated by debates focused on 'getting policy right', 'building capacity' and 'institutional design'. By contrast, an emerging field of inquiry has attempted to step back from these comparatively technical debates to identify the political origins of state capacity, institutions and accountability. This 'state building approach' has focused on elite political settlements and state-society relationships in order to better understand the incentives for states to be responsive and accountable to citizens.

This seminar puts forth the argument that successful development depends on moving beyond a standard set of policies and institutions to better understanding the deep political foundations of effective developmental states. In exploring the foundations of state building this seminar has four broad parts. The first introduces the basis for a state building approach to development, focusing particularly the experience of the Newly Industrialized Countries (NICs) of East Asia. The second introduces an increasingly prominent body of research that traces state behavior to the need to address three basic challenges: resisting external threats, managing domestic conflict and raising revenue. The third looks in more depth at the connections between state revenue, governance and conflict. Finally, the fourth section focuses on various implications of a state-building approach for understanding the role of international actors in promoting development.

This course addresses emerging areas of scholarship and will not offer any ready made answers to the key challenges of development. Instead, it aims to engage you in thinking in new and challenging ways about the political foundations of development, and about what this implies for the international community.

Reading for the Course

This syllabus identifies required readings for each topic (*), plus supplementary readings. You should find the latter useful in preparing your presentations and essay and for following up on subjects which particularly interest you. Obviously, you must read the required readings each week if we are to have a stimulating seminar.

The required reading for the course will be available through online resources provided by the library. This is a pilot program by which the library provides all resources online, and accessible through Blackboard. To access the reading look for the link to "Library Course Reserves" on your Blackboard "My Page", which will lead to all of the materials. Instructions for accessing the reading can also be found in the "Course Materials" section of the course page on Blackboard.

Because the materials may not all be loaded by the beginning of classes, I will post the reading directly on the course Blackboard page in the interim, in the "Reading" section.

Course Requirements

The course requirements are as follows:

   i. Term paper 40%
   ii. In-class presentation 20%
   iii. Response Class 10%
   iv. Critical reflection on the required readings 10%
   v. Contribution to seminar discussions 20%

In-Class Presentations

Beginning in Week 3, each session will include a 10-20 minute presentation by members of the class based on the readings for that week. Each presentation will involve 2-3 students working as a group, and each class member will make one presentation over the course of the term. In the week in which you make your presentation you are required to submit a detailed outline of your presentation by noon on the Friday _before_ your presentation, in order to allow those responsible for the response (described below) to prepare.

Please be ready at our second session on **September 19th** to provide a list of three sessions that you would be willing to lead, **bearing in mind that your presentation cannot be on the same topic as your Term Paper**. The schedule of presentations will be available by the end of Week 2, and I will do my best to assign you one of your top choices.

A central aim of this assignment is to assist each participant in the important skill of presenting concise, coherent, and persuasive oral reports. You should think of your presentation as an oral essay. It is not sufficient to summarize the material in the readings – you need to develop a clear argument that critically captures and evaluates the

key message(s) from the readings.   Prior to our Week 2 class I will distribute guidelines for the presentations for each week, which will highlight the key issues and questions on which the presentations should focus, and around which the discussion will revolve. **Everyone should read these guidelines prior to class each week, in our to bear them in mind while doing the weekly reading.**

Along with a sound analysis an effective presentation should be well organized, should be clear and should be well delivered:

Organization: Sufficient signposts guide your listeners through your argument; everyone is always aware of the relevance of the point you are making. (One experienced speaker summarized his advice this way: "Tell your audience what you are going to say, say it, and then tell them what you said.")

Clarity: Avoid ambiguity and vagueness by adhering to your outlined, clearly connected, points. Avoid jargon. Explain all concepts concisely.

Delivery: Don't read an essay aloud – speak from notes. Slow down to ensure that you are being clear. Make eye contact. Do you notice puzzled looks or signs of boredom? If so, try to respond to these cues. Clarify the point you are making, or speak more slowly/loudly/with more emphasis.

You should absolutely rehearse your presentation, perhaps before a sympathetic listener or tape recorder. You will discover whether you have too much material to cover in 20-25 minutes. ***Please note that the instructor will terminate presentations at the end of the allotted time (following warnings), so please be careful in gauging the length of your remarks.***

Response Class

In parallel to your in-class presentations, each student will also be responsible in one week – again normally in groups of 2 – for offering a response to the in-class presentation. That is, after the in-class presentation has been delivered, you and your colleague will be asked to respond to the presentation, for a maximum of 7 minutes total (3-4 minutes each). Each response will be different, but in general they should address all of the questions below, in so far as they are relevant in a given week:

1) Have the presenters focused on the core issue(s) and argument(s) from the reading accurately and completely? In answering you should re-state this key argument, in order to identify whether it has been well captured.

2) Are there important issues presented in the reading that were not addressed in the presentation? Are there issues that were addressed in the presentation, but in a way that did not capture the full nuance or importance of the issue?

3) The presenters were asked to also identify limitations of the reading; that is, questions that should have been addressed, question that are not answered

adequately, or aspects of the argument that are not persuasive in relation to the broader topic. Have the presenters identified such issues, or are there issues that need greater attention?

The goal is <u>not</u> fundamentally to critique the presentation by your colleagues. The goal, instead, is to build on that presentation by drawing further attention to the core argument being made (in the reading and presentation), by highlighting any issues that were not addressed, or which could benefit from additional nuance, and by offering a further reflection on, and critique or, the reading itseld.

Critical Reflections

You should write 2-3 (1000-1500 words) single-spaced pages summarizing and assessing the cogency of the argument(s) presented in the readings. The emphasis is on concise, focused thought. You need to identify each author's thesis, and respond critically to that thesis. Is the argument logically sound? Is it supported both by the evidence that the author cites and by further data or knowledge of which you are aware? Does the piece pose an 'important' question in a challenging manner? Is the article/book/excerpt well-organized and clearly written? Does the essay suggest interesting new avenues for thought or research? Does a particular argument support or contradict the thesis of another of the authors? Some of these questions, and perhaps others, should guide your critical reaction, while the critical reflection as a whole should read like a short essay, with a clear introduction, argument and conclusions, to go along with discussion of the content of individual readings.

Due date: You must submit your critical reflection **prior** to the class in which those readings are to be discussed. You may select to write about the readings in any week other than Week 12, but <u>cannot</u> selected to write your critical reflection during the same "Part" of the course as your in-class presentation. That is, if your presentation is during Part 2 of the class (Weeks 3-6, as captured in the Reading List), then you will need to do your critical reflection during Part 3, and vice versa.

Evaluation: The evaluation will be based on the following criteria: (a) capacity to synthesize complex ideas; (b) familiarity with the material you have selected to review, (c) clarity and conciseness of expression, and (d) effectiveness in taking a clear and critical position on issues.

Term Paper

Every student will be required to write an essay of about 5,000 words (20 double-spaced pages). The essay should address one (or possibly several) of the themes raised in the class through a focused empirical investigation of a particular case or issue area. Thus, you might explore one of the class topics through a particular country case study (or comparison of two cases), or you may select a particular policy issue for deeper investigation (e.g. international anti-corruption efforts, post-conflict constitution writing, the international drug trade, aid policy in fragile states etc…). The essay should reflect

significant reading beyond the sources listed in this syllabus, but should also engage directly with at least one of the course readings, in order to ensure that you are building on core ideas from the course.

Due Date: The essay will be due in or before class on December 7th. The paper should be submitted in hard copy, while you must also submit the paper through turnitin.com. You are required to submit a paper proposal no later than November 14th, which will be worth 10% of the final paper grade (4% of your total grade). The paper proposal should be no longer than 300 words, and should concisely state you proposed topic, research question and focus. Early submission is welcome.

Rough Work: Students are strongly advised to keep rough and draft work and hard copies of their assignment before handing them in. These should be kept until the marked assignments have been returned. All graded assignments are to be kept by students until the grades have been posted on ROSI.

Late penalty: There will be a penalty of 3% per day for late papers (including weekends i.e. penalties will continue to accrue at 3% per day over the weekend). Papers handed in after class but before 5pm on the due date will be subject to a 1% penalty. Late papers must be submitted to the Politics department on the 3rd floor of Sidney Smith during business hours. You must ensure that the paper is dated and stamped. You should never attempt to submit your paper by leaving it under an office door or sending it by e-mail or fax.

Plagiarism

Plagiarism is a most serious academic offense and the offender will be punished. In the academy where the currency of the realm is ideas, to cite someone else's words or thinking without due attribution is theft. It *is not sufficient merely to list your sources in the bibliography or to only use footnotes*.   You must ensure that you identify and attribute all of your sources in text, whether you are quoting them directly or paraphrasing them.

Please see http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize and http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sourcesfor two important documents entitled *How Not to Plagiarize* and *Standard Documentation Formats* respectively.

Should you require any further assistance with how to properly reference and footnote your work, please consult one of the many guides available in the library or the Writing Center.

Turnitin.com

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the

Turnitin.com website.

While I hope that all students will make use of Turnitin.com, if you object to using Turnitin.com please see me to establish appropriate alternative arrangements for submission of your written assignments. This will involve devising alternative methods for verifying the originality of your work, likely including submitting rough work along with your essay and having a brief interview about the work with the instructor.

How to Contact Me

Please feel free to stop by my office during our office hours. If you can't make those, you should set up an alternative appointment by e-mail.

I will do my best to respond to e-mails within 48hrs. Please note that I will not, however, be routinely checking e-mails on weekends or after hours so do not leave your requests or queries to the last minute.

At times, I may decide to send out important course information by email. To that end, all UofT students are required to have a valid UofT email address. You are responsible for ensuring that your UofT email address is set up AND properly entered in the ROSI system.

Blackboard

Like many other courses, POL410 uses Blackboard for its course website. To access the website, go to the UofT portal login page at http://portal.utoronto.ca and log in using your UTORid and password. Once you have logged in to the portal using your UTORid and password, look for the **My Courses** module, where you'll find the link to the POL301 course website along with the link to all your other Blackboard-based courses.

PART 1: POLICY, INSTITUTIONS AND DEVELOPMENTAL STATES

1. **Rethinking Development: The Limits of Policy and Institutional Transfer** (Sept. 12)

These readings are not strictly required, as the first class is an introduction, and we will return to these readings later in the course. That said, they provide a good entry point to understanding the broad perspective being adopted, and some of the core issues to be addressed, and will thus be useful in preparing for what is to follow

*Moore, Mick. 2001. Political Underdevelopment: What Causes 'Bad Governance'? *Public Management Review* 3 (3): 385-418.

*Evans, Peter. 2004. 'The Dangers of Monocropping: Development as Institutional Change and the Potential of Deliberation' *Studies in Comparative International Development* 38(4): 30-52

*Collier, Paul. *Wars, Guns and Votes*. New York: HarperCollins. Chapter 1 "Votes and Violence" 15-44

Kohli, Atul. 2004. *State-Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1

Newell, Peter, and Joanna Wheeler. 2006. Rights, Resources and the Politics of Accountability: An Introduction. *Rights, Resources and the Politics of Accountability*, edited by P. Newell and J. Wheeler. London: Zed Books.

Migdal, Joel. 2001. *State in Society: Studying How States and Societies Transform and Constitute Each Other*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2, "A Model of State-Society Relations" and Chapter 3, "Strong States, Weak States: Power and Accommodation"

2. **What Makes Some Governments More Effective Than Others? The Political Economy of Developmental States** (Sept. 19)

Note: Submit a list of your 3 choices for seminar presentations today.

*Page, John. 1994. The East Asian Miracle: An Introduction. *World Development* 22 (4):615-625.

*Amsden, Alice. 1991. Diffusion of Development: The Late-Industrializing Model and Greater East Asia. *The American Economic Review* 81 (2):282-286.

*Evans, Peter. 'The State as Problem and Solution: Predation, embedded autonomy and structural change'. S. Haggard and R. Kaufman (eds), *The Politics of Economic Adjustment*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 139-181

*Jenkins, Rhys. 1991. 'The Political Economy of Industrialization: A Comparison of Latin American and East Asian Newly Industrializing Countries'. *Development and Change* 22: 197-231.

Wade, Robert. 1996. Japan, the World Bank and the Art of Paradigm Maintenance: The East Asian Miracle in Political Perspective. *New Left Review* 217:3-36.

Waldner, David. 1999. *State-Building and Late Development*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapters 1 and 2.

PART II: WHY DO SOME GOVERNMENTS PRIORITIZE DEVELOPMENT?

3. **Managing Domestic Conflict: Elite Pacts, Accommodation and Governance** (Sept. 26)

*North, Douglass, Wallis, John and Weingast, Barry. 2009. *Violence and Social Orders: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting Recorded Human History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1 "The Conceptual Framework" pp. 1-29

*Leftwich, Adrian. 2011. Beyond Institutions: Rethinking the Role of Leaders, Elites and Coalitions in the Institutional Formation of Developmental States and Strategies. *Forum for Development Studies* 37 (1):93-111

*Reno, William. *Warlord Politics and African States*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers. Chapter 4, 'Sierra Leone's Transition to Warlord Politics' pp 113-145

*Kingston and Zahar. 2004. Rebuilding a House of Many Mansions: The Rise and Fall of Militia Cantons in Lebanon. *States Within States: Incipient Political Entities in the Post-Cold War Era*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

*Hassan, Mirza and Prichard, Wilson. 2013. The Political Economy of Tax Reform in Bangladesh: Political Settlements, Informal Institutions and the Negotiation of Reform. IDS Working Paper 14. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.

Booth, David. 2011. Aid, Institutions and Governance: What Have We Learned? *Development Policy Review* 29 (S1):S5-S26.

Weingast, Barry. 2011. The Failure to Transplant Democracy, Markets and the Rule of Law into the Developing World. Paper read at The Annual Proceedings of the Wealth and Well Being of Nations.

Di John, Jonathan, and James Putzel. 2009. Political Settlements. *GSDRC Issues Paper*. London: Department for International Development.

4. **Threats and Development: War, Revenue and Domestic Mobilization** (Oct. 3)

*Doner, Richard, Bryan Ritchie, and Dan Slater. 2005. Systemic Vulnerability and the Origins of Developmental States: Northeast and Southeast Asia in Comparative Perspective. *International Organization* 59:327-361.

*Slater, Dan. 2010. *Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 2 pp. 3-54

*Herbst, Jeffrey. 2000. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 4 "The Political Kingdom in Africa" pp. 97-136

*Centeno, Angel. 2002. Blood and Debt. Chapter 3 "Making the State" pp. 101-166

Bates, Robert. 2001. *Prosperity and Violence.* New York: W.W. Norton.

Brewer, John. 1989. *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688-1783*. New York: Alfred A Knopf.

Centeno, Angel. 1997. Blood and Debt-War and Taxation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America. *American Journal of Sociology* 102 (6):1565-1605.

Jackson, Robert. 1991. *Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations and the Third World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Thies, Cameron. 2007. 'The Political Economy of State Building in Sub-Saharan Africa'. *The Journal of Politics* 69 (3): 716-731.

5. Taxation, State-Building and Accountability (Oct. 17)

*Prichard, Wilson. 2015. *Taxation, Responsiveness and Accountability in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Dynamics of Tax Bargaining*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1, Chapter 8

*Brautigam, Deborah. 2008. 'Taxation and State-Building in Developing Countries.' Brautigam, D., O-H Fjeldstad and M. Moore (eds.) *Taxation and State Building in Developing Countries: Capacity and Consent.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Levi, Margaret. *Of Rule and Revenue*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Chapter 2 "The Theory of Predatory Rule" pp. 1-47

Moore, Mick. 2008. 'Between Coercion and Contract: Competing Narratives on Taxation and Governance.' Brautigam, D., O-H Fjeldstad and M. Moore (eds.) *Taxation and State Building in Developing Countries: Capacity and Consent.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Prichard, Wilson. 2009. 'The Politics of Taxation and Implications for Accountability in Ghana 1981-2008' *IDS Working Paper 330.* Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.

Prichard, Wilson. 2010. 'Taxation and State Building: Towards a Governance Focused Tax Reform Agenda,' *IDS Working Paper.* Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.

Chaudhry, Kiren Aziz. 1997. *The Price of Wealth: Economies and Institutions in the Middle East*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Schumpeter, J. A. (1991 [1918]) 'The Crisis of the Tax State' in R. A. Swedberg (ed.) Joseph A. Schumpeter. *The Economics and Sociology of Capitalism.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. pp.

Ross, Michael. 2009. 'Oil and Democracy Revisited'. Department of Political Science, UCLA.

6. Resources, Conflict and Weak Governance (Oct. 24)

*Collier, Paul, Anke Hoeffler, and Dominic Rohner. 2009. 'Beyond Greed and Grievance: Feasibilty and Civil War'. *Oxford Economic Papers* 61 (1):1-27.

*Snyder, Richard, and Ravi Bhavnani. 2005. Diamonds, Blood and Taxes: A Revenue-Centered Framework for Explaining Political Order. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49 (4):563-597.

Morrison, Kevin. 2009. Oil, Nontax Revenue and the Redistributional Foundations of Regime Stability. *International Organization* 63 (1):107-138.

Humphreys, Macartan. 2005. 'Natural Resources, Conflict, and Conflict Resolution'. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(4): 508-537

Reno, William. 1995. Corruption and State Politics in Sierra Leone. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 5 "An Exchange of State Services: State Power and the Diamond Business" pp. 104-129

Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoefller. 2004. Greed and Grievance in Civil War. *Oxford Economic Papers* 56 (4):563-96.

PART III: POLICY IMPLICATIONS: INTERNATIONAL ACTORS AND IMPROVED DEVELOPMENT OUTCOMES

7. Donors and Politics: Can aid be politically smarter? (Oct. 31)

*Carothers, T. and D. de Gramont (2013). Development Aid Confront Politics: The Almost Revolution. Washington D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "Chapter 1: The New Politics Agenda" pp. 3-17

*Booth, David. 2011. Aid Effectiveness: Bringing Country Ownership (and politics) Back In. *Overseas Development Institute Working Paper 336*.

*Watch the series of five videos here: https://www.odi.org/events/3183-politics-development-thomas-carothers-public-good-service-delivery

OECD. 2009. *Do No Harm: International Support for State Building*. Paris: OECD. "Introduction", Chapter 1 "Donor Impact on Statebuilding: The Macro Perspective" pp. 1-19

Reno, William. 1996. 'The Ironies of Post-Cold War Structural Adjustment in Sierra Leone'. *Review of African Political Economy*. 23(67): 7-18

Human Rights Watch. 2010. Development Without Freedom: How Aid Underwrites Repression in Ethiopia. New York: Human Rights Watch

Clapham, Christopher. 1996. Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 244-266

Reno, William. 2000. Liberia and Sierra Leone: The Competition for Patronage in Resource-Rich Economies. In *War, Hunger and Displacement: The Origins of Humanitarian Emergencies*, edited by E. W. Nafziger, F. Stewart and R. Vayrynen. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Englebert, Pierre, and Dennis Tull. 2008. Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Africa: Flawed Ideas about Failed States. *International Security* 32 (4):106-139.

Hartzell, Caroline, Matthew Hoddie, and Molly Bauer. 2010. Economic Liberalization via IMF Structural Adjustment: Sowing the Seeds of Civil War. *International Organization* 2 (339-356).

8. **Keeping the Peace and Encouraging Cooperation: Constitutions and Post-Conflict Settlements** (Nov. 14)

*Spears, Ian. 2010. *Civil War in African States: The Search for Security*. Boulder: First Forum Books. Chapter 1 "The Search for Security in Africa" pp. 1-9

*Roeder, Philip, and Donald Rothchild. 2005. Dilemmas of State-Building in Divided Societies. *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy After Civil War*, edited by P. Roeder and D. Rothchild. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. pp. 1-25.

*Hoddie, Matthew, and Caroline Hartzell. 2010. Introduction. In *Strengthening Peace in Post-Civil War States: Transforming Spoilers into Stakeholders*, edited by M. Hoddie and C. Hartzell. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Pp. 1-28

*Walter, Barbara. 2009. Bargaining Failures and Civil War. *Annual Review of Political*

Science 12: 243-261.

9. Do No Harm: Donors, Institutions and State-Society Relations (Nov. 21)

*OECD. 2009. *Do No Harm: International Support for State Building*. Paris: OECD. Chapter 2 "Trade-Offs in Aid Delivery Mechanisms and Their Impact on Policy Processes" pp. 1-35

*Moss, Pettersson and van de Walle. 2006. An Aid-Institutions Paradox? Center for Global Development Working Paper. Washington D.C.: Center for Global Development

*Brautigam, Deborah, and Stephen Knack. 2004. Foreign Aid, Institutions and Governance in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 52:255-285.

Barder, Owen. 2009. Beyond Planning: Markets and Networks for Better Aid. CGD Working Paper 185. Washington D.C.: Center for Global Development.

Acharya, Arnab, Ana Teresa Fuzzo de Lima, Mick Moore. 2006. 'Proliferation and Fragmentation: Transactions Costs and the Value of Aid'. *Journal of Development Studies* 42(1): 1-21.

10. The International Causes of Underdevelopment: The Case of Natural Resource Exploitation (Nov. 28)

*Moore, Mick. 2001. Political Underdevelopment: What Causes 'Bad Governance'? *Public Management Review* 3 (3): 385-418.

*OECD. 2011. Addressing the International Drivers of Corruption at the Country Level: Draft Framework. Paris: OECD.

*Haufler, Virginia. Disclosure as Governance: The Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative and Resource Management in the Developing World. *Global Environmental Politics* 10 (3): 53-73.

*Wright, Clive. 2007. Tackling Conflict Diamonds: The Kimberley Process Certification Scheme. *International Peacekeeping* 11 (4):697-708.

*Vogel, C. and Raeymaekers, T. 2016. Terr(ito)rr(ies) of Peace? The Congolese Mining Frontier and the Fight Against "Conflict Minerals". Antipode 48(4): 1102-21.

Cooper, Neil. 2002. State Collapse as Business: The Role of Conflict Trade and the Emerging Control Agenda. *Development and Change* 33 (5): 935-955.

Samset, Ingrid. 2002. Conflict of Interests or Interests in Conflict? Diamonds and War in the DRC. *Review of African Political Economy* 29 (93-94):463-480.

Blore, Shawn, and Ian Smilie. 2011. Taming the Resource Curse: Implementing the ICGLR Certification Mechanism for Conflict-Prone Minerals. Ottawa: Partnership Africa Canada.

11. Beyond Aid as Development: Tax Havens, Drugs and Guns (Dec. 5)

*Herkenrath, Marc. 2014. Illicit Financial Flows and their Development Impacts: An Overview. *International Development Policy*. 5(3)

Palan, Ronen, Richard Murphy, and Christian Chavagneux. 2010. *Tax Havens: How Globalization Really Works*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapter 7 "Issues in Development" pp. 172-181

*Andreas, Peter and A. Duran-Martinez. 2013. The International Politics of Drugs and Illicit Trade in the Americas. Watson Institute for International Studies Working Paper No. 2013-05.

Aning, Emmanuel Kwesi. 2013. Drug Trafficking and Threats to National and Regional Security in West Africa. *West African Commission on Drugs Background Paper No. 1*.

Felbab-Brown, Vanda. 2010. *Shooting Up: Counterinsurgency and the War on Drugs*. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution. Pp. 1-34

*Devoto, M. P., and H. Guerra. 2015. Arms Trade Regulation and Sustainable Development: The Next 15 Years. *Sur- International Journal on Human Rights* 12(22): 133-143

Collier, Paul. 2009. *Wars, Guns and Votes: Democracy in Dangerous Places*. New York: HarperCollins. Chapter 4 "Guns: Fueling the Fire" pp.103-120

12. Conflict, Democracy and Development (Dec. 7)

*Collier, Paul. *Wars, Guns and Votes*. New York: HarperCollins. Chapter 1 "Votes and Violence" 15-44

*Reilly, Benjamin. 2008. Post-Conflict Elections: Uncertain Turning Points of Transition. In *From War to Democracy: Dilemmas of Peacebuilding*, edited by A. K. Jarstad and T. D. Sisk. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

*Sisk, Timothy D. 2008. Elections in Fragile States: Between Voice and Violence. Paper at Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, March 24-28, at San Francisco.

*Ross, Michael. 2006. Is Democracy Good for the Poor? *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (4):860-874.

Snyder, Jack. 2000. From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapter 6 "Nationalism and Democracy in the Developing World" pp. 265-312