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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Bureau of Policy and Program Coordination (PPC) at the United States Agency for International Development seeks to become a “center of ideas,” a leading voice for new thinking on the future of foreign assistance. The Center for Institutional Reform and the Informal Sector (IRIS) at the University of Maryland, via the PPC IDEAS project, helps PPC to achieve this goal. IRIS makes top-notch expertise—on individuals and their prepared ideas—on international development and foreign policy issues from around the world available to assist USAID staff. IRIS, together with other appropriate experts, also produces research papers to inform policy papers and policy briefs. It also organizes and conducts seminars, workshops and other events to provide intellectual support for USAID’s policy agenda. The sum of this work is to help PPC identify, consider and use appropriate cutting-edge development policy ideas generated by academics, think-tank professionals, other development practitioners and other policy makers.

In its second year of activity, from October 2003 through September 2004, PPC IDEAS:

- Sponsored or conducted 10 events including 5 meetings to generate a draft fragile states strategy, a workshop to discuss USAID’s recent white paper on the effectiveness of foreign aid, a brown bag discussion on globalization, forums on transatlantic cooperation and a meeting on operationalizing USAID’s fragile states strategy.
- Supported studies on issues of governance and economics in the Muslim World, evaluating USAID’s democracy and governance activities, development in Iraq and education reform.
- Conducted the analysis that underpins USAID’s new fragile states strategy.
- Distributed 13 e-bulletins to USAID on relevant topics such as the Middle East, globalization, fragile states and aid effectiveness.

Approximately 270 development practitioners, scholars and policy experts were involved in PPC IDEAS projects during the year. Over 60 experts and USAID officials contributed to PPC IDEAS papers, events and workshops. More than 200 individuals attended 10 PPC IDEAS events.

IRIS continues to disseminate ideas showcased by PPC IDEAS activities, principally through the IRIS Web site. Informal feedback indicates that USAID staff and others are using the ideas and other outputs generated by the PPC IDEAS program in their work.

Currently, PPC IDEAS is carrying out several activities, including:

- Completion of the substantive elements of a fragile states strategy for application by USAID in failing, failed and recovering states.
- Development of a fragile states assessment tool for use by USAID in implementing its fragile states strategy.
- Continued support of USAID’s development of Muslim World Outreach activities.
- Additional assistance in shaping USAID’s new conceptual approach for foreign assistance.
- Organizing a brown bag series to focus on policy issues being addressed by USAID.
- Provision of an e-bulletin series on cutting edge issues of interest to USAID policy makers.
- Expansion of a collection of articles, books, journals and other documentation on the current development policy and strategy perspectives for use by PPC.

In the coming year, PPC IDEAS plans to complete its support for development of USAID’s fragile states strategy. PPC will also help USAID develop a fragile states assessment tool, contribute to USAID’s core development strategy, review USAID’s relationship between security and development, contribute to USAID’s work with the Muslim world and provide intellectual support to USAID as it considers other policy issues.

OVERVIEW: INTELLECTUAL LEADERSHIP AGENDA SUPPORT, OR PPC IDEAS

The PPC IDEAS project supports the development, production, and dissemination of policy related products by the Bureau of Policy and Program Coordination (PPC) in USAID. PPC seeks to become a “center of ideas,” a leading voice for new thinking on the future of foreign assistance. The Center for Institutional Reform and the Informal Sector (IRIS) at the University of Maryland, via the PPC IDEAS project, helps PPC to achieve this goal. IRIS makes specialized expertise—individuals and their prepared ideas—on international development and foreign policy issues from around the world available to assist USAID staff. IRIS, together with other appropriate experts, also produces research for policy papers and policy briefs. It organizes and conducts seminars, workshops and other events to provide intellectual support for USAID’s policy agenda. The sum of this work and coordination of global expertise by IRIS is to help PPC identify, consider and use appropriate cutting-edge ideas generated by academics, think tank professionals, development practitioners and other policy makers around the world for policy and strategy development.

PPC IDEAS ACTIVITIES

The following activities were carried out during the second year of the PPC IDEAS Program, from October 2003 through September 2004:

REQUEST NO. 2002-02: ASSISTANCE IN SUPPORT OF THE MUSLIM WORLD INITIATIVE

Description: The Muslim World Initiative is designed to address important development needs within the Muslim world. As part of the Initiative, PPC formed a working group entitled, “Muslim World Outreach.” IRIS organized events and expertise for USAID involving interagency and think tank participation, and helped coordinate a survey of past and current

development projects in the Muslim World organized around justice, knowledge and opportunity. PPC IDEAS created and has maintained a website for this request containing information on past events and expertise, and includes links to recent seminal articles and additional resources on development in the Muslim World.



Ambassador A. Tariq Karim, Senior Advisor, Governance Institutions Team, IRIS Center (left) and Charles Cadwell, Director, IRIS Center (right). Cadwell and Ambassador Karim participated in the PPC IDEAS’ “Assistance in Support of the Muslim World Initiative.”

Also as part of the Muslim World Initiative, PPC IDEAS created an extensive database of experts on the Muslim World for use by USAID. The database is organized by country and area of expertise (i.e. governance, agriculture, education, etc.). To date we have identified over fifty experts whose bios are hosted on the PPC IDEAS internal website.

This year PPC IDEAS supported the completion of three studies to help with USAID’s Muslim World Initiative by coordinating the work of regional and topical experts. The experts on the outreach study were: Dr. Daniel Brumberg, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Dr. Robert Hefner, Boston University; Dr. Timur Kuran, University of Southern California; and Dr. Vali Nasr, Naval Post Graduate School. Dr. Peter Timmer of Development Alternatives Inc. assisted with the economics study.

Content: The studies produced were:

- “Muslim World Outreach Parameters for Constructive Engagement,” by Ann Phillips (February 2004);
- “Governance in the Muslim World,” by Ann Phillips and others (January 2004); and
- “Economic Growth in the Islamic World: How Can USAID Help,” by Donald McClelland and Peter Timmer (February 2004).



Dennis Wood, Deputy Director, PPC IDEAS, IRIS Center (left), listens to George Ingram, Executive Director, Basic Education Coalition (right), at the USAID workshop entitled, “The Challenge of Aid Effectiveness” on 7 May 2004.

REQUEST NO. 2003-04: SUPPORT TO THE REVOLUTIONIZING AID EFFORT - PHASE 1

Description: In February 2003, PPC and the IRIS Center conducted a USAID intra-agency symposium to discuss important new concepts, documents and international agreements on foreign assistance. Following the symposium, the Administrator of USAID concurred with the recommendation of the participants that a new USAID mission and core policy statement should

be formulated. PPC IDEAS helped support this effort via five activities over several months designed to further analyze, research and formulate a new strategy for USAID, culminating in a workshop to present the new USAID white paper entitled “U.S. Foreign Aid: Meeting the Challenges of the Twenty-first Century.”

On May 7, 2004, USAID held a white paper workshop, entitled “The Challenge of Aid Effectiveness: Options for U.S. Foreign Aid Reform.” The moderator for the event was Dr. Steve Krasner, Graham H. Stuart Professor of International Relations at Stanford University. Dr. Andrew Natsios, Administrator of USAID, opened the panel. Presenters were Barbara Turner, Acting Assistant Administrator for PPC, and George Ingram, Executive Director of the Basic Education Coalition. Participants included USAID personnel, leaders in the NGO community, Senate and House staff and members of other key government agencies.

Content: The USAID White Paper presents a new conceptual approach to focusing its foreign assistance program, with an overarching framework of five operational goals, each requiring a different strategy. During the May 2004 workshop to explore the implications of this white paper, Administrator Andrew Natsios emphasized that development does not result from sectoral improvements alone, but rather requires removing barriers to growth through governance reforms. He also called for a broader approach to economic growth with more budget flexibility to target assistance based on country conditions and better coordination of U.S. development objectives. Among the issues discussed at the workshop were the need to restructure U.S. foreign policy mechanisms, garner public support for foreign aid and the need to present specific operating plans for each of the five operational goals.

REQUEST NO. 2003-10: DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE RESEARCH DESIGN

Description: IRIS contracted the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) to develop a methodological and analytical strategy for a multiyear research effort aimed at evaluating the impact of USAID Democratic Governance programs. The project, known as the Sector Operational Research Agenda (SORA), made concrete recommendations regarding the administrative, management, personnel, budget and level of effort needed to sustain a research agenda. Additionally, SSRC reviewed and assessed past, selected USAID democracy and governance program evaluations. Lastly, SSRC convened and provided support to a “Democratization Technical Advisory Board,” consisting of outside experts in social science methodology, research and methods. This Advisory Board was charged with monitoring the research to ensure its adherence to high technical standards. Members of the Advisory Board included Robert Bates of Harvard University, Thomas D. Cook of Northwestern University, Charles Kurzman of the University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, Gail Lecce of USAID, Dietrich Rueschemeyer of Brown University, Mitchell A. Seligson of the University of Pittsburgh, Brian Silver of Michigan State University and John Tirman of SSRC.

Content: The results of this activity were the “Review of USAID Evaluations on Democracy and Governance” and the “Research Design to Evaluate the Impact of USAID Democracy and Governance Programs,” both by Kenneth Bollen, Pamela Paxton and Rumi Morishima, and the “Evaluation Plan for USAID Democracy and Governance Activities,” by John Tirman.

REQUEST NO. 2003-11: IRAQ ASSESSMENT

Description: IRIS provided an expert, Dr. Phebe Marr, to USAID to offer analysis, technical advice and operational recommendations for USAID’s review of selected aspects of Iraqi policy. The assessment was to focus on four issues

critical to the reconstruction and transformation of Iraq: (1) potential human rights abuses stemming from retribution and revenge, (2) the expansion of a shadow economy, (3) the atomization of the Iraqi state along ethnic and religious divisions and (4) the reconstitution of remnants of the Hussein regime’s security forces into criminal organizations. However, rapid change in the situation in Iraq truncated the activities needed.

Content: Dr. Marr analyzed and made recommendations on atomization of the Iraqi state along ethnic and religious divisions, and the reconstitution of remnants of the Hussein regime’s security forces into criminal organizations respectively. Her complete paper, “Iraqi Identity: Forces for Integration/Divisiveness,” is available through the internal PPC IDEAS website.



Nicole Ball, Visiting Senior Research Fellow at the Center for International Development and Conflict Management, University of Maryland (left) looks over materials pertaining to fragile states with Ann Phillips, Political Economy Policy Analyst, USAID/PPC (right) at the USAID workshop, “Toward the Development of a Fragile States Assessment Tool” on 17 September 2004.

REQUEST NO. 2003-12: FRAGILE STATES STRATEGY RESEARCH

Description: The purpose of this activity was to help USAID develop a strategy for assisting fragile states. To facilitate this effort, PPC IDEAS supported an IRIS effort that established a group of outside experts as a core working group to

collaborate with a senior group of USAID personnel. Core group members actively participated in meetings to shape the substance and process of the fragile states strategy.

Under the overall direction of Clifford Zinnes, Director of Research Coordination at the IRIS Center, three scholars served as team leaders of subgroups in the fragile states effort: Jack Goldstone of George Mason University, Jonathan Haughton of Suffolk University-Beacon Hill Institute for Public Policy and Karol Soltan of the University of Maryland. They drew upon a pool of experts that included: Charles Cadwell, Tariq Karim, Patrick Meagher and Dennis Wood from IRIS; Daron Acemoglu of MIT; Robert Bates of Harvard University; Avner Greif of Stanford University; Wally Oates of the University of Maryland; and Barry Weingast of Stanford University. Other experts who participated in planning meetings included Tom Schelling and John Steinbruner of the University of Maryland and Timur Kuran of the University of Southern California.

Content: A fragility framework was developed for



(left to right) Dr. Bernadette Kilroy, Office of Policy Planning, US Department of State; Dr. Geoffrey Garrett, Vice Provost and Dean of the International Institute, UCLA; Dr. Ann Phillips, Political Economy Policy Analyst, Policy and Program Coordination, USAID; Dr. Dennis Wood, Deputy Director, IRIS Center, before the brown bag event entitled, “Unpacking Globalization” on 26 January 2004.

use by USAID.

REQUEST NO. 2003-14: SUPPORT TO THE REVOLUTIONIZING AID EFFORT PHASE I

Description: To deepen USAID’s understanding of selected new ideas and development concepts and their implications for USAID programming, PPC IDEAS planned a series of brown bag events. In these discussions, outside experts present cutting-edge research and analysis for consideration by those in attendance. PPC IDEAS sends invitations and information on each expert and topic to participants prior to the brown bag meeting. Speakers comment for 30 minutes or so and ample time is reserved for participant comments and discussion during the event.

Content: The first of these events, entitled “Unpacking Globalization,” was held on January 26, 2004. Dr. Geoffrey Garrett, Vice Provost and Dean of the UCLA International Institute, Director of the Burkle Center for International Relations and UCLA Professor of Political Science, and Dr. Branko Milanovic, Senior Associate of the Global Policy Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, presented papers on the impact of globalization and the resulting policy implications.

REQUEST NO. 2003-15: SUPPORT FOR TRANSATLANTIC FORUM ON PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Description: At the request of PPC, IRIS contracted with the European Institute (EI), a leading Washington-based public-policy organization devoted to U.S.-European relations and cooperation on global issues, to facilitate a one-year forum between the European Institute, USAID and the European Commission under the umbrella concept of a “Transatlantic Forum on Public-Private Partnership for International Development.”

The aim of the Forum was to help alleviate transatlantic tensions, inform the debate on development, and encourage new avenues for

cooperation between governments and the private sector. In particular, the Forum was to encourage improved transatlantic cooperation between governments and the private sector in dealing with development issues.

Content: The Forum was launched by a luncheon discussion on "Achieving Economic Growth in Developing Economies," held on October 2, 2003. Andrew Natsios, Administrator of USAID, presented keynote remarks, and Gerard Depayré, Deputy Head of the Delegation of the European Commission to the United States, spoke at the event. Following the launch, on December 4, 2003, the European Institute convened the first Working Group session. The dialogue focused on the topic of "Economic Growth in Developing Economies: Priorities, Selectivity and Private Sector Development." It offered an opportunity for approximately 30 representatives from the U.S. and European governments, multilateral organizations, academic institutions and the private sector to explore the challenges to economic growth in an open and candid manner and to offer recommendations.

REQUEST NO. 2004-04: EDUCATION REFORM

Description: The objective of the Education Reform initiative was to help USAID create its final strategy for education reform. This project consolidated prior research, discussion and deliberation on USAID's education policy. In particular, the report addressed core operational goals in basic and higher education, workforce development, and training and integrated USAID's education policy with its recent white paper and with the 2002 U.S. National Security Strategy.

Content: To accomplish this initiative, Dr. Wesley Snyder, Research Professor at the University of Montana, Department of Educational Leadership, worked with USAID and IRIS to prepare working drafts of the educational strategy entitled, "Improving Lives

Through Learning: A Strategy for Education and Training Assistance in Developing Countries."



(left to right) Johannes Lehne, Counselor, International Finance and Development Affairs, Embassy of Germany; Dr. Norman K. Nicholson, Director, Program and Policy Coordination, Office of Development Partners, USAID; Barbara Turner, Acting-Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination, USAID; Jacqueline Grapin, President, The European Institute, at the "Transatlantic Forum on Public-Private Partnership for International Development," an event co-sponsored by IRIS/USAID and the European Commission.

REQUEST NO. 2004-06: SUPPORT IN DEVELOPING AN ASSESSMENT FRAMEWORK FOR FRAGILE STATES

Description: Based upon PPC IDEAS' previous work on the fragile states strategy and the work of USAID in this area, PPC IDEAS will assist in moving the fragility framework from the conceptual to the practical. The objective is to develop a methodology for conducting rigorous, generally field-based, investigations into the dynamics of fragility and translating that analysis into effective and actionable program options.

IRIS assembled a team of technical advisers to contribute to this effort. The team consists of a senior expert in each of the four institutional dimensions of the Fragility Framework: Dr. Nicole Ball, Center for International Policy (security dimension); Dr. Jack Goldstone, George Mason University (social dimension); Dr. Jonathon Haughton, Suffolk University (economic dimension); and Dr. Ronald

Oakerson, Houghton College (political dimension).

The kick-off session on September 17, 2004 initiated development of the assessment framework. Following the meeting, each of the senior technical advisors prepared a memo on how to assess institutional effectiveness and legitimacy for their respective domain. The USAID team and the advisors are now developing an assessment framework for use in field tests in the coming months. Based on the results of the field tests and other comments, the USAID team and the advisors will prepare a final assessment framework.

Content: A draft fragile states assessment framework is being developed for use in upcoming field tests.



Paula Harrison, Research Assistant, PPC IDEAS, IRIS Center, compiling articles for inclusion in an e-bulletin.

E-BULLETINS

Description: E-bulletins are compilations of relevant articles from academic journals, think tanks, the public record and general news sources, which cover topics highly relevant to shaping USAID strategy and policies. PPC IDEAS distributes the e-bulletins via email to high-level USAID policy makers to provide easy access to selected key work developed by others. E-bulletins are also available publicly on the PPC IDEAS web site at:
http://www.iris.umd.edu/PPC_IDEAS.

To date, PPC IDEAS has distributed 13 issues of the e-bulletin.

Issue I – Failing States, Governance, Culture and Economic Growth in the Muslim World

This e-bulletin contains analytic papers on failing states, governance, the Muslim World and the influence of culture on economic growth.

Issue II – The Greater Middle East Initiative and the Helsinki Accords

This e-bulletin provides a review of news and views from the Muslim World regarding the Bush administration's proposal for a Greater Middle East Initiative. In particular, the authors provide information on the Helsinki Accords, on which the current President's initiative is based. The articles indicate that positive effects of the administration's policy may develop slowly over time, as countries may initially be suspicious of the U.S.'s intentions.

Issue III – Muslim and European Reactions to the GMEI, Democracy and Development in the Middle East

This e-bulletin provides articles with additional views from the Muslim World and Europe on the President's initiative. The authors provide commentary that questions whether democratization is feasible in the Middle East.

Issue IV – Globalization Update

The articles in this PPC e-bulletin highlight aspects of the globalization debate presented by the International Labor Organization's recent report "A Fair Globalization - Creating Opportunities for All." Some authors claim that globalization increases income inequality, but others argue that this global trend can improve living standards for everyone.

Issue V – Russia Update

This e-bulletin provides articles and reports on recent developments in Russia, focusing on Russia's transition to a democratic and market-oriented society. The authors encourage the U.S. to collaborate with Russia because of the country's importance to U.S. national interests.

Issue VI – Africa, the Blair Initiative and the Brandt Report

Blair's initiative for Africa, which has been compared to the Brandt Report by the former German Chancellor, posits that free trade is necessary for the development of the world's poorest nations. This e-bulletin contains descriptive news articles, reactions in the press and essays on current events relative to the Blair initiative. Blair's initiative is well received, and the authors hope that Blair establishes long-term commitments to Africa.

Issue VII – Water Scarcity: How will it impact development?

This e-bulletin examines the present and future impacts that the scarcity of water may have on development. Scholars and practitioners caution that sound policy and governance are crucial to managing water resources.

Issue VIII – Aid Effectiveness

This e-bulletin contains current articles representing an array of strategies, evaluations and techniques that provide an overview of current thoughts on aid effectiveness. The authors conclude that the US should concentrate on areas where development institutions have a comparative advantage to provide technical assistance in strengthening institutions. It is also important to be able to conduct accurate and timely evaluations of development programs and incorporate assessment findings into an overall alignment of assistance strategies with espoused development goals.

Issue IX – Continued Reaction to GMEI

This e-bulletin covers the widespread reaction to the Greater Middle East Initiative. It includes relevant news items, policy papers and speeches. Although commentators express support for the initiative, some authors present alternative approaches that emphasize multi-national collaborative efforts.

Issue X – Analytic Framework: Sudan

The "Sudan" e-bulletin focuses on articles that address Sudan's civil conflicts in Southern Sudan and Western Darfur. The authors conclude that

the international community should respond quickly in Western Darfur to provide aid and protection for civilians. In addition, the authors insist that concerned nations encourage Sudan's government and the Sudan People's Liberation Army to finalize protocols for peace and wealth sharing.



Jonathan Haughton, Associate Professor, Suffolk University and Senior Economist, Beacon Hill Institute for Public Policy (left), Konrad Huber, Senior Human Rights Advisor, USAID/DCHA/OTI (right) at the USAID workshop, "Toward the Development of a Fragile States Assessment Tool" on 17 September 2004.

Issue XI – Analytic Framework: Liberia

Using the fragile states framework, this e-bulletin surveys articles on the post-conflict situation in Liberia, particularly in regard to the role of civil society in rebuilding the country. The authors claim that the international community should commit resources to implement a peace process in Liberia that focuses on power sharing.

Issue XII – Analytic Framework: Democratic Republic of Congo

This e-bulletin includes articles that examine the Democratic Republic of Congo's (DRC) current situation in light of globalization and the DRC's history of conflict. The authors recommend that equivalent investment needs to be made in security efforts and economic reforms. Despite being a resource rich country, the DRC does not have the institutional mechanisms in place to capitalize on potential wealth, which would provide revenues for social programs, and

employment alternatives for recently demobilized paramilitary forces.

Issue XIII – Analytic Framework: Haiti

The “Haiti” e-bulletin focuses on the July 2004 donor’s conference, which raised more than \$1 billion for the implementation of Haiti’s Interim Cooperation Framework. To establish the framework, more than 250 experts evaluated Haiti’s needs and devised plans to improve governance, institutional development, economic recovery, and access to public services.

Copyright Policy

E-bulletins provide links to articles on the PPC Ideas’ site and other websites. To ensure that PPC Ideas complies with copyright laws, the program has developed procedures for securing permission to publish articles. For articles saved on the program’s site, PPC Ideas requests permission from the copyright holder. If the holder does not consent, PPC Ideas will select one of the following options:

- Decline to publish the article;
- Purchase publishing rights through the Copyright Clearance Center or as determined by the copyright holder;
- Provide a direct link to the article’s web address, if one exists, or;
- Summarize the article.

THE YEAR AHEAD

In the year ahead, PPC IDEAS plans to deepen its work in two key and overlapping areas: the USAID white paper entitled “U.S. Foreign Aid: Meeting the Challenges of the Twenty-first Century” and strategies for recognizing and assisting fragile states. The white paper identified five operational goals for USAID assistance: promoting transformational development, strengthening fragile states, providing humanitarian relief, supporting U.S. geostrategic interests and mitigating global and transnational ills. PPC IDEAS will assist USAID in developing the content of specific strategies to fulfill each of these objectives.

Specifically, using the completed research on fragile states, PPC IDEAS will help USAID develop an assessment tool to use in assessing failing, failed and recovering states. An event to initiate development and field testing of the framework with IRIS-appointed technical advisors and a USAID fragile states design team was held in September 2004.

PPC IDEAS plans to contribute to improving the links between security and development in USAID’s assistance activities and may help develop courses or events at the US War College or similar venues. Both of these activities will be further defined in the coming months.

PPC IDEAS will also continue to arrange events on timely issues and bring relevant experts together with USAID staff to present key ideas about development problems and possible solutions. PPC IDEAS will work closely with the PPC Bureau to plan brown-bag events and other short sessions on topics of particular importance to USAID. PPC IDEAS will also continue to distribute e-bulletins, composed of thematic documents from think-tanks, news outlets, NGOs, academics and other sources.



Polly Byers, Senior Policy Advisor, USAID/PPC (left); Margaret Goodman, Government Relations Coordinator, World Learning (right) at the USAID workshop entitled, “The Challenge of Aid Effectiveness” on 7 May 2004.

APPENDIX A: SUMMARIES OF REQUESTS AND EVENTS

REQUEST NO. 2002-02: ASSISTANCE IN SUPPORT OF THE MUSLIM WORLD INITIATIVE

“GOVERNANCE IN THE MUSLIM WORLD” BY ANN PHILLIPS, VALI NASR, ROBERT HEFNER AND TIMUR KURAN JANUARY 2004

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The tragic attacks of September 11, 2001, against the U.S. and the American people resulted in a dramatic reappraisal of the ways in which we engage with the Muslim world. One of the outcomes of this reappraisal, the Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI), attempts to reorient our relationships with the countries of the primarily Arab Middle East, “to support economic, political, and educational reform efforts in the Middle East and champion opportunity for all people of the region, especially women and youth.” While the most violent and visible manifestations of anti-Westernism and anti-Americanism come from the Arab Middle East, the vast majority of Muslims in the world live outside the geographical region covered by MEPI. Indeed of the world’s Muslim population of 1.3 billion, less than 25% reside in the Middle East.

An initiative extending to the broader Muslim world was considered in inter-agency fora in late 2002/early 2003, referred to as the Muslim World Initiative. The objectives proposed for the initiative were:

1. Mitigating extremism in the Muslim world,
2. Supporting moderation in the Muslim world, and,
3. Supporting reform for democracy and good governance.

As its contribution to this broader initiative USAID established a “Muslim world working group,” comprised of members from all interested bureaus, including PPC, DCHA, ANE, AFR, and E&E. Using as a rough model an earlier USAID research effort on education in the Muslim world, the working group examined how future USAID engagement in the Muslim world might be modified to more effectively discourage the hostility and violent attitudes toward the west and the U.S. particularly currently found throughout the Muslim world. The working group examined the fields of economic development and governance. Two sub-groups were established to articulate operational recommendations for a more successful engagement with the Muslim world in the areas of economic development and governance. This paper summarizes the findings of the sub-group on governance.

The sub-group on Muslim world governance conducted an inventory of relevant USAID work and experience, initiated discussions and consultations with various governmental and non-governmental experts, and surveyed current literature on the subject of governance in the Muslim world. Among the most impressive documents is the 2002 Arab Human Development Report, which identified, “the three deficits relating to freedom, empowerment of women, and knowledge,” as the main obstacles impeding human development, both economic and social, in the Arab countries. We examine the “freedom deficit”, but look beyond the Arab countries, to the broader Muslim world, defined as those 48 states with majority Muslim populations. The paper attempts to map the Muslim world in terms of its diversity, its commonalities and its governance, examine the current operating environment for development assistance, and determine the implications for USAID in terms of implementing more successful programs in the area of democratic development and good governance.

REQUEST NO. 2002-02: ASSISTANCE IN SUPPORT OF THE MUSLIM WORLD INITIATIVE

“ECONOMIC GROWTH IN THE ISLAMIC WORLD: HOW CAN USAID HELP” BY PETER TIMMER AND DONALD MCCLELLAND FEBRUARY 2004

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

There has been a long-standing debate over the impact of religion on economic growth. The current debate over the impact of Islamic thought on the economic prospects of Muslim countries parallels similar debates over the impact of Catholicism, Hinduism, and other religions. These debates have not had much impact on development practice, partly because of their inconclusive nature.

The issue addressed in his paper is whether Islam as the “religion of practice” in a wide range of countries poses serious problems for economic growth or whether the undeniably poor economic performance of many Islamic countries stems from other sources unrelated to Islamic theology and practice. Recognizing the tension between progressive and moderate practitioners of Islam on the one hand and their fundamentalist challengers on the other—a tension that often spills into the political arena—the paper concludes that most Islamic countries face very difficult governance issues which have impeded rapid economic growth

Why do Muslims tend to be relatively poor? The fact itself is not disputed, as Muslims make up 19 percent of the world’s population but earn only 6 percent of its income. The issue is whether there are any causal relationships between religion and economic development. Many scholars point out that Islamic beliefs and values that may appear inimical to growth (the ban on interest, restrictions on speculation) have been routinely circumvented, suggesting that religion is typically not a problem. They point out that the corporation is now an acceptable and popular organizational form in most Muslim countries. Insurance contracts are legally enforceable. Banks are integral components in every economy. And contracts involving interest payments are commonplace, although payments are sometimes disguised as commissions or fees.

Others believe there are deeper problems. Characterizing an Islamic economic system (“Islamic economics”) as a middle ground between capitalism and socialism, they cite the Quran’s overriding emphasis on the need for social justice; its rejection of severe economic disparities; its condemnation of economic exploitation by means of usury and dishonesty; its call on well-to-do individuals to use part of their wealth to help the poor and support various charitable endeavors; and its repeated expressions of concern for those least capable of defending themselves against poverty. In spite of these attributes, proponents of Islamic economics argue that it can effectively promote both economic development and social welfare in predominantly Muslim countries.

What should we conclude? It seems clear that the economic institutions Islamic law prevented—corporate law, banks, stock markets, and modern firms, insurance—are all integral parts of most economies of the Islamic world. As a result, economic policy reforms needed to accelerate economic growth in the Muslim world can be adopted without having to take on Islam as a religion. Although Islam harbors elements inimical to economic productivity and efficiency, these have not formed an absolute barrier to economic growth. In fact, Noland’s recent analysis of three countries (India, Malaysia, and Ghana) provides empirical evidence that there is no consistent, systematic relationship between economic growth and the share of a country’s population practicing Islam. He concludes that the impact of Islam on short-run economic performance is as diverse as Islam itself.

It is important to emphasize the diversity of the Islamic world.

- It consists of 48 countries where at least 50 percent of the population is Muslim. It also includes several countries with a significant Muslim minority, India being the most prominent with over 125 million Muslims (12 percent of the population). The 48 countries are concentrated in the Middle East and North Africa, Europe and Eurasia, South and East Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa. Muslim Arabs constitute about 25 percent of the world's 1.2 billion Muslims.
- Islamic countries are both rich and poor. Per capita income in the year 2001 ranged from a low of \$100 in Ethiopia to a high of \$18,270 in Kuwait. More than half of the countries (22 of 40) are categorized by the World Bank as low-income, with a per capita income of \$745 or less.
- Muslim countries tend to be poorer than non-Muslim countries. Average per capita income in the 70 non-Muslim countries located in five geographic regions was \$5,987 in 2000. This was nearly twice as high as in 37 Muslim countries where average per capita income was \$3,375. Of course, these averages mask substantial differences across regions and religious groups.
- Of the Muslim countries reporting data, 22 are agrarian insofar as at least 50 percent of their labor force is employed in agriculture; many of these countries are in Africa. There are also 22 oil producers, many of them located in the Middle East and North Africa. The average per capita income of the oil producers (\$5,233) is four times higher than that of the agrarian countries (\$1,272).
- Gross Domestic Product (GDP) during the decade 1990-2000 grew more slowly, on average, in Muslim countries (2.02 percent) than in non-Muslim countries (2.22 percent). Again, these averages mask significant differences among geographic regions, individual countries, and different time periods.

Thus, most countries where Muslims live in substantial numbers are generally poorer than non-Muslim countries. Their long-term economic problems point to deep-seated failures to establish the core elements that support modern economic growth. The list of the elements is not long, but the elements are basic: provision of public goods and social infrastructure, a stable macroeconomic environment, and a business climate conducive to growth. Why do governments fail to provide these essentials of growth? And specifically, why are Islamic countries so much worse at it than others?

Several factors may play a role in hampering economic growth in the Islamic world. These include, among others, a social system that values "unchangeability" and thus lacks a capacity for adaptation and innovation; an emphasis on communalism (as distinct from individualism); a reduced role for public discourse which inhibits individuals from questioning; an educational system that limits curiosity; "Islamic economics" which forces economic decisions to pass through an Islamic filter (an ethical or moral filter); poor economic policy; a difficult geographic "neighborhood;" women's inferior position in society; and culture. What is USAID to do? What can be done to improve incomes in Islamic countries and help them move forward?

It seems clear that any prescription requires dualistic reform—both in governance and economics. In the case of economics, in the short run (say, the next 5 to 10 years), three relatively tractable opportunities appear to offer scope for important interventions in partner countries, without in any way challenging Islamic governance or orthodoxy.

Economic Policy

Analysis shows that government intervention in the domestic economy, which tends to hamper economic growth, was significantly greater in Muslim countries than in non-Muslim countries. Moreover, international

trade was significantly less in Muslim countries than in non-Muslim countries. Promoting increased economic openness and trade reforms should bring faster growth, without challenging Islamic principles in any way. Indeed, the Qumran, in support of private property rights and in defense of trade among equal partners, would seem to favor such reforms.

Banking System

In many Islamic countries, extraordinary inefficiency in the banking system inhibits it from allocating national savings to their most productive uses. Savings is often unproductive and wasteful, in part because an unusually high proportion of total investment occurs in the public sector. Sala-i-Martin and Artadi conclude that “without proper channeling of savings into productive and efficient investment, economic growth is impossible.” Thus, basic financial reforms, especially introducing more competition into the domestic banking system, would seem to have substantial payoff, again without challenging basic Islamic principles.

Social Safety Nets

Approaches to poverty reduction tend to focus on activities in the public sector. In the Islamic countries, however, there is a widespread network of private charities that are enjoined by the Quran to share wealth among the poor. As such, they may offer an additional approach to poverty reduction by providing an important social safety net for the poor, especially in times of significant economic reform.

A fourth factor—the position of women in society and the economy—is no doubt important, but far less tractable

Women’s Role

The ratio of female to male literacy rates in 2000 was less in Muslim countries than in non-Muslim countries. In addition, female employment was significantly lower in Muslim countries than in non-Muslim countries. This “women’s empowerment deficit” generally results from legalized discrimination, such as laws that prohibit women from participating in public life or competing in the labor market. If there is a basic conflict between Western and Islamic values and approaches to development, it is here. As such, USAID must tread very carefully in this arena, providing support for girls’ education and health care, but without visibly challenging Islamic authorities on the broader roles for women. These roles almost certainly have to evolve from pressures within the societies themselves.

Thus, donor programs and policies should consider focusing on the three tractable areas. Specific areas of intervention will, of course, depend on each country situation. It is not fruitful to try to prescribe specific solutions applicable to all 48 Muslim-majority countries, because no blueprint applies to all.

REQUEST NO. 2003-04: SUPPORT TO THE REVOLUTIONIZING AID – PHASE 1: ACTIVITY 6

USAID WORKSHOP “THE CHALLENGE OF AID EFFECTIVENESS: OPTIONS FOR REFORM” MAY 7, 2004

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

The current realities of foreign assistance are shaped by recent history. The end of the Cold War eliminated the broadly shared understanding of global foreign assistance goals, leaving multiple, overlapping, and often conflicting sectoral, country, and regional goals. Over the past decade, assistance activities proliferated as individual agencies launched their own narrowly targeted programs. The compelling need for governance reform within states and the global threat of terrorism now present a convincing rationale for an updated, integrated, and strategically focused foreign aid program.

The USAID White Paper presents a new conceptual approach to focusing our foreign assistance program, with an overarching framework of five operational goal areas, each requiring a different type of assistance, based essentially on the country’s political, geostrategic, and economic profile. Economic growth was identified as the critical development assistance goal. USAID Administrator Andrew Natsios emphasized that development does not result from sectoral improvements alone but, rather, requires removing barriers to growth through governance reforms. He also called for a broader approach to economic growth with more budget flexibility to target assistance to country conditions, and better coordination of U.S. development objectives. Natsios also noted that some forms of assistance, such as humanitarian aid, are not aimed at economic growth and their success should not be measured by their impact on growth.

Strategic Choices

George Ingram’s presentation posited two critical foundations upon which U.S. development assistance should be built – effectiveness, and the support of the American people. Both of these requirements point to the need for a suppler framework for development assistance, one which has broad appeal and which offers promise of at least limited success. Ingram argued that the goal of transforming even a single country falls short in both these crucial respects, compared to sectoral priorities that can have strong public appeal. He also suggested the theme of ‘Youth’ as a possible encompassing theme to build stronger support for foreign aid. A relevant example is the Administration’s approach to the HIV/AIDS crisis, which could serve as a model for targeting development problems in selected countries/regions, by means of international and private sector partnerships.

Organizational restructuring presents similar choices. Ingram postulated that while a department of international development would provide a strong, coherent voice, it would not resolve the inevitable tensions between foreign policy and foreign aid objectives. He urged stronger interagency coordination and consultation, possibly through the NSC, without introducing a separate department, and maintaining a leading role for USAID.

Ingram also highlighted the often cited inadequacy of the Foreign Assistance Act, which he felt could be rewritten only with a strong commitment from both Executive Branch and Congressional leaders, as a means of developing political consensus around a restructured foreign aid agenda. A key feature of a new FAA would be more flexible funding. He also highlighted the critical need for more and better qualified personnel, and

called for innovative administrative solutions, such as inter-agency, congressional, and academic staff exchanges. The goal would be senior staff throughout the government with broader experience and a more comprehensive view of U.S. policy and interests in the world.

Finally, he emphasized that the U.S. needs to make use of its position as a development leader to build stronger coordination and even integration of our policies, programs, and requirements with other donors, as a way to make our own and others' assistance more effective.

Organizational Aspects

Much discussion focused on the implementation requirements of the White Paper's conceptual approach, and whether internal agency reform would be sufficient.

Barbara Turner identified four reasons for reforming foreign assistance: (1) to link in with the national security strategy; (2) to respond to the challenge of effectiveness; (3) to reduce conflict among objectives and improve policy coherence; and (4) to manage assets more strategically. She pointed to the need not only for clearer goals, but also for more central guidance in some substantive areas within the agency, as well as greater selectivity among and within countries in targeting assistance. She then raised the issue of what broader measures need to be taken in the U.S. Government beyond USAID to provide for a coherent foreign assistance approach.

In response to Steve Krasner's question of whether agency reforms would be adequate, or whether more extensive restructuring would be required, participant's responses ranged from arguing that sufficient flexibility already exists, to arguing for new categories of budget allocations by Congress, to calling for a new cabinet-level department of foreign assistance.

There was broad agreement that the White Paper approach represents a valuable analytic reframing of foreign assistance and an appropriate emphasis on targeting aid with a view to transformational development. However, it was also criticized as too comprehensive a framework, lacking in policy choices or implementation guidelines and failing to confront the question of what USAID should not be doing.

Regardless of the preferred strategic model, there was broad agreement that stronger interagency coordination is necessary. The importance of improving the quality of donor coordination was also raised. Several possible models for improved coordination were proposed, which could build on the White Paper framework.

1. A full partnership between AID and the State Department (expanding on the current Joint Policy Council), including all foreign development resources managed by the two agencies and based on a full meshing of USAID and State goals.
2. An administration National Foreign Assistance Strategy with broad government coordination, which would include all issues relating to overseas development. This would forge a collective rationale for U.S. foreign assistance which could provide a compelling argument for legislative reform.
3. A new department to coordinate aid. Many participants thought that, while appealing, the proposal was unlikely to succeed.

Legislative Issues

Hill participants argued that the existing structure of accounts allows USAID considerable flexibility, and that internal reforms within USAID's authority are more critical to providing coherent and effective leadership in development policy. Others argued that the existing legislation is genuinely constraining and inhibits a

coherent approach to foreign assistance. While there was fairly broad agreement that there was much that USAID could do on its own to increase its flexibility, it was also noted by Hill staff and others that the main issue was lack of sufficient resources.

There was also concern voiced that if a legislative rewrite were undertaken that the results might not necessarily be better than the existing legislation. It was noted that the MCA came out of the appropriations process (as did the DFA) and was developed with minimal public discussion or debate, in comparison with the big reform initiative of the Clinton Administration, the Peace, Prosperity and Democracy Act, which failed because of lack of effective leadership and support.

Discussion focused on the tension between achieving analytic clarity and building consensus. The question was posed whether the White Paper framework can garner public support, or if development goals need to be framed in terms of immediate human needs. If the White Paper framework and country focus is too complicated to achieve public support, it was argued, Congress will ultimately impose a sectoral approach as the default option as it has in the past. Several participants noted that it would be possible to “bridge the gap” between these two approaches.

Key Issues Raised

1. Public support for foreign aid: While it was agreed that public support is important, there were differing opinions on how it could be achieved. Some argued that if foreign assistance is revised, it will be critical to find themes and goals which will attract public support. Concern was voiced that the overarching goal of economic or transformational development sets the bar very high and is difficult for the public to understand and measure, as compared to ameliorative assistance or sector specific programs such as education or HIV/AIDS.

Others voiced the opinion that foreign aid was basically “insider baseball” and that agreement between the Administration and Congress was the prime challenge and that selling it to the public would follow from that. However, it was generally agreed that a clearer articulation of the goals of foreign assistance and how it serves our national interest and combats terrorism would be necessary for developing a consensus on reforming foreign aid.

2. The White Paper’s five categories cover too much territory. There was wide agreement that the framework was useful, but concern was expressed that it leaves nothing out. It was suggested that USAID needs to be more selective and prioritize and focus itself rather than continue to try to do everything. Some suggested that geostrategic goals could be left to the State Department, and transnational issues should rely on greater UN involvement. The “fragile states” category, in particular, represents a highly ambitious task, and it was recommended that USAID’s efforts should be targeted to a limited number of countries in that category.
3. USAID needs to be proactive in accommodating the sectoral and regional interests of Congress and the Administration or earmarking is inevitable. The White Paper structure might be reframed for broader public acceptance by accommodating sectoral issues. The proposal of “serving youth” was one thematic suggestion as a way of looking at transformational development that would appeal to people’s interest in improving the prospects of the next generation.
4. Much can be done within the existing framework using the standard policy-making tools of “insider baseball.” It was argued that USAID can implement the White Paper framework with no legislative

changes and if it can produce results, consensus will follow. However, if it is just perceived as putting old wine in new bottles, it will not succeed.

Conclusions

Krasner concluded by noting that we are in a very different historical moment. It is no longer the traditional international relations model of state to state assistance. Increasingly we are now involved in restructuring states. While the overarching goal of USAID remains transformational development, the main focus needs to be on addressing issues of governance, particularly to remove barriers to growth. The White Paper is conceptually sound and provides a solid basis for initiating reform, but is too inclusive and lacking structural and operational specifics. A next step would be a delineation of how assistance activities and results will change. The real test of the White Paper's utility will be whether it demonstrates that there are areas where budgeting and resource allocation is manifestly inadequate.

There was strong sentiment that policy coherence requires government-wide agreement on the purpose and practice of foreign aid in this new era. Such an agreement could arise from leadership within the US Government, working closely with the legislative branch. Shaping this consensus should be a high priority, and will require careful attention to the tension between defining a specific focus with measurable results, and creating public understanding and support of the new strategy.

Although the issue of how much flexibility USAID actually has was not resolved, there was consensus that USAID can do a great deal without legislative or other external administrative reorganization. USAID should be proactive; it should build an analytical "shadow budget" based on the White Paper categories, undertake rigorous self-examination to focus on its strengths, and try to respond more quickly and flexibly in its programmatic activities.

REQUEST NO. 2003-10: DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE RESEARCH DESIGN

“RESEARCH DESIGN TO EVALUATE THE IMPACT OF USAID DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE PROGRAMS” BY KENNETH BOLLEN, PAMELA PAXTON AND RUMI MORISHIMA OCTOBER 2003

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The main goal of this report is to develop a methodological and analytical strategy for evaluating USAID Democracy and Governance (DG) programs, along with suggestions about administering and managing the effort. USAID requested this report as part of the SORA project.

The structure of USAID places constraints on evaluations that must be accounted for in an evaluation research design. Three of the most important are: (1) a lack of information on mission activities in the Democracy and Governance area, (2) the influence of missions and embassy officials on USAID evaluations, and (3) low incentives for undertaking reasonably rigorous data collection and evaluation. Overall, these constraints point to the need to elevate the understanding, importance, and rewards of good evaluation in the agency. The constraints also point to the need for enhanced collection of data on activities, programs, and sectors in the DG central office. Finally, they indicate that at least some evaluation methods should be less dependent on missions than has been true in the past.

There are a number of trade-offs involved in doing evaluation. Two of the most important are (1) the trade-off between breadth of coverage and depth of coverage and (2) the trade-off between retrospective and prospective evaluation. USAID will be unable to evaluate all of its activities and programs, and it may have difficulty unambiguously attributing impacts to USAID funding, if only retrospective evaluation methods are used.

This document makes a number of sequential recommendations:

- First and foremost, USAID must improve central office information on the inputs of activities, programs, and sectors, as well as related outputs, outcomes, and impacts. Collecting basic information on USAID programming must be accomplished before activities, programs, or sectors can be chosen for evaluation.
- Once basic data collection is complete, we recommend that USAID convene a task force, made up of academics and USAID officials, in a series of three meetings. In its first meeting, the task force would choose a set of activities and programs to be investigated in more detail. During its second meeting, the task force would decide what mix of methods to use in evaluating each chosen activity or program. The task force would meet a third time to recommend activities and programs to investigate in the future with a randomized experiment. Although not officially part of the SORA project, here and elsewhere in the document we strongly recommend this prospective focus. The task force would use the data collected as part of the initial evaluation phase, as well as information gleaned from focus groups of USAID officials on evaluation priorities.

- The table below identifies the methods that we recommend the task force consider, and their strengths in terms of evaluating outputs, outcomes, or impacts.

Table 1: Methods of Evaluation			
	Output	Outcome	Impact
Randomized Experiments		√	√
Quasi-experiments		√	√
Surveys of Individuals & Groups	√	√	√
Interviewing and Site Visits	√	√	
Country Expert Sector Overviews			√
Cross-national (quantitative)			√

Each of these methods is illustrated with examples taken from the DG area and the costs of using each method are estimated. We recommend that each activity or program that is chosen by the task force be matched to the optimal combination of methods for evaluation.

- While activities and programs are being designated for further evaluation, cross-national analyses at the sector level could begin. There is data that already exists on spending by sector (i.e., civil society, rule of law, etc.) and this can be used without need for task force input.

The evaluation approach that we recommend differs from the current USAID DG approach to evaluation in several ways. First, multiple methodologies are recommended rather than a single one. Second, more attention is given to evaluations of impact, rather than only immediate outputs. Third, we recommend that measures of inputs and impacts be explicitly operationalized and measured consistently over time and across countries. Fourth, we recommend that, wherever possible, control groups (individuals, organizations, or countries that did not receive USAID programming) be investigated as well as the groups that did receive USAID programming aid. Finally, we recommend that baseline data (that can be used to compare groups before and after USAID programming) be used.

REQUEST NO. 2003-10: DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE RESEARCH DESIGN

“EVALUATION PLAN FOR USAID DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE ACTIVITIES” BY JOHN TIRMAN OCTOBER 2003

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Evaluation research seeks to study implementation and performance of assistance activities. It serves as a powerful analytic tool for understanding “lessons learned” from past activities that can promote informed decision-making about future programming. The usefulness of evaluations depends on the conceptual and methodological basis on which the evaluation data are collected, organized, and examined.

USAID requested this report as part of the SORA project. The main goal is to determine the degree to which information produced by evaluations of its DG activities is suitable "to build a rigorous analytical base on which to make decisions regarding the type, mix, and sequencing of USAID's Democracy and Governance programs" (from USAID/DCHA/DG Applied Democracy Research, Goal and Objective Statement). Toward this aim, the research team assessed whether the evaluations satisfied three key criteria. Specifically we considered whether the evaluations provided:

1. Sufficient information on “inputs” (a USAID activity and the resources needed to implement it);
2. Sufficient information on the intended consequences of USAID activity, i.e., “outputs,” “outcomes,” and “impacts” (the immediate products of an activity input, short-term results, and long-term results of USAID activities);
3. Sufficient information on “confounding factors” (other things that may undermine our ability to describe the relationship between inputs and outputs/outcomes/impacts). This last criterion is important, because we can only attribute an effect to a USAID activity if we have ruled out other factors that might be the real reason for the effect).

The review identifies the following major problems with the evaluations:

1. We found a frequent failure to provide, in a consistent, systematic manner, key information about activities, such as funding levels, personnel, timing of project implementation, NGOs that undertook project activities, and funding from other international donor agencies. Overall, the lack of a sufficient number of equivalent activities in these evaluations would hamper any attempt to use these evaluations to compare inputs across different countries and cumulate results in a rigorous, analytical manner.
2. We also found that a lack of such information for outputs. The focus of evaluations tends to be on the immediate outcomes of very specific activities (e.g., the number of judges trained), rather than on their link to the agency goal and interest (e.g., better rule of law). SORA is interested in the latter.
3. Nearly all of the evaluations fail to discuss or rule out other possible explanations for a relation between an USAID activity and its alleged effects. There are four major cases where confounding factors may come into play: (a) the case where a positive political trend toward democracy and better governance has already been set in motion in a recipient country; (b) the case where other domestic or international agencies supported the same or similar activities; (c) the case where causal order is

reversed, i.e., the outcome of interest attracts USAID activity; and (d) the case where inappropriate sampling/measurement procedures introduce bias into analyses. The evaluations give so little attention to these confounding factors that they fail to convince readers, within a reasonable degree of certainty, that the positive changes observed would not have occurred in the absence of USAID.

Based on these assessments, this report makes the following recommendations on the use of the evaluations. The first two are specifically related to the SORA task and the rest are additional recommendations:

1. Do not undertake a summary review/coding of the 300+ evaluations identified by the DG Information Unit. Given the time investment required to read, evaluate, and record each evaluation, we conclude that there would be insufficient gain to justify the effort.
2. Hold the evaluations in reserve as background information for desk studies or other qualitative analyses as part of the possible future research design. We see the evaluations as potentially serving two purposes for SORA: (a) providing essential background information that is not available from other sources, (b) aiding idea generation for researchers focusing on specific countries or sets of countries.
3. All new mission officers should be encouraged to do two separate, but related, searches of evaluations on the DEC website during activity planning stages: (a) a search for all evaluations performed in that country, (b) a search for all similar activities across all countries. This would provide some essential background information to the officer and help reduce institutional memory loss.
4. All mission officers receive training in the use of DEC web searches and other technical resources available in Washington.

Future evaluations should be standardized through the creation of a core, common template so that they consistently include information considered essential to DG programming. This would ensure that mission officers and the DG central office were receiving appropriate information about the successes and failures of various activities and that the evaluations could be used for more systematic and comprehensive assessments of DG programming in the future. In addition to the core information, we recommend that space be available to capture issues that are specific to each country and activity.

REQUEST NO. 2003-11: IRAQ ASSESSMENT

“IRAQI IDENTITY: FORCES FOR INTEGRATION/DIVISIVENESS,” BY DR. PHEBE MARR APRIL 2004

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Although Iraq is a multi-ethnic, multi-sectarian country, its population does have a sense of Iraqi identity which has been built up over eight decades. Most Iraqi governments, from the mandate on, have engaged in “nation-building” espousing programs and ideologies aimed at creating a national identity. The main repository of this ideology has been the middle class and especially its intelligentsia. In the past two decades, however, there has been considerable erosion of this identity and of state cohesion under the repressive policies of Saddam Husain which brought wars, sanctions and rebellion. These have torn the fabric of the state and the ability of groups to work together; an unraveling of state structures has also caused an increase in tribalism. But this damage is not irreversible. The sense of Iraqi identity and a commitment to an Iraqi future can be strengthened and restored by policies which strengthen the middle class and encourage various groups to work together, across ethnic, sectarian and tribal lines, for common reconstructions goals.

This paper examines some of the positive and negative features of Iraqi society; and the changes that have taken place in these structures within the last half century. It looks at the existing identities in Iraq and the ways in which the US can work with them to create greater cohesion and a modern, more democratic Iraq. It also looks at potential pitfalls and fault lines in society, and scenarios which could “spoil” this nation building project. Its main conclusion is that Iraq’s greatest asset is its educated middle class and its potential for economic and social development.

Over the last half century there have been striking changes in Iraq, which have contributed to its changing identity. Iraq has gone from being a rural, mainly agricultural country to an urban country with 75 percent of the population in cities. In the past few decades, its population has become high concentrated in the center, with a third living in its capital city, Baghdad, and half living in five central provinces. Under socialism, a large percentage of this population has earned its living working for the government. Education at all levels has produced a burgeoning professional middle class, including a large percentage of women. Until it was stamped out by Saddam, there was a lively intellectual and artistic class, much of it secular. Before sanctions, this middle class was prosperous by Middle Eastern standards. This middle class had a highly developed sense of Iraqi identity; it wanted a strong, modern Iraqi state, with continued prosperity and greater freedom to achieve it.

In the past two decades the self confidence and independence of this class has eroded and so, too, has its sense of Iraqi identity. Events-and Saddam’s policies-have strengthened sub-national identities. Kurds have been governing themselves in the north, where Kurdish national parties have nurtured visions of self-government free of control from Baghdad. Kurdish language has been strengthened; Arabic weakened, making reintegration into the Iraqi state more difficult. The shi’ah, who comprise a majority of the population, opposed the government in 1991 and were subsequently oppressed and neglected. Alienated, the shi’ah population developed a greater sense of shi’ah identity. Arab sunnis, the backbone of Saddam Husain’s government came to development a sense of entitlement that set them apart from both Kurds and shi’ah. Meanwhile, Saddam revived tribal ties to help him run his collapsing government, thereby undercutting modern bureaucratic structures and values, such as meritocracy.

Saddam's government, held together by family and tribal ties; by an oppressive security and party apparatus, by military force, and by an extreme nationalist ideology, has now been totally undone by the US and the coalition. The Iraqi army, the security system and the Ba'th Party have been dismantled, along with much of the government. The ethnic and sectarian structure of the government has been completely changed; the number of Arab sunnis in the power structure has been reduced while shi'ah and Kurds are more adequately represented. Local and provincial councils have been set up. But unfortunately, those removed from power have resorted to insurgency making stability and a revival of the economy difficult. If the situation is not stabilized, the whole project of rebuilding Iraq, on a new, more democratic foundation, will founder. Meanwhile, Iraq could be in danger of slipping into its component parts—a Kurdish north; a shi'ah south; an insurgent sunni triangle and a dominance of local and tribal leaders outside of Baghdad. Under these circumstances, it is important to work on restoring a healthy sense of Iraqi identity which does not lose sight of the original purpose—building a modern nation-state and reshaping its content in a more democratic direction. To this end, several steps are recommended;

1. The coalition has done a good job of establishing representative government in the provinces but it must now refocus on the center—on Baghdad, the capital and the nerve center of the country. It must strengthen the central government at the same time that it lays the basis for democracy. It needs to link the center with the provinces and vice versa.
2. In policies and pronouncements, the US needs to play down ethnic and sectarian politics and identities and strengthen the middle class, especially its professional and intellectual components. The middle class has always been the main bearer of an Iraqi—as opposed to sub-national and supra-national identities and this needs to be encouraged. There are many ways this can be done. Loans and programs can help the business and entrepreneurial component of the middle class to develop a private sector independent of the state. Intellectuals and students can be exposed to the outside world through various exchange programs. Funding and support can be given to civic societies and professional associations, especially those that cut across ethnic and sectarian lines, and which focus on improving professional standards and encouraging social mobility.
3. The Kurds, who have been administratively separate from Iraq for over a decade, should be given a stake in the central government, an adequate portion of its resources and the vision of an attractive and prosperous future in Iraq, in return for less separatism in the north.
4. The shi'ah must be given adequate representation in government reflecting their numbers in the population. Beyond this, a special effort must be made to help the Iraqi government get services (health, education, courts) to poor shi'ah communities, like those in Sadr City, where the population is alienated on economic as well as sectarian grounds, and where the appeal of radical shi'ah movements is growing. Freedom of religion should be encouraged but so, too, should moderate clerics willing and interested in taking shi'ah Islam in a more moderate direction. Najaf has the potential to restore itself as a center of shi'ah thinking, and it could, perhaps, develop a new line of thinking.
5. Arab sunnis, especially the more urban, cosmopolitan elements not wedded to Ba'thism and fearful of the future, need to be brought back into government and given some stake in the future, particularly in building a future state. The best vehicle is to reinforce civic societies which allow for participation cross ethnic and sectarian lines.

REQUEST NO. 2003-12: FRAGILE STATES STRATEGY RESEARCH

“STRATEGY FRAMEWORK FOR THE ASSESSMENT AND TREATMENT OF FRAGILE STATES” BY JACK GOLDSTONE, JONATHAN HAUGHTON, KAROL SOLTAN AND CLIFFORD ZINNES JUNE 2004

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This paper summarizes a technical methodology, developed by a team of multidisciplinary experts from around the United States, to aid USAID identify and assess fragile states as well as select feasible treatments to address their economic development and political stability. The methodology, which also supports the preparation of a new strategy (USAID 2004), describes a new approach to program design—though not necessarily to the operational technical assistance, which remains in many ways as before and at which USAID is already expert. The approach differs from most current practice in that it is intrinsically institutional and holistic; it stresses the importance of understanding the behavioral dynamics of groups, rather than their static characteristics. Thus, for example, a donor focus on the direct impact of varied and separate programs could overlook that interventions may influence the way groups interact, thereby leading to unanticipated contradictory behavioral responses across the programs.

While the goal is familiar, our unorthodox approach is based on three key insights. First, the fundamental source of any state’s resilience or fragility is the quality of its underlying institutions. These institutions comprise the political, economic, social, and security dimensions of state capacity. Second, the quality of this capacity depends on the legitimacy and effectiveness of each dimension. While the two are ultimately related, we believe it is the preoccupation of donors with state effectiveness—balancing the budget, training judges, upgrading telecom—and the reticence to address state legitimacy—the perception of the various groups in society that the state acts with a sufficiently encompassing interest—which constitute the principal reasons for the lack of success in the past (and perhaps in the present, as the example of Iraq shows).

Recognizing the state as an organic system, the third insight is that strengthening the dimensions of state capacity will have limited effect if realized independently. Rather, changes should be made across the dimensions of state capacity in order to strengthen the constitutional order, the formal and informal contextual rules upon which groups within society resolve differences. The key idea here is that in order for a state to fulfill its proper role it must be able to regularize and proceduralize the management of the conflict that is inevitable in any society so as to reduce the propensity for violence. This process is reinforced by the creation of neutral ground, a relatively impartial “terrain”—which can include the courts, parliament, and the like as well as the banking system, educational establishments, and even the local marketing board—upon which different groups promote and protect the interests of their members.

We operationalize our approach through the following five, sequential, though ultimately iterative steps, each offering an increasing depth of insight—as well as demand for informational detail:

1. Select the applicable fragility “syndromes” for the country under study from a purpose-built fragile states typology;
2. Add details to the generic syndromes selected regarding the sources of opposition or conflict in the specific country under study;

3. Building on the information in previous steps, assess state capacity by charting the legitimacy and effectiveness of its political, economic, social and security institutions;
4. Construct an “analytic narrative”, a consistent story that explains the changes in state capacity and the drivers of conflict identified in the previous steps; and
5. Using the analytic narrative to design treatments to address the weaknesses in state capacity.

REQUEST NO. 2003-14: SUPPORT TO THE REVOLUTIONIZING AID EFFORT PHASE I

“UNPACKING GLOBALIZATION” JANUARY 26, 2004

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

On January 26th USAID hosted Dr. Geoffrey Garrett from the University of California, Los Angeles and Dr. Branko Milanovic from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to discuss their work on the effects of globalization on income inequality, both within and between countries. This event was the first in a series "unpack" the concept of globalization to better understand how this phenomenon affects people in the developed and developing worlds and the implications of these effects for USAID's programs.

In the course of their presentations, the speakers suggested the following:

- There is a lack of consensus among development professionals on the effects of globalization on income inequality within and between countries
- Reasons for this disagreement include differences in measures of openness and a lack of clear understanding as to the causal relationship between growth and increasing trade flows. Both Dr. Garrett and Dr. Milanovic believe:
 - In most cases trade has followed growth as opposed to the other way around
 - Overall trade policy is a better measure of a country's trade openness than the ratio of Trade/GDP
- Globalization's effects differ depending on a country's income level and its degree of openness to goods and capital
 - Globalization tends to benefit high income countries, which have advantage in high skill industries, and low income countries, which have advantage in manufacturing industries
 - Middle income countries are unable to compete in high skill or manufacturing industries and are therefore hurt by globalization
- The expected convergence of income between rich and poor countries predicted by economic models and theories about globalization has not occurred
- Empirically income inequality both within and between countries has increased in the past fifty years
- In light of these facts and increased understanding about the effects of globalization, the Washington Consensus must be reassessed
 - Capital market liberalization should only be undertaken after key financial institutions are in place to mitigate the exchange rate volatility and risk accompanying the free movement of capital
 - Privatization and deregulation of former government industries without the rule of law and a functioning judiciary will result in sub-optimal outcomes
- The best policy approach for middle income countries is extensive investment in infrastructure and education to improve their competition in the knowledge industries
- Income inequality is detrimental to growth. International lending institutions and bilateral donors should emphasize reduction in inequality as opposed to reduction in inflation, because reduction in inequality will have a more positive effect on growth
- The global middle class is much smaller than commonly believed. The world's population is largely composed of two groups, the majority who are poor and a small minority who are rich
- Globalization has produced asymmetric income results in which rich people have benefited much more than poor people. International institutions and bilateral donors need to address these effects constructively.

REQUEST NO. 2003-15: SUPPORT FOR TRANSATLANTIC FORUM ON PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

**INAUGURAL LUNCHEON
OCTOBER 2, 2003**

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

On October 2, The European Institute launched its Transatlantic Forum on Public-Private Partnership for International Development with a luncheon discussion on “Achieving Economic Growth in Developing Economies.” The event was the first in a series of five meetings that the Institute will conduct in cooperation with the US Agency for International Development (USAID) and the European Commission in the coming months. The purpose of this project is to encourage US and European government and business officials to explore together the development challenge through the identification of priorities for successful development, effective ways in which donors can cooperate and assist the development process, and new avenues for cooperation between governments and with the private sector.

The inaugural luncheon provided a valuable opportunity for a high-level audience to establish a dialogue and hear the official, and unofficial, development priorities of the US and the EU. The event featured keynote remarks by USAID Administrator Andrew S. Natsios, and comments by Gérard Depayre, Deputy Head of the Delegation of the European Commission to the US. Participants included approximately 60 senior officials from the US and European governments, the European Commission, the UNDP, the World Bank and the IMF, as well as business leaders.

Administrator Natsios began his address by commenting on his personal ties with Europe as a Greek-American and offering evidence of the significant cooperation that exists between Washington and Brussels in the war on terrorism and international development, despite the headlines in the press. He spoke of the unprecedented commitment of the US government to international development, now a major axis of its foreign policy and national security strategy. This commitment has translated into a 50% increase in USAID’s budget, which does not include the proposed Millennium Challenge Account (MCA) and the HIV/AIDS Account, which altogether would mean the largest increase in the Agency’s budget since the Marshall Plan.

The Administrator explained that the MCA is a new approach to foreign aid that ties increased assistance to performance and accountability in an effort to ensure the effectiveness of aid. It will reward governments that rule justly, invest in their people, and encourage economic freedom. In his opinion, the MCA will encourage countries that do not initially qualify to initiate reforms that will bring about economic growth and democracy. He emphasized, however, that official development assistance (ODA) is not the only way that the United States contributes to international development. Today, private foreign aid in the form of remittances, endowments from church groups and foundations, and university scholarships account for 80% of all capital flows from the US to the developing world.

Mr. Depayre’s comments, which followed Andrew Natsios’s keynote remarks, outlined the EU’s development policy. Despite the apparent commitment of the US Administration to international development, Depayre reminded participants that the EU currently provides a much larger percentage of its per capita income to foreign assistance and accounts for 55% of all public aid to developing countries, in addition to being their main trading partner as a result of agreements such as Cotonou and Everything but Arms.

It became clear during Depayre's remarks that there are striking similarities between the development policies of the EU and the US. Both are aimed towards the relief of human suffering, primarily through poverty reduction and eradication. Both policies reflect an awareness of the dangers of failed and failings states to international peace and security, and the importance of trade and integration into the global economy. Among the similarities is the requirement for increased performance and accountability of recipient countries to ensure the effectiveness of aid. This call comes from a reassessment of past policies and the realization that international assistance is only effective if the recipient country takes ownership of its own development process, particularly in the areas of governance, social investment and economic freedom.

The differences that exist between the US and the EU on international development seem to be primarily in approaches. For example, the poverty reduction strategy of the US is focused on economic growth and performance, while the EU employs a more multi-dimensional approach that involves social and even environmental aims. US development aid in large part is geared towards the private sector in recipient countries while in the EU it is toward civil societies and NGOs. Strong disagreements exist in regards to food aid and barriers to trade, among others. As far as food aid, for example, the EU purchases food locally or provides it as grants, while the US purchases the food in its own market at commercial rates.

As Jacqueline Grapin, President of The European Institute, mentioned in her welcoming remarks, it will not be enough for the US and Europe to simply "agree to disagree" if they both want to succeed in fighting terrorism, eradicating poverty and promoting democracy and respect for human rights. Given the enormous stake, and responsibility, that the US and the EU share in the future of the developing world, they must address together the differences that prevent them from cooperating further and develop new solutions that include increased burden sharing with each other as well as the private sector. The Institute hopes that its *Transatlantic Forum on Public-Private Partnership for International Development* will facilitate this process.

The event concluded with a "Question and Answer" section in which participants engaged in dialogue over the challenges of assisting failing and failed states, the future of Iraq, donor fatigue, and the connection between the fight against terrorism and the fight against poverty. Distinguished participants at this event included C. Lawrence Greenwood, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Finance and Development and J. Edward Fox, Assistant Administrator for Legislative and Public Affairs, USAID, as well as representatives of 19 European governments, including the Ambassadors of Austria, Belgium, Luxembourg, Portugal, Slovakia and Slovenia.

REQUEST NO. 2003-15: SUPPORT FOR TRANSATLANTIC FORUM ON PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

WORKING GROUP MEETING DECEMBER 4, 2003

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

On December 4, 2003, The European Institute held the first Working Group of its Transatlantic Forum on Public-Private Partnership for International Development, a collaboration between the Institute, the US Agency for International Development (USAID), and the European Commission. The Forum was launched on October 2 with a luncheon discussion with Andrew Natsios, USAID Administrator.

Approximately 30 representatives from the US and European governments, academic institutions, multilateral organizations and the industry participated in the Working Group discussion, which took place during two morning panel sessions and a working lunch. Each panel featured special presentations by selected government officials, including Barbara Turner, USAID Assistant Administrator for Policy and Program Coordination; Geert Heikens, Head of Economic Financial and Development Affairs at the Delegation of the European Commission; and Emmy Simmons, Assistant Administrator for Economic Growth, Agriculture and Trade at USAID. They also featured remarks by Uri Dadush, Director of the International Trade Bureau at the World Bank; Dr. Steven Radelet, Senior Fellow at the Center for Global Development; and Dr. Anna Dickson, Professor of Political Economy of Development at the University of Durham in the United Kingdom.

The meeting, which was off-the-record, offered an opportunity for members of the transatlantic development community to share official policies in an open and candid manner, explore the challenge of economic growth, and develop new approaches to external assistance that encourage increased cooperation between governments and with the private sector.

Five conclusions reached by the Working Group are particularly worth noting.

First, the “pre-conditions” for economic growth to occur in a developing economy are: (1) macroeconomic and political stability; (2) investment in health and education; (3) good institutions; and (4) an environment conducive to private enterprise. Growth, however, can begin even if all four elements are not in place.

Second, development strategies must be “situation specific.” There is not one single formula for development and donors must take into consideration the unique context of a specific country. It was generally agreed that development approaches that are broad, flexible, and multi-faceted are most effective and that donors should not require countries to only adopt institutional forms that adhere to theoretical orthodoxy.

Third, the role of trade is important to development as it integrates a country into the global economy. It was stated, however, that it has not been proven that trade causes growth and poverty reduction, although some participants disagreed with this view. The merit of labor intensive manufactured-export growth over natural resource-based export growth was also discussed, with participants stating that the later is not as effective. However, with 75% of the world’s poor still employed in the agricultural sector, donors must work with this sector in order to promote development.

Fourth, private sector development strategies must take into account local solutions. There is a need to look at business at the bottom of the pyramid, as micro-enterprises can be more innovative than larger enterprises.

Donors should work with local consultants who, although are less sophisticated than international consultants, are better positioned to formulate solutions and reforms that will be effective in the context of the country. More investment is needed in the basic infrastructure of developing countries in order to promote the growth of private business.

Last but not least, there must be better coordination among aid agencies and increased public-private partnerships to generate more capital flows and technical know-how to developing economies. Private foreign aid far outweighs official development assistance to poor countries, and the private sector has a role to play in international development, although public-private partnerships should be monitored to ensure that they help, and not harm, the poor. Aid is important, but sustainable economic growth cannot occur unless a country takes ownership of its own development.

The Forum will bring together in subsequent discussions representatives of governments, industry, NGOs and other experts, as well as new constituencies, to explore the impact of globalization on economic development and new avenues for cooperation.

REQUEST NO. 2004-04: EDUCATION REFORM

“IMPROVING LIVES THROUGH LEARNING: A STRATEGY FOR EDUCATION AND TRAINING ASSISTANCE IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES” BY WESLEY SNYDER

FOREWARD

Our future depends upon enhancing the talents of individuals to contribute to their own wellbeing and that of society, and for providing opportunities that enable all members of the community to prosper. Development entails the accrual of talent and leadership in effective institutions to facilitate sustained progress. The foundation for development is found in quality basic education for all, supplemented with extended and continual opportunities for training and intellectual growth. Globalization has shifted the individual's role within knowledge-based jobs and economies, and thus it has challenged the organizing principles of educational development based solely upon content knowledge and formal academic institutions. USAID's role revolves around instrumental support for basic education through innovation and technology applications and the leveraging of new opportunities for participant training, workshops, and special programs that continue the spirit and intent of intellectual growth. The key features are procedural learning, critical thinking, and lifelong educational commitment. Training opportunities across sectors ensure continued individual development in productive areas associated with institutional roles and contribute to the development of lifelong learners, learning communities, and effective institutions.

USAID's new education strategy—*Improving Lives through Learning*—directly addresses the complex changes in the larger social and political environments facing developing countries and the increasing interdependencies in those contexts influencing development. The intent of the strategy is to place education within the collective development agenda so that all efforts to educate and train individuals are coordinated and aligned with national investment goals. Recent events and experience have heightened awareness of the essential role of education as a key antidote in reducing poverty, improving health and social wellbeing, building stable and democratic governments, and providing a basis for economic development, as well as addressing the root causes and vulnerability to broader state failure.

Aligned with this, USAID takes a sector-wide approach to education, and a critical view to selected life-long possibilities through cross-cutting participant training and specialized programs. Education, when considered from a sector-wide perspective contributes to potential capacity improvements in all domains of development. Resources are allocated in terms of commitment and opportunity to ensure the foundation of basic education for all and the prospects of individuals to grow and contribute throughout their productive lives. There are attendant risks for developing countries and transition economies to be further marginalized in the competitive knowledge-based world markets if they do not adjust their educational perspective to incorporate a model of lifelong learning. These countries are ill prepared to meet these new challenges because their education systems are of generally low quality, lack the needed diversity in the education sphere to provide various forms of education, and suffer from the lack of integration and coordination of their educational institutions and programs. To be competitive, the educational programs across sectors need to provide skill development and enhancement so that skill levels are upgraded and expanded on a continuing basis. Schools and other training programs need to prepare their participants for lifelong learning in a manner that responds aptly to dynamic economic and social needs.

Educational strategy entails the principal themes and activities around which the Agency patterns its objectives and resource allocations to improve learning systems. Programmatically, *Improving Lives through Learning* emphasizes both (1) the Agency's long experience in enhancing quality basic education in order to lay the foundation for development and meeting international education commitments, such as *Education for All* goals and the Monterrey Consensus, and (2) the Agency's creative approaches to improve the lives and effectiveness of individuals in their capacity to contribute to key institutions of the society throughout their productive lives. It stresses USAID's particular success in innovation and efficiency and the history of close collaboration with other partners, public and private. USAID's two-pronged approach to enhanced and innovative basic education that is seamlessly connected to lifelong training opportunities in critical fields of endeavor is basic to improving lives through learning.

While specific programmatic priorities are most accurately identified at the country level to maximize the effectiveness of learning systems and sustain investment in long-term development, new directions and well-established priorities and principles are articulated in this strategy to guide the general design of educational initiatives and promote informed dialogue and creative answers to the new world relationships and their educational needs. USAID's *Improving Lives through Learning* strategy aims to increase the number of people worldwide who, through expanded and improved learning, can become economically productive, healthy, and socially responsible citizens. It is USAID's technical and creative talent that ably supports this strategy, as well as its leverage to promote systemic cooperative ventures to deepen the educational capacity in any country.

To meet the high aspirations of education, to prevent continued and new human suffering, and to protect our national security, the *Improving Lives through Learning* presents a new strategy that encourages innovations in basic education and links multiple educational opportunities and interventions across sectors and throughout individual lives. Secretary of State, Colin Powell, highlighted to USAID Mission Directors the complexity and interconnectedness of development sectors, such as agriculture, health, and education. The new Global Development Alliance reflects these fundamental changes in the educational agenda, with an emphasis on education innovation, expanded alliances to support educational development, and resource mobilization to ensure sustainable funding for education innovation. Education initiatives not only span sectors but also cut across donor programs and other contributor efforts from public and private sources. Education is a force, a force that enables a "more secure, democratic, and prosperous world for the benefit of the American people and the international community" (the joint mission of our development program). *Improving Lives through Learning*:

- Addresses the foundations of development through basic education and supplemental training,
- Promotes innovation in delivery and enhancements to ensure cognitive and productive growth,
- Integrates educational efforts across sectors to expand educational opportunities throughout life, and
- Invites expanded alliances to ensure the sustainability of development activities and accomplishments.

REQUEST 2004-06: SUPPORT IN DEVELOPING AN ASSESSMENT FRAMEWORK FOR FRAGILE STATES

“TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF A USAID FRAGILE STATES ASSESSMENT TOOL”

SEPTEMBER 17, 2004 MEETING SUMMARY

Several key themes emerged from the workshop:

What is a fragile state?

It will be useful to refine the attributes and definition of fragile states and their distinctive characteristics relative to other contexts in which USAID is operating. This could help focus discussion and generate conclusions as to how to distinguish, assess and respond to fragile states. Development professionals now hold somewhat different notions of what comprises a fragile state or how to distinguish them from other states. Most citizens in fragile states, for example, have a very short planning horizon which suggests they face rapid shifts in substantive circumstances. The substance of these circumstances (e.g., holding a job or the state of local security) may be the same as that for transformational development countries. However, the direction of change, the speed of change or other aspects of holding a job or of neighborhood security may be vastly different. Thus, one theme was: What are the key ingredients of the definition of a fragile state and how do they differ from those of states in other, but similar, contexts – development, conflict, or humanitarian?

How should the PESS-EL matrix be used?

The eight-cell PESS-EL matrix if taken alone could be applied in an overly static way and foster compartmentalization rather than an integrated analysis of the underlying problems of fragile states. For example, trying to fit security into one box or two is not realistic. Security also involves effectiveness and legitimacy across the political, economic and social dimensions. Thus, the “cells” of the PESS-EL matrix could diminish consideration of the overlapping nature of the political, economic, security, and social dimensions of a fragile state. The designers of the fragile states strategy indicated the PESS-EL matrix was not intended to be a set of eight segregated boxes or a stand-alone device. Rather, the matrix is one of several dynamic elements—including syndromes, the analytic scenario, and recovery strategies – in the assessment framework. Individually and together these components are intended to emphasize the cross-cutting and overlapping nature of the vulnerabilities facing fragile states. Similarly, the articulation of downward and recovering “pathways” of fragile states would reflect the fluid and interactive character of these elements as well as the potential for altering their trajectories. These parts together comprise the “whole” of the fragile states assessment and when fleshed out are intended to provide a comprehensive analytic picture of the fragility of a state. At the same time, the core political economy problem(s) of a fragile state are intended to emerge from the assessment.

How should a fragile states assessment framework dovetail with other USAID assessment tools such as the democracy and governance and conflict assessments?

Conflict, democracy and governance and other USAID assessments include some similar elements to those to be included in the fragile states assessment. It is appropriate to mesh these and other USAID assessments with the fragile states assessment. Such a synthesis of USAID assessment methods and experience could enhance the substantive power of the fragile states assessment and help diminish assessment fatigue in some Missions. Key lessons from the democracy and governance and conflict assessment experiences highlighted at the workshop were:

- Use of internal filters that push the assessment to prioritizing problems and potential interventions increases the value of the assessment to development practitioners.
- Current assessment tools evolved slowly and painfully over time, improving after years of constant refining.
- Talented political-economy analysts are rare – but indispensable for these types of analysis. This is not something that just anyone can do. Small, highly-competent teams comprised of locally-based and external analysts were found to be most effective.
- Mission support and ownership of the assessment process was critical for the insights from the analysis to be integrated into programming.
- Follow-up by the assessment teams and their respective offices was as important as the assessment itself for the benefits of the assessment to be realized. In other words, analysis is a critical first step but insufficient for the concerted engagement that is required to realize good program outcomes.

How will the fragile states assessment process be coordinated with local participants, national governments and others?

There are scenarios for which the answer to this question will be different. For example, this theme has important implications for the social sector where civil society may trump the state in some areas and with regards to the security sector where presumably the state would be the leading actor. Furthermore, USAID's engagement with the security sector would provide a potentially constructive mechanism to facilitate a more integrated approach to security concerns – i.e., incorporating the political, economic, and social considerations – than would take place through traditional military-to-military capacity building exercises. A range of options for coordinating with local groups, the state and others, such as bilateral donors, while carrying out a fragile states assessment may be necessary.

How comprehensive is the fragile states assessment framework?

All participants recognized that effectively addressing the fundamental problems of fragile states will almost always involve broader intervention than can be mounted by USAID alone. Other relevant departments and agencies within the USG are also grappling with how the U.S. can be more effective in dealing with these contexts. Nonetheless, it was agreed that there is considerable merit in developing a comprehensive analytic framework initially so as to fully discern the range and priority of challenges faced. From this, appropriate and influential USAID interventions can be determined. Moreover, establishing such a framework provides a readily available conceptual mechanism through which coordination with the Departments of State, Defense, Treasury and others, such as bilateral donors and international organizations, can take place in the context of fragile states.

REQUEST 2004-06: SUPPORT IN DEVELOPING AN ASSESSMENT FRAMEWORK FOR FRAGILE STATES

DRAFT SUMMARY OF THE FRAGILE STATES ASSESSMENT FRAMEWORK

Fragile states represent a distinct and critically important category of developing country. These are states that demonstrate a growing inability to assure the provision of basic services and security to their populations. This susceptibility to instability places a state at risk of failing – states in which the central government does not exert effective control over significant parts of its own territory. State fragility is a function of a series of interrelated and reinforcing processes involving structural factors, institutions, developmental outcomes, and state capacity and legitimacy. In most cases, these processes unfold slowly and incrementally over time – leading to the erosion (or reconstruction) of state capacity. Once certain thresholds are reached, however, further decline may lead to a rapid acceleration of this deterioration. The schematic below describes the context of a fragile state providing a framework for analysis.

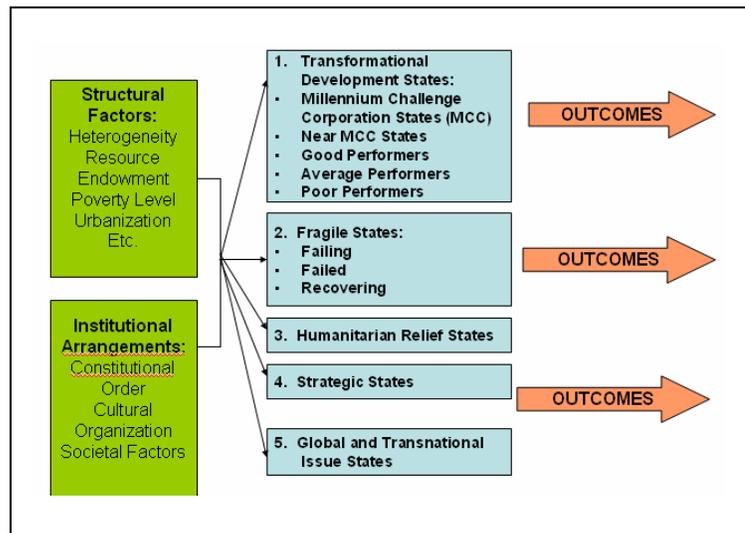
Structural Factors

All states start with a mix of structural factors (such as natural resource endowments, geographic location, population size, ethnic diversity, income level and distribution, etc.) that shape the context in which the state operates. States with a relatively abundant endowment of resources have more options with which to address a society’s priorities and to satisfy the inevitable need for trade-offs among competing groups. Alternately, societies with deep-seated ethnic cleavages face greater political challenges to cohesion than smaller, ethnically homogeneous populations. Structural features on their own, however, are insufficient to determine the quality of life and stability of a society. Political leadership is an important determining factor as to whether and how structural resources are mobilized so as to benefit the general population.

Institutional Arrangements

The institutional arrangements box in the schematic refers to the “rules of the game” or, more broadly, to any set of formal or informal rules followed consciously or unconsciously by individuals who hold beliefs about how others follow the rules as well as the costs and benefits to those individuals of doing so. In other words, institutions help define the incentives that exist in a society – which determine which

policies are pursued from a given structural starting point. Thus, a constitutional order, laws, social norms and conventions, religion, municipal government, enterprises, and trade associations are all examples of institutions. The behavior of people is shaped by the institutions under which they live. Good institutions reward productivity, innovation, and encompassing behaviors leading to more prosperous societies; deleterious institutions enable self-serving and exclusive behavior that impoverishes societies. Unlike structural factors, institutions are subject to modification. By altering the incentives actors face, changes in behavior—for good or for ill – can be realized.



Institutions create incentives that lead to self-reinforcing patterns of behavior, including behavior that has negative social consequences – as is the case in fragile states. One need only think of the mutually reinforcing links between the institutions of state security and those of the legal system to grasp the spiraling nature of these interactions. To change them, it is necessary to substantially disrupt or alter these mutually reinforcing patterns, so that new incentives, and hence new institutions, can take root. These new institutions also need to be self-reinforcing to prompt sustained behavior patterns that lead to better outcomes.

Patterns of Interaction

In fragile states, the interaction of this confluence of structure and incentives is characterized by certain dysfunctions that produce sub-par social outcomes (e.g. low levels of education, poor health, and food insecurity), weakening state capacity, and eventually the emergence of threats to the stability of the state altogether. The processes that generate the fragility and sub-par development overlap and, over time, reinforce one another.

The gap in performance of fragile states necessarily makes the outcomes box on the right side of the schematic a focal point of analysis for deciphering the dynamics of fragile states. Working back from this performance gap will normally point us toward one of the syndromes that characterize most fragile states as represented by the “patterns of interaction”¹ box in the schematic. In nearly every case, the contributing factors to this weakening of capacity are layered, multi-dimensional, and heterogeneous across a society. Left unchecked, these threats will result in greater susceptibility to instability (e.g. armed insurrection by a given aggrieved element of society, opportunistic non-state actors seizing on the state’s weakness attempting to obtain power or control over the nation’s resources for their own benefit, or the politics of ethnic polarization leading to an all-out civil conflict).

There tend to be several common sets of maladaptive institutional characteristics that drive fragility. They are brief vignettes capturing the common essence of the political, economic, social, and security *dynamics* observed in a group of unstable countries. These include the following scenarios reflecting the patterns of failing states:

1. “Escalation of Communal Conflicts” when a major communal group has no incentives to participate in the government and government actors are unable to prevent this rebellion. This may entail a case of a moderately effective government excluding certain communal groups from power and economic benefits only to experience deterioration in effectiveness, allowing opposing groups to mount a rebellion. Alternately, a moderately weak though democratic government may face secessionist pressures from certain regions demanding a relatively greater share of power or economic dividends in the state.
2. “State Predation” describes regimes that prey economically on the population to enrich the family or faction that controls the regime. The regime stays in power only so long as it is effective enough to reward followers and repress its opponents. Once that effectiveness falters, such regimes may collapse quickly for a large potential opposition that has been aggrieved by the predatory policies can be readily mobilized if they perceive the regime can be overthrown.
3. “Regional or Guerilla Rebellion” reflects the context in which a regional group or economic class suffers discrimination or political exclusion and the government lacks the effectiveness to suppress the insurrection of the disenfranchised group once it organizes itself for armed opposition.

¹ Earlier versions of our work referred to these as “stylized scenarios or syndromes”.

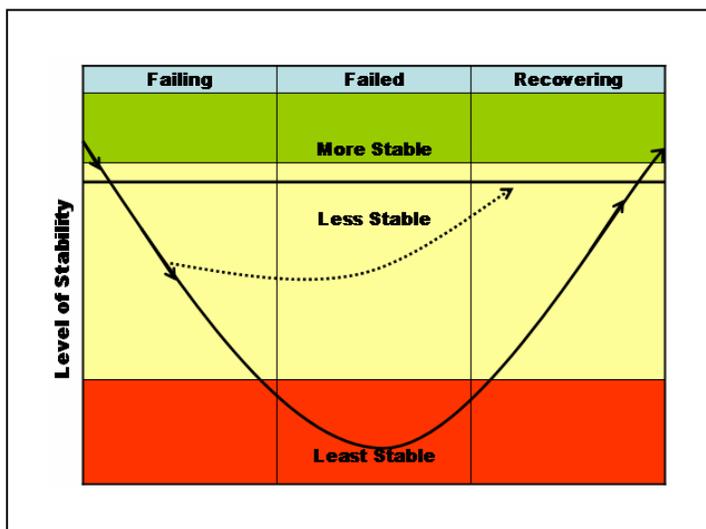
4. “Democratic Collapse into Civil War or Coup d’Etat” represents a scenario where a democratic regime is paralyzed by factionalism or inadequate resources to maintain the security of the population against a relatively well-financed opposition. Such cases may result in the installation of a military junta following a coup d’etat or the emergence of a warlord as head of state.
5. “Succession or Reform Crisis in Authoritarian States” occurs when a state’s power is anchored in the influence of a particular leader - reflecting weak institutional legitimacy. When that leader approaches death, the state faces a crisis over who will fill the political vacuum potentially sparking intense inter-factional fighting. If one faction seizes power, regional or group-based rebellions are likely to arise.

Recognition of these fragile state scenarios can serve as a first step in an assessment process. The initial “hypothesis” of the key patterns of interaction characterizing the fragile state context can be derived by examination of early warning data and other sources of literature, via a desk top study, by experience and observation, or as a first part of the work upon arrival in the fragile states country for the assessment exercise. Additional examination of the relationships operating in a given fragile state will enable validation, expansion or alteration of the principal drivers or patterns of interaction involved in its fragility.

Dimensions – Political, Economic, Social, and Security

Effective analysis of a fragile state depends on identifying and understanding the clusters of institutions and incentives producing instability and fostering conflict (i.e. negative outcomes). Likewise, finding ways to avert fragility or failure or enhance recovery in a fragile state depends on identifying and fostering clusters of institutions and incentives that increase stability and resolve conflict. Thus, one can gain a sense of a state’s fragility by assessing the outcomes generated by its security, political, economic and social institutions. The state is the principal steward of these arrangements. With varying degrees of input from other parts of society, the state has the authority, power and means to create, apply, or change these arrangements to ensure desired outcomes.

Naturally, we need to analyze such dimensions in a holistic manner, particularly their contribution to constitutional order (or rules of the game) and management of conflict. Therefore, this analysis will consider institutional arrangements that cross-cut dimensions such as administrative law, justice, voice and participation and so forth. As indicated above, the causal factors of fragility



vary greatly from context to context. The multi-dimensional nature of these threats highlights the fact that the ordering or relative importance of these factors will change from one context to another – as well as at different periods within the same state. Recognizing this dynamism, these interactions would be best captured by *analytic narratives* that sew together the convergent influences. In this way, the analytic narrative will serve as an ultimate synthesis of the story of the principal set of interactions occurring at the country level.

In most fragile states there will be a principal political economy problem—a goal and institutional arrangements to achieve it—that is inimical to the encompassing interest of the society. The analytic narrative must provide an incisive description of this problem. It aims to identify not only the degree to which weakness in

effectiveness versus legitimacy explains the performance gap, but which actors, incentives, and influences are most pernicious in causing the poor outcomes that prevail. This distillation sets out and describes the interactions between the conditions observed, the players and their beliefs, stakes and strategies, and the principal institutional arrangements in place. In this way, it triangulates the insights gained from the earlier stages to identify those factors that most frequently and fundamentally intersect with the other causal forces contributing to increased state fragility. This stage of analysis, therefore, requires a prioritization of all of the previously identified influences, including the identification of those factors that have a compounding effect on the negative outcomes when combined with other variables. It will also specifically address the issue of “tipping” points between stability and instability when perceptions and incentives embodied in key institutional arrangements shift sufficiently to change the trajectory of society.

The results of this narrative can then be compared to the patterns of interaction or hypothesis developed earlier in the schematic. The process of trying to close the performance gap via improved state capacity (in any of the four dimensions) must either directly address this central problem or indirectly account for it. That is, unless the political economy problem at the core of the fragility is identified, targeted and addressed systematically and sufficiently, an intervention will not be effective. Usually this problem will be centered in the political dimension and in the state itself with all the attendant implications for donors.

Outcomes

From an analytical perspective, we are most intensely interested in why any state produces inadequate outcomes that lead to fragility. The outcomes box on the right side of the schematic is the measuring stick meant to capture these undesirable developments. These entail indicators such as stagnant or deteriorating levels of household income and purchasing power, infant mortality rates, accessibility of health and education opportunities, degree of vulnerability to economic or humanitarian crises, reduced government revenues, or an upsurge in communal violence.

In addition to being outcomes of the institutional arrangements in place in a society, the development and security outcomes generated contribute to weakening (or augmenting) state effectiveness and legitimacy. Financial limitations affect the types of health and sanitation systems a society may support, which in turn contributes to the productivity of a society’s economy and levels of government revenues that can enhance state capacity. A skewed distribution of economic and material benefits reinforces perceptions of illegitimacy among a ruling party while reducing social cohesion and increasing the likelihood for factional fighting. A weakened civil society, moreover, influences social norms for discourse and cooperation reducing the scope for the resolution of conflicts.

State Effectiveness and Legitimacy

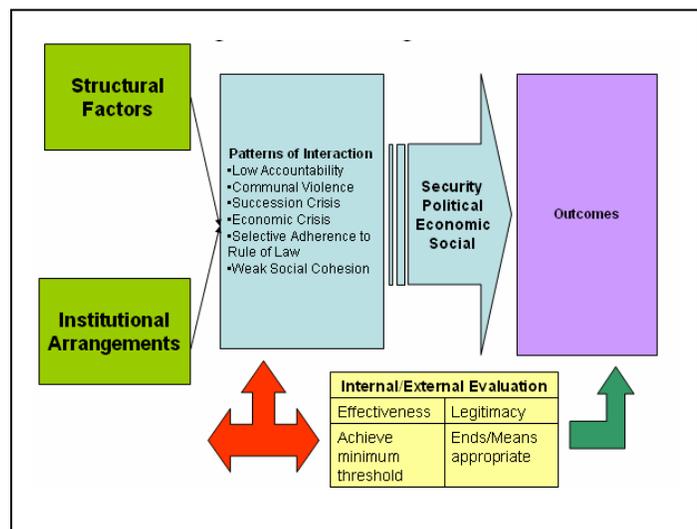
Effectiveness refers to the degree a state has the administrative capability and resources to carry out the tasks of governance, the bottom-line being provision of minimal public services in each dimension. This consists of having adequate financial resources to pay state employees and officials; a disciplined military and a bureaucracy that is capable of providing administration, defense, and security; and sufficient intelligence/administrative capability to identify threats and problems and act on them. States that cannot enforce laws, collect sufficient revenue, or administer and control their territory, are politically ineffective. For the economic dimension, the critical issue is providing material sustenance. We thus ask if the state can provide food security, access to water, land, jobs, a stable currency, and other resources essential to maintaining material life. (Note: economic growth may be initial evidence of economic effectiveness, but it is not sufficient. If growth is narrowly focused and highly unequal, it may still leave a large portion of the population without economically secure access to resources needed to maintain their accustomed livings. For social effectiveness, what matters is whether the state provides expected social services (education, public health, usable transportation disaster

relief, accommodation for cultural/religious expression). Finally, for security, an effective state can provide safety to its supporters and punish its enemies.

Both ruthless dictatorships and open democracies can be effective, or ineffective. This characteristic is a matter of getting tasks done, not how the government is chosen or what its policies may be. The governments of western democracies are highly effective, but so too are certain authoritarian regimes, such as Singapore.

Legitimacy consists of rulers being judged—by both elites and popular groups—as being reasonably fair and just in their exercise of power. Perceptions of justice or injustice are extremely powerful factors in affecting state stability or collapse. Ethnic groups can co-exist peaceably as long as they are confident they are being fairly treated by the government; but systematic discrimination generally triggers opposition and rebellion. Elite factions can co-exist if confident they will share in power and status; but when such competition is seen as rigged to exclude certain groups, the latter commonly rebel. Legitimacy can readily be made operational in terms of “fair shares.” Politically, if specific elite or popular groups are systematically and explicitly excluded from power or actively repressed, then there is likely to be a perception of low legitimacy along the political dimension. In the economic sphere, if specific elite or popular groups are systematically excluded from economic roles or access to resources; or if specific groups are monopolizing economic gains, then there is likely to be a perception of low legitimacy along the economic dimension. In the social sphere, if specific ethnic or social identity groups are explicitly excluded from publicly provided goods and services by the state or faced with systematic discrimination, or their cultures and customs are not respected or suppressed, then there is likely to be a perception of low legitimacy along the social dimension. For security, if the security apparatus works to favor or repress a specific social group, works erratically or indiscriminately against the population at large, or fails to predictably and adequately enforce property rights then there is likely to be a perception of low legitimacy along this dimension.

A government is generally perceived as legitimate if it has established a reputation for fairness in its actions toward its people. Some institutions have acquired a presumption of legitimacy through long familiarity and a history of predominantly fair conduct, even if not democratically elected. In traditional societies, monarchies, councils-of-elders, and tribal assemblies often have such character. In modern societies, established democratic regimes and their institutions (courts, assemblies, elected leaders) have acquired this kind of legitimacy. However, regimes can quickly acquire or lose legitimacy by highly visible acts of fairness or injustice. “Legitimacy” here is based as much on how a regime acts in power (the “use of power”) as on how that regime was chosen or came to power (the “source of power”).



Dictatorships, for example, that have seized power in anti-democratic coups can gain a measure of legitimacy if they act to stabilize living standards, limit or share corruption, and treat all sub-groups equally. However, if the dictator begins to share spoils too unequally, it may lose “legitimacy” and, with it, the dictator may lose the support of crucial elites.

Democracies, if fairly elected and showing reasonable checks and balances, are generally highly legitimate. They provide robust neutral ground to resolve conflicts and avoid propensities for violence. However, merely having elections is no guarantee of legitimacy. If the elections result in a dominant majority that largely excludes minority groups from power or legislates against them; or if elections produce a leader who has uninhibited authority and uses it to favor a particular circle of cronies or relations, then even such democracies can become transparently unfair and have very low legitimacy (as often occurred in Pakistan and Nigeria, leading to welcomed military takeovers), destroying the basis for neutral ground and for non-coercive regulation of conflict.

Perceptions of state effectiveness and legitimacy are created by the trajectory of development outcomes a society is experiencing and by the procedures inherent in the security, political, economic, and social dimensions of society. When institutional arrangements do not produce outcomes that foster stability and resolve conflict for the principal groups in society, the effectiveness or legitimacy of the state weakens until a point is reached where the dynamic of the state changes and sustained movement toward instability and conflict occurs. Likewise, when the state shapes and implements institutions improperly or poorly (disenfranchising some groups or relying on coercion to force compliance), the flawed institutional arrangements themselves will lead stakeholders to perceive state effectiveness or legitimacy has declined.

When this “change” in effectiveness or legitimacy is significant enough to suggest a key group’s security or other core interests are at stake, the group may engage in a host of actions to protect itself. For example, the group may be more aggressive in the political sphere or, if the situation is extreme, may act on the logic of fear and attack the state first to defend the group. A group may also act to promote its own agenda. The extreme case is the *logic of excessive ambition*—when a political movement is confident the prize is so worthy that even the most extreme sacrifices are worth imposing on others and themselves. Finally, a group may seek to right injuries caused by the failure of constitutional order, seeking revenge or to assuage its moral outrage from injury or humiliation. Victims may turn into victimizers and launch a cycle of vengeance and retribution.

Movement toward stability stems from improved institutional arrangements that produce outcomes supportive of constitutional order—decision making involving participation of all key groups and conflict resolution without violence. The tipping point occurs when outcomes produced by the state convince core individuals and groups that the constitutional order will allow fair and adequate address of their concerns too, usually when the state successfully re-shapes and implements key institutional arrangements in the security, political, economic and social dimensions of society. Typically, this re-direction occurs as a result of political changes, improved voice, participation and other political processes and results that address the imbalance of politically determined outcomes at the heart of tension and conflict among key groups. The development and use of these enhanced institutional arrangements improves the outcomes produced and the effectiveness or legitimacy of the state until a point is reached where the dynamic of the state changes and sustained movement toward stability and settlement of conflict via the constitutional order begins.

Fragile states are those where the effectiveness and legitimacy of the state do not, when taken together, create sufficient constitutional order to manage internal conflicts and, ultimately, the propensity for violence. An imbalance between contending centers of political power and objectives is usually at the heart of this fragility, suggesting that political concerns tend to infuse and even trump those of security, economics and social services. Clearly, then, if we can assess the political drivers and dynamics of legitimacy and effectiveness of a country’s institutions, we are well on our way to understanding the fragility of a state.

Although we can treat effectiveness and legitimacy as separate characteristics of state capacity, they do of course interact. Governments that attempt to increase their effectiveness by lavishly rewarding certain supporters or

such states, *any changes that undermine perceptions of state legitimacy can lead to defections of elite and popular support and push regimes toward or into failure.*

An adequate level of state capacity is crucial to achieving successful results in the security, political, economic and social dimensions, among others, of society. Examination of state effectiveness and legitimacy in each of these dimensions will highlight the interactions, and relative importance of these sectors and their contribution to the outcomes resulting in the growing risk of instability (or in the case of recovery, of the decreasing risk of instability) in fragile states. Each sector will not be equally crucial in every circumstance although all dimensions will be involved to some degree in characterizing overall state effectiveness and legitimacy. Our findings regarding outcomes will be arrayed to enable conclusions to be drawn regarding the level of effectiveness and legitimacy generally and the importance of each of the four dimensions in determining these levels.

Summary - Fragile State Assessments and Interventions

To better understand the sources of fragility and their relative importance requires a diagnostic tool that can contextualize and specify the typically overlapping weaknesses. Doing so, in turn, will greatly aid conceptualizing, designing, and implementing appropriate interventions that can help staunch and reverse the downward trend.

When states are fragile, sustainable stabilization depends on rebuilding institutions in ways that provide lasting incentives to cooperative behavior. The foundation of the state is built upon those institutions that support the constitutional order, a principled instrument for making collective decisions, and resolving conflicts. A decline in these institutions creates trajectories toward state failure while a strengthening of them creates the basis for development. Properly conceived, these institutions provide a mainly non-coercive framework for addressing conflicts (which are inevitable) in ways that avoid violence.

The fragile states assessment will identify and examine outcomes and the political, security, economic and social dimensions that have generated them. Based on the findings with respect to both, an assessment team will reach conclusions regarding state effectiveness and legitimacy in these dimensions. The assessment will also highlight interactions between these four dimensions and their contribution to growing instability (or in the case of recovery, of growing stability) in the fragile state. Each sector will not be equally crucial in every circumstance although all dimensions will be involved to some degree in characterizing overall state effectiveness and legitimacy. An ultimate synthesis will be the analytic narrative, the story of the principal set of interactions occurring at the country level that describes and analyzes the core political economy problem(s) affecting society. This part of the assessment will reach conclusions about the overall effectiveness and legitimacy of the state with respect to the problems at the heart of societal fragility.

The schematic suggests how an identified performance gap—that of inadequate outcomes—can be closed. The state must change the dysfunctional institutional arrangements in place. To do this, the state, perhaps working with civil society, the private sector, donors and others, must identify and put into place new goals, incentives, enforcement rules and enforcers to improve effectiveness and legitimacy in the dimensions where they are weak. That is, the state must act to close the governance gap (that is, dysfunctional institutions) so that the state capacity gap (by way of greater effectiveness and legitimacy) can be narrowed so that, in turn, the performance gap (by way of better outcomes) can be erased.

Put another way, recovery from any fragility scenario requires repairing, and sometimes, creating, institutional arrangements that increase state capacity – legitimacy and effectiveness in the security, political, economic and

social dimensions of state activity. For a failing state, this may require rebuilding the legitimacy and effectiveness of the institutions in these four dimensions. For a failed state, this may require first developing the means necessary to address conflict and stabilize the context prior to working on the effectiveness and legitimacy of the security, political, economic and social dimensions of the society.

The fragile states assessment, when completed, should enable USAID to “pivot” and, looking at the results obtained, understand where and how to address the key problems of the fragile state. At the very least, there will be more clearly targeted avenues for intervention by the fragile state itself, USAID and other donors. The assessment is designed to avoid stovepipes and to draw into clear view those conditions that require holistic, integrated, and compatible interventions to address the core governance and other gaps in the fragile state.

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Dennis Wood, Deputy Director



U.S. Agency for International Development

The [Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination](#) (PPC) in the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) is on the front lines of U.S. foreign assistance in the post 9/11 world. PPC's role there is to ensure that USAID's policy agenda maximizes its contribution to U.S. development assistance and foreign policy interests.

Creating and implementing an effective policy agenda that addresses emerging issues, helps set priorities, that encompasses several layers and parts of government(s) and that involves multiple disciplines is a complicated undertaking for PPC and USAID. To assist in this on-going effort, PPC recently awarded the IRIS Center at the University of Maryland, College Park, a \$4 million contract entitled "Intellectual Leadership Agenda Support (IDEAS)" to help the bureau generate and apply ideas with potential to meet U.S. Government needs in our new world. ([Read more...](#))



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Tish Butler, Director, USAID - Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination, Office of Policy Planning (left); Sid Kaplan, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Strategic and Performance Planning, Department of State (right) chat during the 7 May 2004 workshop, "The Challenge of Aid Effectiveness: Options for U.S. Foreign Aid Reform."

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APPENDIX C: USAID MANAGEMENT OF PPC IDEAS

USAID provides direction and oversight of PPC IDEAS activities through several key individuals. The day-to-day managers of the program are Dr. Ann Phillips and Melissa Brown. Ms. Brown serves as the Cognizant Technical Officer (CTO) for the project.

Barbara Turner, Acting Assistant Administrator, PPC

Barbara Turner currently serves as the Acting Assistant Administrator for the Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination at USAID. In this capacity, she is the senior career official directing the budget and policy of USAID, the federal agency responsible for the U.S.'s \$10 billion foreign assistance program to over 75 countries. During 25 years of government service, Ms. Turner has led international development assistance concerned with effective delivery of U.S. technical knowledge and support to developing and transition countries. Prior to this appointment, Ms. Turner directed the Agency's Global Bureau with a staff of 400 and programs in economic growth, democracy, health, the environment and education. She led the Agency's HIV/AIDS initiatives and started revitalization efforts for technical staffing within the Foreign Service. From 1992 to 1998, she set up the Agency's first assistance programs in the New Independent States of the former Soviet Union and in 1995 headed the Agency's Balkans Task Force, establishing the USAID field offices and programs following the Dayton Accords. She also has served as Senior Program Advisor to the Rockefeller Foundation, where she organized international programs in the Environment, Health and Population. She holds degrees in International Health and Public Administration.

Letitia Butler, Director, Office of Policy Planning, PPC

Since June 2002, Ms. Butler has led USAID's sectoral strategy and development policy formulation and promulgation. Following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, Ms. Butler was selected by the USAID Administrator to help create and lead the Central Asian Task Force. As Deputy Director, she functioned as the assistant to the Director in coordinating all policy and resource allocation decisions related to the historic emergency programs and recovery/reconstruction efforts of USAID in Afghanistan. Ms. Butler's experience with USAID spans 28 years, during which she has served in overseas posts in Bolivia, Peru, Lebanon, the Philippines and Guatemala. She served for 18 months as Office Director in the Latin America and Caribbean Bureau in charge of Regional Sustainable Development. Prior to that, she was Deputy Director of the USAID Mission in Guatemala from 1996-99, where she was in charge of the Mission's Peace Program including the demobilization and reintegration of rebel ex-combatants and support for the implementation of the Peace Accords. She holds a B.A. from the University of Virginia in Asian Studies and a certificate from the Foreign Service Institute's Economic and Commercial Studies Program.

Melissa Brown, Senior Policy Advisor, PPC

Melissa Brown is USAID's Senior Policy Advisor for Democracy and Governance. In this position, she is responsible for democracy and governance issues as well as a broad range of issues related to fragile states, post-conflict situations and crisis response. Previously, she served as USAID's lead on coordination with other donors on these same issues, Director of USAID/Nigeria's democracy and governance programs and team leader for Africa in USAID's Center for Democracy and Governance. In these positions, she has traveled extensively throughout sub-Saharan Africa and the Balkans. Prior to joining USAID, she held various research and fellowship positions, including appointments with the Overseas Development Council, the Department of State and the World Bank. She has a Master's Degree from Georgetown University's Master of Science in Foreign Service (MSFS) program.

Ann L. Phillips, Political Economy Policy Analyst, PPC

Dr. Phillips is the lead manager for the PPC IDEAS activity, where she shapes the IDEAS program to provide effective support for USAID's policy agenda. In addition, her substantive work at PPC focuses on several aspects of USAID's overall strategic focus, such as fragile states issues, Muslim world governance, donor coordination (e.g., transatlantic views of development strategy as sound bases for economic growth and poverty reduction) and institutional foundations for economic growth. From 2000 to 2002, Dr. Phillips was an American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAS) Diplomacy Fellow at PPC. Before joining USAID, Dr. Phillips served as a Fulbright Professor in political science at the Friedrich Schiller Universität in Jena, Germany, where she taught European politics. Prior to that, she taught courses on system transition, democratization, and Central-East Europe transition, as well as European comparative politics at American University. Dr. Phillips holds a Ph.D. from Georgetown University, an M.A. from The Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, and a B.A. from Denison University. Her most recent publication is *Power and Influence after the Cold War: Germany in East-Central Europe*. Her works include several articles and book chapters on Central-East European democratization, German unification and political parties and a book on Soviet Policy toward East Germany.

APPENDIX D: IRIS MANAGEMENT OF PPC IDEAS

Project Director

Dennis Wood, Deputy Director (PhD.—University of Maryland; J.D.—Harvard Law School; B.S.—Oregon State University) Dr. Wood is a lawyer and an economist who specializes in policy analysis and institutional reform in developing countries. He has served as Chief of Party for the Job Opportunities and Business Support (JOBS) Project in Bangladesh, Director of IRIS's program in Indonesia, and Director of IRIS's \$25 million SEGIR-LIR IQC. Dr. Wood has also worked on public and private sector issues for the World Bank, USAID and private firms in the U.S., Africa, Asia and Latin America. He served in the White House, the Executive Office of the President of the United States, the U.S. Department of State in Washington, D.C., on the staff of Arthur D. Little, Inc. in Cambridge, Massachusetts and with Devres, Inc. Dr. Wood was an elected member of the Council of the Town of Chevy Chase, MD for 12 years, including two years as Mayor. He is a member of the Bar in Massachusetts and Washington, D.C.

Program Managers

Maureen Donaghy, Program Manager, PPC IDEAS Project, June 2004 - Present (M.A.—American University; B.A.—Georgetown University) Ms. Donaghy received an M.A. degree in International Development from American University where she focused on development management and policy. She also holds a B.A. degree in Comparative Government with a minor in Women's Studies from Georgetown University. She has previously completed consulting assignments for the CATALYST Consortium, a reproductive health NGO, and the International Development Division of Land O'Lakes, Inc., in which she assisted women from a chocolate cooperative in Mexico in the development of their enterprises. Prior to graduate school, Ms. Donaghy served as a program assistant to the Women's Learning Partnership and the Sisterhood Is Global Institute, both based in Washington, D.C., and she is currently a volunteer researcher for the Fair Trade Resource Network.

Adam Schumacher, Program Manager, PPC IDEAS Project, June 2003 - May 2004 (B.A.—Clark University; M.P.A.—Rutgers University) Prior to joining the IRIS Center, Adam Schumacher worked for the Urban Institute, where he was a Development Advisor on a local government reform project in the Republic of Moldova contracted by USAID. Mr. Schumacher engaged in a series of research projects and policy papers on community investment programs, economic development initiatives and community strategic planning. He also served in the U.S. Peace Corps—Moldova with the Economic and Organizational Development program, working with a variety of youth and minority rights NGOs. He has designed several training modules for organizational capacity building and has extensive experience with grant writing and fundraising. Mr. Schumacher wrote his directed study for his M.P.A. on the privatization of telecommunications in transitions economies. He speaks Russian and his interests include community development and local governance in the former Soviet Union.

Ina Nasution, Program Manager, Financial Affairs, May 2003 - April 2004 (B.S.—Bogor Agricultural University; M.B.A.—P.P.M. Graduate School of Management, Jakarta; M.S.—George Washington University). Prior to joining the IRIS Center, Ina Nasution worked at Capsco, Inc., a small broker merchandising company in Washington, D.C.; HM Sampoerna, a consumer goods company in Indonesia; and Consortium Manggarai, a real estate investment and development company in Indonesia, where she worked in investment and financial statement analysis, project management and strategic management. She was also an NGO activist in Bogor, Indonesia. The NGO she worked with, Lembaga Pertanian Mahasiswa Islam, focused on agricultural development. In this position, she was in charge of project financing and economic development of Leuwih Sadeng, an underdeveloped village in West Java, Indonesia.

Gale Quilter, Events Manager. Ms. Quilter is a certified meeting professional with over 20 years of experience. She has planned events for up to 15,000 participants and for such clients as USAID, the Department of Health and Human Services, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the FBI, the ATF, George Washington University and the Cardiovascular Research Foundation. Ms. Quilter studied at the Texas Women's University for her M.B.A./M.H.A. and the State University of New York at Brockport for her B.S. degree.

APPENDIX E: CONTRIBUTORS AND EVENT SPEAKERS

Contributors and Event Speakers from USAID

Dr. Andrew Natsios, Administrator of USAID

Andrew S. Natsios was sworn in on May 1, 2001, as administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). President Bush has also appointed him Special Coordinator for International Disaster Assistance and Special Humanitarian Coordinator for the Sudan. Natsios has served previously at USAID, first as director of the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance from 1989 to 1991 and then as assistant administrator for the Bureau for Food and Humanitarian Assistance (now the Bureau of Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance) from 1991 to January 1993.

Before assuming his new position, Natsios was chairman and chief executive officer of the Massachusetts Turnpike Authority from April 2000 to March 2001, and had responsibility for managing the Big Dig, the largest public works project in U.S. history. Before that, he was secretary for administration and finance for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts from March 1999 to April 2000. From 1993 to 1998, Natsios was vice president of World Vision U.S. From 1987 to 1989, he was executive director of the Northeast Public Power Association in Milford, Massachusetts. Natsios served in the Massachusetts House of Representatives from 1975 to 1987 and was named legislator of the year by the Massachusetts Municipal Association (1978), the Massachusetts Association of School Committees (1986), and Citizens for Limited Taxation (1986). He also was chairman of the Massachusetts Republican State Committee for seven years.

Natsios is a graduate of Georgetown University and Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, where he received a Master of Public Administration. He is the author of numerous articles on foreign policy and humanitarian emergencies, as well as the author of two books: *U.S. Foreign Policy and the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1997), and *The Great North Korean Famine* (U.S. Institute of Peace, 2001).

After serving for 23 years in the U.S. Army Reserves, Natsios retired in 1995 with the rank of lieutenant colonel. He is a veteran of the Gulf War.

Barbara Turner, Acting Assistant Administrator, PPC

Barbara Turner currently serves as the Acting Assistant Administrator for the Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination at USAID. In this capacity, she is the senior career official directing the budget and policy of USAID, the federal agency responsible for the U.S.'s \$10 billion foreign assistance program to over 75 countries. During 25 years of government service, Ms. Turner has led international development assistance concerned with effective delivery of U.S. technical knowledge and support to developing and transition countries. Prior to this appointment, Ms. Turner directed the Agency's Global Bureau with a staff of 400 and programs in economic growth, democracy, health, the environment and education. She led the Agency's HIV/AIDS initiatives and started revitalization efforts for technical staffing within the Foreign Service. From 1992 to 1998, she set up the Agency's first assistance programs in the New Independent States of the former Soviet Union and in 1995 headed the Agency's Balkans Task Force, establishing the USAID field offices and programs following the Dayton Accords. She also has served as Senior Program Advisor to the Rockefeller Foundation, where she organized international programs in the Environment, Health and Population. She holds degrees in International Health and Public Administration.

Emmy Simmons, Assistant Administrator for Economic Growth, Agriculture and Trade at USAID

Emmy B. Simmons currently serves as the Assistant Administrator for economic growth, agriculture and trade of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). A member of the Senior Foreign Service, Simmons has more than 30 years experience in international agriculture and economic development. Since 1997, she has served as USAID's Deputy Assistant Administrator in the former Bureau for Global Programs, Research and Field Support, where she has led the Center for Economic Growth and Agricultural Development. From 1994 to 1997, Ms. Simmons worked as the Senior Program Officer for USAID's mission in Moscow, where she oversaw an aid portfolio of more than \$1 billion. From 1991 to 1994, she served in USAID's regional office for east and southern Africa as Supervisory Program Economist. Ms. Simmons also worked as a supervisory agricultural officer for Mali and a regional agricultural advisor for West Africa, in addition to holding numerous supervisory positions in the Africa Bureau in USAID's Washington headquarters.

Ms. Simmons is a graduate of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and she has a Master of Agricultural Economics degree from Cornell University where she won the prestigious American Association of Agricultural Economics award for best master's thesis. She is fluent in French and conversant in Russian, Hausa and Ilocano.

Polly Byers, Senior Policy Advisor, PPC

Ms. Byers is a Senior Policy Advisor for the Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination at USAID. Prior to this assignment, she served as Secretariat to the Interagency Development Policy Coordinating Committee in the U.S. State Department's Economic Bureau, where she focused on developing coordinated US government positions on key development issues. Prior to that, Ms. Byers served as the Africa specialist at the State Department's Policy and Planning Office. In addition, Ms. Byers worked for eight years at USAID's Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance, managing humanitarian assistance programs in Africa. Before joining USAID, Ms. Byers worked for the Congressional Select Committee on Hunger, the World Bank and the State Department.

Ann L. Phillips, Political Economy Policy Analyst, USAID/PPC

Dr. Phillips is the lead manager for the PPC IDEAS activity, where she shapes the IDEAS program to provide effective support for USAID's policy agenda. In addition, her substantive work at PPC focuses on several aspects of USAID's overall strategic focus, such as fragile states issues, Muslim world governance, donor coordination (e.g., transatlantic views of development strategy as sound bases for economic growth and poverty reduction) and institutional foundations for economic growth. From 2000 to 2002, Dr. Phillips was an American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAS) Diplomacy Fellow at PPC. Before joining USAID, Dr. Phillips served as a Fulbright Professor in political science at the Friedrich Schiller Universität in Jena, Germany, where she taught European politics. Prior to that, she taught courses on system transition, democratization, and Central-East Europe transition, as well as European comparative politics at American University. Dr. Phillips holds a Ph.D. from Georgetown University, an M.A. from The Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, and a B.A. from Denison University. Her most recent publication is *Power and Influence after the Cold War: Germany in East-Central Europe*. Her works include several articles and book chapters on Central-East European democratization, German unification and political parties and a book on Soviet Policy toward East Germany.

Judith Dunbar, Analyst, USAID/DCHA/CMM

Judith Dunbar is an analyst for the Warning and Analysis team in the Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation in USAID. Before joining USAID, Ms. Dunbar completed her MA at the Fletcher School at Tufts University in development economics and conflict resolution. Her thesis focused on a comparative analysis of the Ubudehe process in Rwanda and the World Bank's Kecamatan Development Projects in Indonesia. She

previously worked for Development Alternatives, Inc. on programs for the Office of Transition Initiatives and the Office of Women in Development, among others.

Konrad Huber, Senior Human Rights Advisor, USAID/DCHA/OTI

Konrad Huber is Senior Human Rights Adviser in USAID's Office of Transition Initiatives. His previous experience in human rights and peacebuilding spans conflict-affected countries throughout much of the world. He served in 1993–95 as adviser to the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, mandated to prevent ethnic conflict in the former Soviet Union and Central and Eastern Europe. During this period, he also launched the Foundation on Inter-Ethnic Relations, a non-profit organization dedicated to supporting the role of the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities. From 1995–98, he served in various positions with the U.N. Human Rights Field Operation in Rwanda, including as head of field-team coordination and reporting to the Government of Rwanda. In 2001-03, Konrad was UNICEF's adviser and program manager for peacebuilding issues in Indonesia, focusing particularly on Muslim-Christian strife in the Maluku. He recently completed a year-long International Affairs Fellowship at the Council on Foreign Relations, where he focused his research and writing on effective approaches to managing internal conflicts, especially in Aceh, Indonesia.

Bob Leavitt, Conflict Analyst, USAID/AFR/SD/CMR

Bob Leavitt has served as the USAID/AFR Conflict Program Advisor for the past three and a half years. In addition, Bob has five years of experience working in conflict settings in sub-Saharan Africa, primarily Angola, Sudan, Liberia and Ethiopia.

Gail Lecce, Deputy Director, USAID/DCHA/DG

Gail Lecce is the Deputy Director of the Democracy and Governance Office. She has a B.A. from Penn State University in English literature and a J.D. from Harvard Law School. Gail worked for a law firm in Hawaii before joining USAID in the Office of the General Counsel (GC) in 1979. Her USAID career has been split between GC and democracy officer positions. Assignments have included regional legal advisor for Central America (posted in Costa Rica), assistant general counsel for contracts and head of the democracy offices in El Salvador and Honduras.

Wendy Marshall, Africa Coordinator, USAID/DCHA/DG/SAR

Wendy Marshall serves as the Africa Coordinator in the Strategic Planning and Research Division in the DCHA Office for Democracy and Governance. In this capacity, she supports African missions in developing multi-year DG strategic objectives, manages Africa DG assessments, and coordinates the Office's Africa Team to ensure mission field support needs are met. Wendy has participated in DG and conflict assessments in Burundi, Eritrea, Nigeria, South Africa, and Sudan. She is a member of the DG Office fragile states working group. She has an MPA from Syracuse University.

Sharon Morris, Senior Advisor, USAID/DCHA/CMM

Sharon Morris is Senior Advisor in the Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation at the United States Agency for International Development. She is heading research efforts on the relationship between conflict and development assistance and has completed assignments related to conflict in Haiti, Central Asia, Nigeria, Nepal, Azerbaijan, Sri Lanka, Rwanda, and Indonesia. She is the author of the chapter on Conflict Management and Mitigation in the USAID report, Foreign Assistance in the National Interest and USAID's conflict assessment framework. Previously she worked in the Center for Democracy and Governance at USAID. Before joining USAID she worked as a Research Associate in the Program on Global Security and Sustainability at the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, at Marvin Zonis and Associates, a consulting firm specializing in the area of international economic and security issues, and the Asia Foundation.

She holds a Ph.D. in political science from the University of Chicago, where her research focused on the relationship between democratization, democratic breakdown, and conflict.

S. Tjip Walker, Sr. Conflict/Governance Advisor, USAID/DCHA/OTI

Dr. S. Tjip Walker brings a combination of extensive field experience and advanced analytical skills to address problems of political economy, democratization, and conflict management in developing countries. In his 23-year career as a development professional, Dr. Walker has been an active participant in efforts ranging from developing a methodology for assessing democratic governance to reviewing the effectiveness of USAID's support to disarmament/demobilization/reintegration programs to articulating the agency's first policy statement on conflict. His overseas assignments have included managing a privatization and market reform program also in Cameroon and directing the Office of Transition Initiative's (OTI) program supporting the democratic transition in Nigeria. He presently leads the Warning and Analysis Team in the Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation and is a member of USAID's Fragile States Task Force.

Dr. Walker holds an MPA from the John F. Kennedy School at Harvard University and a Ph.D. in political science from Indiana University, where he was a research fellow at the Workshop for Political Theory and Policy Analysis. His dissertation, *Both Pretense and Promise: The Political Economy of Privatization in Africa* applied institutional analysis to understand the effectiveness of various privatization strategies. Dr. Walker also taught in the Political Science Department at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte for five years before rejoining USAID.

Charles Weden, Senior Field Advisor, USAID/DCHA/OTI

Charles Weden is a Senior Field Advisor in USAID's Office of Transition Initiatives. He headed OTI's program in Iraq from the inception of the war until early August 2003. Subsequently he has been helping to establish and monitor OTI's program in Haiti. Mr. Weden retired from USAID in 1997 with the rank as Minister. During his 32 year career he served as USAID Mission Director in Indonesia, Tunisia and Yemen and twice served as Deputy Assistant Administrator in USAID's Asia Near East Bureau.

Additional IRIS Staff Support

Ambassador Tariq Karim, Senior Advisor, IRIS

Ambassador Tariq Karim joined the IRIS Center in February 2002 as Senior Advisor to its Democracy and Governance Program. Prior to this appointment, he served as Bangladesh's Ambassador to the United States. In 1999, Ambassador Karim joined the University of Maryland at College Park as a Distinguished International Executive in Residence pursuant to a Ford Foundation Fellowship, to pursue academic research on South and Central Asia, China and Iran. Prior to 1999, he worked for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh, where he held numerous positions, including ambassadorships to Iran, Lebanon, South Africa, and the U.S. In the Foreign Ministry's early stages, Ambassador Karim played an important role in organizing the ministry's departments, including the department for Middle East and African Affairs. As Additional Foreign Secretary with responsibility for the South Asian region, he played a seminal role in helping the then newly elected Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina in formulating strategy for normalization of relations with India, including the ending of cross border insurgency problems that had plagued relations between the two countries for over two decades. The Prime Minister of Bangladesh entrusted him with a critically important role in negotiating and finalizing for signature the important 30-year Ganges Water Sharing Treaty with India (signed in December 1996), which marked a watershed in relations between the two neighbors. Ambassador Karim adopted bold and innovative approaches in the negotiations, which enabled finalization of the treaty.

Ambassador Karim's publications include the following articles: "Pakistan: Stalking Armageddon in South Asia?" *Contemporary South Asia*, Journal of the University of Bradford, U.K. (March 2001); "Iran's relations

with South Asia, Central Asia, China and Russia,” *Journal of the Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BISS)*, Winter 2000; “The Bangladesh - India Treaty on Sharing of the Ganges Waters: Genesis and Significance,” *Journal of the Bangladesh Institute for International and Strategic Studies (BISS)* (1998).

Nicola Mousset-Jones, Program Manager, IRIS

Nicola Mousset-Jones joined the IRIS Center in July 2002 as the Program Manager on the Indonesia projects. Prior to joining IRIS, she served as a curriculum developer with the Higher Achievement Mentor Program and worked at the Academy for Educational Development as a technical operations coordinator and a program specialist, focusing on educational exchanges with Botswana. In addition, she has experience in grant writing, budgeting, nonprofit accounting and annual report writing with overseas experience in Swaziland, Kenya and Ghana.

Brandie Sasser, Program Manager, IRIS

Brandie Sasser joined the IRIS Center as a Program Manager in December 2003. She is responsible for managing a portfolio of projects including, “Promoting Investment and Economic Growth” in Morocco, “Corruption in the Forestry Sector” in Romania, “The Role of the Shadow Economy in Mongolia,” and two projects aimed at assisting USAID’s development of new tools to improve development effectiveness. Ms. Sasser has six years of experience in the field of International Development. She has worked extensively on evaluation and gender issues, in addition to poverty reduction and indigenous peoples issues. Prior to joining IRIS, she worked at the World Bank for four years in the Operations Evaluation Department, designing and conducting policy and country level evaluations. She has also worked for local and international NGOs. Her country experience includes Colombia, Honduras, India, Poland and Uganda. She holds an M.A. degree in International Development from American University and a B.A. degree in International Relations from Xavier University.

Joseph Siegle, Associate Director, IRIS

Dr. Joseph Siegle is an expert on democracy, development and post-conflict reconstruction. Prior to joining IRIS, Dr. Siegle debated these issues as a senior fellow with the Council on Foreign Relations, where he published articles with *The Financial Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Newsweek International*, and the *Christian Science Monitor*. His views are guided by extensive cross-national research as well as programmatic experience from over 20 countries in Africa, Asia and the Balkans. This includes assignments in such weak states engaged in or emerging from conflict as Angola, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Mozambique, Rwanda, Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Laos, Cambodia, and Kosovo. Dr. Siegle has worked on projects related to agricultural production, small business creation, environmental rehabilitation, conflict resolution, refugee resettlement, nutrition, improving water access, literacy and primary health care.

Robert Subrick, Program Specialist, IRIS

Robert Subrick recently completed his dissertation in economics at George Mason University, where he examined the effects of institutions on income inequality and economic development. Prior to joining the IRIS Center, he was managing editor of the *Review of Austrian Economics* and a Fellow at the James M. Buchanan Center for Political Economy. Since joining IRIS, his projects have included an analysis of trade liberalization on economic development. He has published articles on economic development and methodology and his current research examines the effect of religion on economic development. Dr. Subrick holds a Ph.D. from George Mason University and a B.A./B.S. from the University of Delaware.

Clare Wolfowitz, Program Specialist, IRIS

Clare Wolfowitz works primarily on projects in Indonesia and with the Programs and Policy Coordination office of USAID. She also performs research, writing and editing for other IRIS Center projects as needed. Ms.

Wolfowitz edited IRIS's recently published Market Augmenting Governance, and she worked closely with the Indonesia and Outreach teams on the IRISUSAID CD-ROM on Strengthening Regional University Capacity in Indonesia. Before coming to IRIS, Dr. Wolfowitz taught courses in sociolinguistics and social change at the John Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, the Johns Hopkins School of Continuing Education and Georgetown University School of Languages and Linguistics. She participates in many civic activities during her free time, currently serving as Chairperson of the B-CC Community Scholarship Awards at Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School.

Clifford Zinnes, Director of Research Coordination, IRIS

Clifford Zinnes is currently the director of research coordination at the IRIS Center. He is also affiliate faculty at the Maryland School of Public Policy. As an economic policy advisor specializing in the environmental sustainability of economic reform, he has worked in over twenty countries on five continents. Prior to joining IRIS, Professor Zinnes worked as an Associate at the Harvard Institute for International Development where he spent five years in Romania as a senior policy advisor to the Ministers of Reform, Privatization, European Integration, and the Environment. In addition, he lectured in Public Policy at the Kennedy School of Government. Over this period, he co-authored many Romanian laws on privatization, environmental protection and water utilities. In the environmental field, Professor Zinnes has published papers on economic instrument design, valuation, trade, the effect of ownership structure on regulatory compliance and regulation.

Students

Paula Harrison, Research Assistant, IRIS

Paula Harrison joined PPC IDEAS as a Research Assistant in 2004. She is a second-year graduate student at the University of Maryland School of Public Policy, concentrating on International Security and Economic Policy. Prior to starting this graduate program, she worked as an attorney for the U.S. Army Judge Advocate General's Corps and a private firm. During her military service, Ms. Harrison practiced in the areas of administrative law, military justice, and legal assistance. At the private firm, she focused on general litigation. Ms. Harrison graduated from the University of Cincinnati College of Law in 1997. She received her undergraduate degree from The Ohio State University in 1992.

Andrea Hoshmand, Research Assistant, IRIS

Andrea Hoshmand joined PPC Ideas as a Research Assistant in 2003. She is a second year graduate student at the Maryland School of Public Policy, concentrating on International Security and Economic Policy. Her professional and intellectual interests include military reform and military family policy. Ms. Hoshmand is also a director for the Office Candidate School (OCS) Foundation, a veteran's non-profit organization.

Nassim Moalem, Research Assistant, IRIS

Nassim Moalem worked as a Research Assistant with PPC IDEAS until May 2004, when she graduated from the University of Maryland School of Public Policy with a Master of Public Policy. Ms. Moalem previously worked as a journalist covering national and local news for a local all-news radio station. She also holds an M.A. in history and has researched the political development and activities of African American women in Baltimore in the early half of the 20th century.

Deepika Sangam, Program Assistant, IRIS

Deepika Sangam joined PPC IDEAS as a Program Assistant in May 2004. She is a second year graduate student in the Electrical Engineering Department. Her academic research focus is on Electrophysics, but she enjoys working in diverse fields.

Margo Siemer, Research Assistant, IRIS

Margo Siemer worked as a Research Assistant with PPC IDEAS until December, 2003, when she graduated from the University of Maryland School of Public Policy with a Master of Public Policy. She received her undergraduate degree from University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Ms. Siemer previously served as a Marketing Specialist for the Peace Corps in Gabon, Africa where she worked with farmers, students and businessmen to increase cooperative business practices and improve profitability and efficiency in the region. She also collaborated in the development of a women's cooperative market garden and helped organize a young women's leadership seminar.

Vidita Subbarao, Administrative Assistant, IRIS

Vidita Subbarao worked as an Administrative Assistant with PPC IDEAS until May 2004. She is an international student from New Delhi, India, majoring in Finance at the Robert H. Smith School of Business at the University of Maryland. Her hobbies include reading books, painting and volunteering for the Association for India's Development, a nonprofit organization based in India.

Benjamin Thompson, Research Assistant, IRIS

Benjamin Thompson worked as a Research Assistant with PPC IDEAS until May 2004, when he graduated from the University of Maryland School of Public Policy with a Master of Public Policy. He received his undergraduate degree from Fairfield University. Prior to working at IRIS, Mr. Thompson served in Uzbekistan as a Business and Economic Development Volunteer for the Peace Corps, where he taught economics, finance, and accounting at the National University of Uzbekistan. In addition, Mr. Thompson organized a conference that resulted in the implementation of seven new projects in Uzbekistan, and he conducted a weekly English club.

Denise Wales, Research Assistant, IRIS

Denise Wales worked as a Research Assistant with PPC IDEAS until May 2004, when she graduated from the University of Maryland School of Public Policy with a Master of Public Policy. Prior to working at IRIS, Ms. Wales managed projects in Central and Eastern Europe for the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) and served as Project Coordinator for its technical assistance efforts to OSCE for Kosovo's first civil registration and municipal elections. Before joining IFES, she taught English as a Second Language as a Peace Corps volunteer in Slovakia. Ms. Wales received her undergraduate degree from the University of New Hampshire.

Su Zheng, Financial Assistant, IRIS

Su Zheng joined PPC IDEAS in June 2004 as a Financial Assistant, where she is responsible for tracking project expenses and assists in cost proposals. She is currently a full-time second-year MBA student in the Robert H. Smith School of Business. Prior to coming to the University of Maryland, she worked as a financial/project analyst at the National Kidney Foundation, the largest non-profit dialysis treatment provider in Singapore.

Contributors and Event Speakers from Outside USAID

Daron Acemoglu is a Professor of Economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He began as an Assistant Professor there in 1993, following the completion of his Ph.D. from the London School of Economics in 1992. He is a Research Associate for the National Bureau of Economic Research and the Centre for Economic Policy Research, and he is a Research Affiliate for the Centre for Economic Performance at the London School of Economics. Furthermore, Dr. Acemoglu is Editor of the Review of Economics and Statistics, and a member of the Editorial Board of the Journal of Economic Growth and the Quarterly Journal of Economics. He became a member of CIAR's Economic Growth and Policy Program in January 2000 and is

now participating in the Institute's two-year initiative on Economic Growth and Institutions. Dr. Acemoglu's professional interests include income and wage inequality, human capital and training, economic growth, technical change, search theory and political economy. His current research involves the political economy of development, institutional development and technical change.

Nicole Ball is a Senior Fellow at the Center for International Policy in Washington, D.C. and a Visiting Senior Research Fellow at the Center for International Development and Conflict Management at the University of Maryland, College Park (CIDCM), where she focuses on security sector governance.

Since 1998, Ms. Ball has consulted for the UK, the US, the Netherlands, Germany, the UNDP, the OECD Development Assistance Committee, and the World Bank on issues relating to security sector governance. Current projects include conducting an evaluation of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration program in Sierra Leone for the Government of Sierra Leone and the World Bank, advising a project led by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute and the African Security Dialogue & Research which examines defense budgeting processes in eight African countries, and writing a background paper on security-sector reform in post-conflict environments for USAID.

Ms. Ball's recent publications include: *Security Sector Governance in Africa: A Handbook* (edited with 'Kayode Fayemi), Lagos: Centre for Democracy and Development, 2004; *Enhancing Democratic Governance of the Security Sector: An Institutional Assessment Framework* (with Tsjard Bouta and Luc van de Goor), The Hague: Clingendael Institute for the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2003, http://www.clingendael.nl/cru/pdf/2003_occasional_papers/SSGAF_publicatie.pdf; *Off-Budget Military Expenditure and Revenue: Issues and Policy Perspectives for Donors*, King's College London for the UK Department of Development, January 2002, www.dfid.gov.uk; "Democratic Governance in the Security Sector," for UNDP Evaluation Office, 2002, <http://www.undp.org/eo/afghanistan/index.html>; "Transforming Security Sectors: The IMF and World Bank Approaches," *Conflict, Security, & Development*, Issue 1:1 (2001):45-66; "Enhancing Security Sector Governance: A Conceptual Framework for UNDP," October 9, 2002, <http://www.undp.org/bcpr/ruleoflaw/index.htm>; and, "Integrating Defense into Public Expenditure Work." (with Malcolm Holmes) for UK Department for International Development, January 2001, <http://www.grc-exchange.org/docs/SS11.pdf>.

Robert Bates is the Eaton Professor of the Science of Government at Harvard University, where he has studied and provided consulting assistance in the areas of governmental reform, economic policy reform and political economy. Since 1968, Dr. Bates has worked in Zambia, the Sudan, Uganda, Kenya, Colombia and Brazil. Dr. Bates has focused much of his work on East and West Africa and has published widely on issues of public policy, agricultural policy and economic policy reform in these regions. He currently focuses on civil conflict. Dr. Bates' most recent book is entitled *Prosperity and Violence* (2001). He has previously held appointments at the California Institute of Technology and Duke University and has been a researcher at the Institute of Development Studies of the University of Nairobi, the Institute for Social Research of the University of Zambia and Fedesarrollo in Bogotá, Colombia. Dr. Bates received his Ph.D. from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Kenneth Bollen received his B.A. in Sociology from Drew University (1973) and his Ph.D. in Sociology from Brown University (1977). He is currently the director of the Odum Institute for Research in Social Science and since 1985 has been Associate Professor in Sociology at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Dr. Bollen's responsibilities at UNC-CH also include serving as adjunct professor in Statistics and on the Statistical Core of the Carolina Population Center. Current research projects include the following: "SES in Population and Health Studies in Developing Countries," funded by a MEASURE-USAID grant; "Innovative latent curve models of adolescent drug use," funded by the National Institute on Drug Abuse of NIH; and, "Democracy and

Democratization: Social Conditions, Institutional Forms, Transitions," funded by a NSF Graduate Traineeship Award. Recent publications include "Subjective Measures of Liberal Democracy" (with P. Paxton) *Comparative Political Studies* (2000), "Cross National Indicators of Liberal Democracy, 1950-90," funded by NSF and presented to ICPSR in 1998, and "Detection and Determinants of Bias in Subjective Measures" (with P. Paxton), *American Sociological Review* (1998).

Dan Brumberg was a Randolph Peace Fellow at the US Institute of Peace, where he pursued a study of power sharing in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. In 1997, he was a Mellon Junior Fellow at Georgetown University and a visiting fellow at the International Forum on Democratic Studies. Prior to this, he taught at the Department of Political Science at Emory University, and he was a visiting fellow in the Middle East Program in the Jimmy Carter Center. Dr. Brumberg also taught at the University of Chicago. In addition, he has authored many articles on political and social change in the Middle East and wider Islamic world. With a grant from the MacArthur Foundation, he currently works on a comparative study of power sharing experiments in Algeria, Kuwait, and Indonesia. Dr. Brumberg is a member of several boards, including the editorial board of the *Journal of Democracy* and the advisory board of the International Forum on Democratic Studies. Dr. Brumberg is also chairman of the non-profit Foundation on Democratization and Political Change in the Middle East. He has worked closely with a number of NGOs in the Arab world, including the Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA).

Thomas D. Cook is interested in social science research methodology, program evaluation, whole school reform, and contextual factors that influence adolescent development, particularly for urban minorities. Dr. Cook has written or edited ten books and published numerous articles and book chapters. He received the Myrdal Prize for Science from the Evaluation Research Society in 1982, the Donald Campbell Prize for Innovative Methodology from the Policy Sciences Organization in 1988, and the Distinguished Scientist Award of Division 5 of the American Psychological Association in 1997. He is a trustee of the Russell Sage Foundation and a member of its Committee on the Future of Work. Dr. Cook was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in April 2000 and was inducted as the Margaret Mead Fellow of the American Academy of Political and Social Science in April 2003. Dr. Cook received his Ph.D. in Communication Research from Stanford University in 1967.

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Charles Cadwell is the Director/Principal Investigator of the IRIS Center at the University of Maryland. With Professor Mancur Olson, Charles Cadwell established the IRIS Center at the University of Maryland, College Park in 1990. In 1998, upon Olson's death, the University chose Cadwell to head the IRIS Center. Supported by the IRIS team in College Park and overseas, as well as the Economics Department and other UMCP faculty, he is responsible for IRIS's activities in College Park and in field programs around the globe. A lawyer, Cadwell has more than 25 years experience in economic reform, research and management. In addition to his leadership of the Center, he has focused on the political economy of reform, development of legal and judicial reforms and the relationship of institutions to economic development. He has been deeply involved in IRIS programs in economic liberalization in Nepal, commercial law reform in Russia and regulatory relief in Romania. He has represented IRIS around the globe in research, technical assistance and reform activities. His most recent publication is *Market Augmenting Government*, edited with Omar Azfar. Prior to joining the University of Maryland, Cadwell worked on both research and economic reform activities in both the private and public sectors. In private law practice and then at the White House Office of Consumer Affairs, he pursued legislative and regulatory programs to deregulate transportation markets in the U.S.-making entry easier, expanding operating flexibility and providing consumers with more competitive options in the rail, trucking and household goods moving industries. He also worked on similar efforts for the dairy and telecommunications industries. As Deputy Chief Counsel for Advocacy at the U.S. Small Business Administration, he oversaw the U.S. Government's primary program for assuring regulatory analysis, review and participation for small business. This effort led to modifications in regulations saving billions for small firms in the U.S. The related research program documented the job contribution of small firms to U.S. economic growth and the impact of a wide variety of regulations. Issues from taxation, environmental regulation, trade and local economic development were the focus of the program. He helped lead the 1986 White House Conference on Small Business, with policy-focused sessions in all 50 states.

Ambassador Tariq Karim joined the IRIS Center in February 2002 as Senior Advisor to its Democracy and Governance Program. Prior to this appointment, he served as Bangladesh's Ambassador to the United States. In 1999, Ambassador Karim joined the University of Maryland at College Park as a Distinguished International Executive in Residence pursuant to a Ford Foundation Fellowship, to pursue academic research on South and Central Asia, China and Iran. Prior to 1999, he worked for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh, where he held numerous positions, including ambassadorships to Iran, Lebanon, South Africa, and the U.S. In the Foreign Ministry's early stages, Ambassador Karim played an important role in organizing the ministry's departments, including the department for Middle East and African Affairs. As Additional Foreign Secretary with responsibility for the South Asian region, he played a seminal role in helping the then newly elected Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina in formulating strategy for normalization of relations with India, including the ending of cross border insurgency problems that had plagued relations between the two countries

for over two decades. The Prime Minister of Bangladesh entrusted him with a critically important role in negotiating and finalizing for signature the important 30-year Ganges Water Sharing Treaty with India (signed in December 1996), which marked a watershed in relations between the two neighbors. Ambassador Karim adopted bold and innovative approaches in the negotiations, which enabled finalization of the treaty.

Ambassador Karim's publications include the following articles: "Pakistan: Stalking Armageddon in South Asia?" *Contemporary South Asia*, Journal of the University of Bradford, U.K. (March 2001); "Iran's relations with South Asia, Central Asia, China and Russia," *Journal of the Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BISS)*, Winter 2000; "The Bangladesh - India Treaty on Sharing of the Ganges Waters: Genesis and Significance," *Journal of the Bangladesh Institute for International and Strategic Studies (BISS)* (1998).

Patrick Meagher is Associate Director of the Center for Institutional Reform and the Informal Sector (IRIS) of the University of Maryland. He has extensive experience in the analysis of legal and administrative responses to corruption. His research and advisory work also deals with decentralization, contract enforcement, and institutional frameworks for medium- and small-scale finance. Mr. Meagher has worked in Africa, the various regions of Asia, the Middle East, Central and Eastern Europe, and Latin America. His recent projects include an in-depth comparative study of anti-corruption agencies, empirical research on the effects of decentralization on public sector governance and performance, and a series of case studies concerning responses to corruption. Mr. Meagher recently served on a panel of distinguished advisors to East Timor on the design of its post-independence Ombudsman institution. His writings have appeared in several journals and books on economics, development, and law. Mr Meagher holds a J.D. from Harvard University, and has practiced law and lectured on comparative law, development and corruption.

Wally Oates, Professor, received his Ph.D. from Stanford University in 1965. He taught at Princeton University 1965-1979 and joined the University of Maryland faculty in 1979. He has served on numerous advisory groups for public policy and as President of the Eastern Economic Association (1989-90) and the Southern Economic Association (1994-95). His major research interests have been in two fields: public finance with a special interest in fiscal federalism and environmental economics. Currently his research efforts address the international dimensions of environmental policy and issues concerning fiscal decentralization in both industrialized and developing countries. Publications include: *Fiscal Federalism*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972; *The Theory of Environmental Policy* (second edition, with W. Baumol), Cambridge University Press, 1988; *Studies in Fiscal Federalism*, Edward Elgar, 1991; "Environmental Economics: A Survey" (with Maureen Cropper), *Journal of Economic Literature*, 1992; *The Economics of the Environment*, Edward Elgar, 1992; *The Economics of Environmental Regulation*, Edward Elgar, 1996; and "An Essay of Fiscal Federalism," *Journal of Economic Literature*, 1999.

Tom Schelling came to the Maryland School of Public Affairs after twenty years at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, where he was the Lucius N. Littauer Professor of Political Economy. He has been elected to the National Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Medicine, and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. In 1991 he was President of the American Economic Association, of which he is a Distinguished Fellow. He was the recipient of the Frank E. Seidman Distinguished Award in Political Economy and the National Academy of Sciences award for Behavioral Research Relevant to the Prevention of Nuclear War. He served in the Economic Cooperation Administration in Europe, and has held positions in the White House and Executive Office of the President, Yale University, the RAND Corporation and the Department of Economics and Center for International Affairs at Harvard University. He has published on military strategy and arms control, energy and environmental policy, climate change, nuclear proliferation, terrorism, organized crime, foreign aid and international trade, conflict and bargaining theory, racial segregation and integration, the military draft, health policy, tobacco and drugs policy, and ethical issues in public policy and in business.

John Steinbruner, Director, Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland (CISSM), is one of the nation's leading experts on arms control, nuclear weapons, and Russian foreign policy. He is the director of the Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland (CISSM). He served for 18 years as Director of Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution, substantially expanding the scope of the program and attracted and engaged a variety of outstanding scholars. Prior to that appointment, Steinbruner held academic positions at Harvard and the Yale School of Organization. He has authored or co-authored five books, including *The Cybernetic Theory of Decision*, hailed a classic in the field of foreign policy decision making. His latest book, *Principles of Global Security*, was hailed a "masterpiece" by reviewers. He has also published numerous articles in professional and scholarly journals. Steinbruner has served on major commissions and advisory committees, including the Defense Policy Board, the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict and the National Academy of Sciences Committee on International Security and Arms Control. He is also a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Karol Sultan is an Associate Professor in the Department of Government and Politics at the University of Maryland. Dr. Sultan's areas of expertise include: political economy, political theory, public choice, constitutional and legal theory, law and society and public policy. His research interests include: the development of a "constitutionalist" theory of collective choice, with applications in the spheres of democratic theory; theory of bargaining and game theory; legislation and public law; and theories of justice. He has contributed to *Institutions and Social Order* and is editor of *The Constitution of Good Societies*.

Dennis Wood, Deputy Director of the IRIS Center, is a lawyer and an economist who specializes in policy analysis and institutional reform in developing countries. He has served as Chief of Party for the Job Opportunities and Business Support (JOBS) Project in Bangladesh, Director of IRIS's program in Indonesia, and Director of IRIS's \$25 million SEGIR-LIR IQC. Dr. Wood has also worked on public and private sector issues for the World Bank, USAID, and private firms in the US, Africa, Asia and Latin America. He served in the White House, the Executive Office of the President of the United States, the US Department of State in Washington, DC, on the staff of Arthur D. Little, Inc. in Cambridge, Massachusetts and with Devres, Inc. Dr. Wood was an elected member of the Council of the Town of Chevy Chase, MD for 12 years, including two years as Mayor. He is a member of the Bar in Massachusetts and Washington, DC.

Clifford Zinnes is currently the director of research coordination at IRIS. He is also affiliate faculty at the Maryland School of Public Affairs. As an economic policy advisor specializing in the environmental sustainability of economic reform, he has worked in over twenty countries on five continents. Formerly a Lecturer in Public Policy at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, during the 1990s he was also an Institute Associate at the Harvard Institute for International Development, where he spent five years in Romania as a senior policy advisor to the ministers of Reform, Privatization, European Integration, and Environment. Over this period he co-authored many laws in the country on privatization, environmental protection, and water, as well as restructuring its water utilities and environmental protection regulatory agencies. In the environment field, Dr. Zinnes has published papers on economic instrument design, valuation, trade, the effect of ownership structure on regulatory compliance, and regulation.

APPENDIX F: SUMMARY OF PARTICIPATION IN THE PPC IDEAS PROJECT

Number of individuals involved with the project:

- 95 from USAID
- 21 from IRIS
- 5 from University of Maryland
- 126 from outside of USAID, IRIS and the University of Maryland

Number of contributors and event speakers:

- 12 from USAID
- 6 from IRIS
- 5 from University of Maryland
- 33 from outside of USAID, IRIS and the University of Maryland

Number of attendees of PPC IDEAS events:

- 91 from USAID
- 15 from IRIS
- 4 from University of Maryland
- 121 from outside of USAID, IRIS and the University of Maryland

APPENDIX G: ATTENDEES OF PPC IDEAS EVENTS

By Name

Abrahamsen, Niels Boel	Royal Danish Embassy
Acemoglu, Daren	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Alrayyes, Samah	Islamic Institute
Anghelopoulos, Eleftherios	Embassy of Greece
Atherton, Joan	USAID
Aynew, Mesfin	WorldSpace Corporation
Balakrishnan, P.E.	Food for Peace
Barton, Frederick	Center for Strategic and International Studies
Bates, Robert	Harvard University
Bent, Rodney	House Appropriations Committee
Boccanera, Carolina	The European Institute
Bonnet, Mathieu	Embassy of France
Borghese, Ken	USAID
Bovill, Kathryn	U.S. Government
Brautigam, Deborah	American University
Brent, Stephen	USAID
Breslar, Jon	USAID
Briggs, Tom	Millenium Challenge Corporation
Brown, Melissa	USAID
Brownawell, Kevin	USAID
Buitrago, Juan Jose	Embassy of Spain
Butler, Letitia (Tish)	USAID
Byers, Polly	USAID
Cadwell, Charles	IRIS
Capozzola, Christa	Office of Management and Budget
Casella, Michael	Office of Management and Budget
Casson, Kathryn	World Bank
Catarino, His Excellency Pedro	Ambassador of Portugal
Cerisola, Anne Sophie	Embassy of France
Clement, Caty	World Bank
Connerley, Ed	USAID
Conzemius, Her Excellency Arlette	Ambassador of Luxembourg
Cook, Bette	USAID
Corbett Sanders, Karen	Verizon
Coté, Bertin	Embassy of Canada
Cronk, Brad	USAID
Crosswell, Michael	USAID
D'Aboville, Karen	USAID
Dadush, Uri	World Bank
Dale, Reginald	European Affairs
De Wandel, Erwin	Embassy of Belgium
Depayre, Gérard	Delegation of the European Commission
Deuster, Paul R.	USAID
Diamond, Larry	Hoover Institute
Dickson, Dr. Anna K.	University of Durham, UK
Dod, David	USAID
Doernberg, Andres	USAID
Donaghy, Maureen	IRIS
Downing, Jeanne	USAID

Droop, James	World Bank
Dworken, Jonathan	National Security Council
Elliott, Tim	The Iams Company
Fantozzi, Daniel	State Department
Farnsworth, Sarah	USAID
Fauriol, Georges	International Republican Institute
Fine, David	Global USA
Foley, Jason	State Department
Foster, Susan	USAID
Fox, The Honorable J. Edward	USAID
Francis, Peter F.	Exxon Mobil Corporation
Frantz, Brian	USAID
Freckleton, Ann	Cabinet Office UK Government
Freedberg, Jean	National Democratic Institute
Galli, Paolo	United Nations Development Program
Garden, Lolitta	USAID
Gavin, Anne	Microsoft Corporation
Gellerson, Mark W.	USAID
Gilles, Ali	World Bank
Goldstone, Jack	George Mason University
Goodman, Margaret	World Learning
Gordon, Hillary D.	The European Institute
Grapin, Jacqueline	The European Institute
Grayzel, John	USAID
Greene, Bradford	USAID
Greenwood, The Honorable C. Lawrence	State Department
Greif, Avner	Stanford University
Greville, Marcia	Transparency International
Harbert, Karen	USAID
Harrison, Paula	IRIS
Hatch, John	USAID
Haughton, Jonathan	Suffolk University
Heikens, Geert	Delegation of the European Commission
Hendrix, Steven	USAID
Hermann-Deluca, Kristin	USAID
Hoffman, Jennifer	Central Intelligence Agency
Hooper, Rebecca	Office of Management and Budget
Hoshmand, Andrea	IRIS
Howey, Linda	USAID
Huber, Konrad	USAID
Ingram, George	Basic Education Coalition
Jeffcoat, Scott	USAID
Jones, John	USAID
Joshi, Ajit	USAID
Kácer, His Excellency Rastislav	Ambassador of the Slovak Republic
Kaplan, Sid	State Department
Karim, Tariq	IRIS
Kavaliunas, Mary	State Department
Kennedy, Tom	USAID
Kilroy, Bernadette	State Department
Kingscott, Kathleen N.	IBM Governmental Programs Office
Kirst, Michael	Westinghouse Electric Company
Kleinberg, Scott	USAID

Kracun, His Excellency Davorin	Ambassador of the Republic of Slovenia
Kranstover, Peter	USAID
Krasik, Erin	USAID
Krasner, Steve	Institute for International Studies
Kreft, Dr. Heinrich	Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany
Kriskoviciene, Jolanda	Embassy of the Republic of Lithuania
Kulis, Jiri	Embassy of the Czech Republic
Kumar, Krishna	USAID
Kuran, Timur	University of Southern California
Kvitashvili, Elizabeth	USAID
Le Goc, Claire M.	The European Institute
Leavitt, Bob	USAID
Lehne, Johannes	Embassy of Germany
Lerner, Patricia J.	USAID
Lessard, Joseph	USAID
Lester, Robert	USAID
Lief, Eric	State Department
Liner, Dave	USAID
Lombardo, Joseph	USAID
Lotz, Christian	World Bank
Low, Sonny	USAID
Lund, Jette	Royal Danish Embassy
Marotti, Massimo	Embassy of Italy
Marshall, Dana	Piper Rudnick, LLP
Marshall, Wendy	USAID
Martinez, Peter	Raytheon Company
Marx, Michael	USAID
Mauprivez, Bruno J.	International Monetary Fund
McCall, Richard	Creative Associates International
McGlothlin, Kevin	USAID
McMahon, D.A.	USAID
Meagher, Patrick	IRIS
Meserve, Lawrence	USAID
Mohan, Charles	USAID
Molnar, Yancy	Daimler Chrysler
Moore, Franklin	USAID
Morris, Sharon	USAID
Mulvaney, Sean	House of Representatives
Nasution, Ina	IRIS
Natsios, Andrew	USAID
Nergaard, Merethe	Royal Norwegian Embassy
Nicholson, Norman	USAID
Nitze, The Honorable William A.	Gemstar Group, Inc.
Nowotny, Her Excellency Eva	Ambassador of Austria
Nowotny, Thomas	Vienna University, Austria
Oakerson, Ron	Houghton College
Oates, Wallace	University of Maryland
Olsen, Fred	The European Institute
Papathanassiou, Maria	The European Institute
Pavlovic, Milan	USAID
Pearson, Lori	Catholic Relief Services
Phillips, Ann	USAID
Powell, Clydette	USAID

Quilter, Gale	IRIS
Radelet, Steven	Center for Global Development
Rahkonen, Ossi J.	OR Project Associates Inc.
Randall, Kristin	USAID
Reed, Jr., John G.	Archer Daniels Midland Company
Reese, Bill	International Youth Foundation
Reinhardt, Susan	USAID
Renison, Bill	USAID
Richards, Timothy	General Electric Company
Rist, Laurence	Embassy of France
Robinson, Ray	USAID
Rockel, Nancy	USAID
Rolfson, Vann	USAID
Roquette, Sheila	USAID
Sambunaris, Georgia	USAID
Sands, Chris	International Republican Institute
Sarles, Margaret	USAID
Schaberg, Lynne	USAID
Schelling, Thomas	University of Maryland
Schlagenhauf, Mark	USAID
Schneider, John	USAID
Schulte, Astrid	BMW Holding Corp.
Schumacher, Adam	IRIS
Shank, John	House Appropriations Committee
Shurdut, Bradley A.	Dow AgroSciences LLC
Siegle, Joe	IRIS
Sillers, Donald	USAID
Simmons, Emmy	USAID
Simon, John	The White House
Smith, James	USAID
Soltan, Karol	University of Maryland
Springet, Cristin	USAID
Sprout, Ronald Van Alen	USAID
Starr, John	USAID
Stefanini, Stefano	Embassy of Italy
Steinberg, Donald	State Department
Steinbruner, John	University of Maryland
Stephenson, Sherry	Organization of American States
Stirling, Prosser	Oracle Corporation
Sullivan, John	US Chamber of Commerce
Swärd Capra, Marie-Claire	Embassy of Sweden
Swedberg, Jeffrey	CDIE
Sweeney, William R.	EDS Corporation
Taylor, David	USAID
Thompson, Ben	IRIS
Timberman, David	USAID
Turner, Barbara	USAID
Ufelder, Jay	Stanford University
Van Daele, His Excellency Franciskus	Ambassador of Belgium
Vassikeri, Vlassia	Delegation of the European Commission
Vener, Jessica	U.S. Government
Wales, Denise	IRIS
Walker, Tjip	USAID

Webster, Elaine	The European Institute
Weden, Charles	USAID
Weingast, Barry	Stanford University
Weiss, Holly	USAID
Weller, Dennis	Food for Peace
Westerink, André	Royal Netherlands Embassy
Weyland, Gordon	USAID
Williams, Susan	USAID
Wilson, Lori	USAID
Wilson, Wesley	USAID
Winn, Jack	Unaffiliated
Wisecarver, Steve	USAID
Witthans, Fred	USAID
Wodyk, Wieslaw	Embassy of the Republic of Poland
Wolfowitz, Clare	IRIS
Wood, Dennis	IRIS
Yaeger, Bill	USAID
Zinnes, Clifford	IRIS
Sposato, Stephen	USAID-DCHA

By Affiliation

Nowotny, Her Excellency Eva	Ambassador of Austria to the United States
Van Daele, His Excellency Franciskus	Ambassador of Belgium to the United States
Conzemius, Her Excellency Arlette	Ambassador of Luxembourg to the United States
Catarino, His Excellency Pedro	Ambassador of Portugal to the United States
Kracun, His Excellency Davorin	Ambassador of the Republic of Slovenia to the United States
Kácer, His Excellency Rastislav	Ambassador of the Slovak Republic to the United States
Brautigam, Deborah	American University - School of International Service
Reed, Jr., John G.	Archer Daniels Midland Company
Lamoriello, Francine	Baker, Donelson, Bearman, Caldwell and Berkowitz
Ingram, George	Basic Education Coalition
Schulte, Astrid	BMW Holding Corp.
Freckleton, Ann	Cabinet Office UK Government
Pearson, Lori	Catholic Relief Services
Swedberg, Jeffrey	CDIE
Radelet, Steven	Center for Global Development
Barton, Frederick	Center for Strategic and International Studies
Hoffman, Jennifer	Central Intelligence Agency
McCall, Richard	Creative Associates International
Molnar, Yancy	DaimlerChrysler
Depayre, Gérard	Delegation of the European Commission
Heikens, Geert	Delegation of the European Commission
Vassikeri, Vlassia	Delegation of the European Commission
Shurdut, Bradley A.	Dow AgroSciences LLC
Sweeney, William R.	EDS Corporation
De Wandel, Erwin	Embassy of Belgium
Coté, Bertin	Embassy of Canada
Bonnet, Mathieu	Embassy of France
Cerisola, Anne Sophie	Embassy of France
Rist, Laurence	Embassy of France
Lehne, Johannes	Embassy of Germany
Anghelopoulos, Eleftherios	Embassy of Greece

Marotti, Massimo	Embassy of Italy
Stefanini, Stefano	Embassy of Italy
Buitrago, Juan Jose	Embassy of Spain
Swärd Capra, Marie-Claire	Embassy of Sweden
Kulis, Jiri	Embassy of the Czech Republic
Kreft, Dr. Heinrich	Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany
Kriskoviciene, Jolanda	Embassy of the Republic of Lithuania
Wodyk, Wieslaw	Embassy of the Republic of Poland
Dale, Reginald	European Affairs
Francis, Peter F.	Exxon Mobil Corporation
Balakrishnan, P.E.	Food for Peace
Weller, Dennis	Food for Peace
Nitze, The Honorable William A.	Gemstar Group, Inc.
Richards, Timothy	General Electric Company
Goldstone, Jack	George Mason University
Fine, David	Global USA
Bates, Robert	Harvard University
Diamond, Larry	Hoover Institute
Oakerson, Ron	Houghton College
Bent, Rodney	House Appropriations Committee
Shank, John	House Appropriations Committee
Mulvaney, Sean	House of Representatives
Kingscott, Kathleen N.	IBM Governmental Programs Office
Krasner, Steve	Institute for International Studies
Mauprivez, Bruno J.	International Monetary Fund
Fauriol, Georges	International Republican Institute
Sands, Chris	International Republican Institute
Reese, Bill	International Youth Foundation
Cadwell, Charles	IRIS
Donaghy, Maureen	IRIS
Harrison, Paula	IRIS
Hoshmand, Andrea	IRIS
Karim, Tariq	IRIS
Meagher, Patrick	IRIS
Nasution, Ina	IRIS
Quilter, Gale	IRIS
Schumacher, Adam	IRIS
Siegle, Joe	IRIS
Thompson, Ben	IRIS
Wales, Denise	IRIS
Wolfowitz, Clare	IRIS
Wood, Dennis	IRIS
Zinnes, Clifford	IRIS
Alrayyes, Samah	Islamic Institute
Acemoglu, Daren	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Gavin, Anne	Microsoft Corporation
Briggs, Tom	Millenium Challenge Corporation (MCC)
Freedberg, Jean	National Democratic Institute
Dworken, Jonathan	National Security Council
Capozzola, Christa	Office of Management and Budget
Casella, Michael	Office of Management and Budget
Hooper, Rebecca	Office of Management and Budget
Rahkonen, Ossi J.	OR Project Associates Inc.

Stirling, Prosser	Oracle Corporation
Stephenson, Sherry	Organization of American States
Marshall, Dana	Piper Rudnick, LLP
Martinez, Peter	Raytheon Company
Abrahamsen, Niels Boel	Royal Danish Embassy
Lund, Jette	Royal Danish Embassy
Westerink, André	Royal Netherlands Embassy
Nergaard, Merethe	Royal Norwegian Embassy
Greif, Avner	Stanford University
Ufelder, Jay	Stanford University
Weingast, Barry	Stanford University
Fantozzi, Daniel	State Department
Foley, Jason	State Department
Greenwood, The Honorable C. Lawrence	State Department
Kaplan, Sid	State Department
Kavaliunas, Mary	State Department
Kilroy, Bernadette	State Department
Lief, Eric	State Department
Steinberg, Donald	State Department
Haughton, Jonathan	Suffolk University and Beacon Hill Institute for Public Policy
Boccanera, Carolina	The European Institute
Gordon, Hillary D.	The European Institute
Grapin, Jacqueline	The European Institute
Le Goc, Claire M.	The European Institute
Olsen, Fred	The European Institute
Papathanassiou, Maria	The European Institute
Webster, Elaine	The European Institute
Elliott, Tim	The Iams Company
Simon, John	The White House
Greville, Marcia	Transparency International
Bovill, Kathryn	U.S. Government
Vener, Jessica	U.S. Government
Winn, Jack	Unaffiliated
Galli, Paolo	United Nations Development Program
Dickson, Dr. Anna K.	University of Durham, UK
Oates, Wallace	University of Maryland
Schelling, Thomas	University of Maryland
Soltan, Karol	University of Maryland
Steinbruner, John	University of Maryland
Kuran, Timur	University of Southern California
Sullivan, John	US Chamber of Commerce
Atherton, Joan	USAID
Borghese, Ken	USAID
Brent, Stephen	USAID
Breslar, Jon	USAID
Brown, Melissa	USAID
Brownawell, Kevin	USAID
Butler, Letitia (Tish)	USAID
Byers, Polly	USAID
Connerley, Ed	USAID
Cook, Bette	USAID
Cronk, Brad	USAID
Crosswell, Michael	USAID

D'Aboville, Karen	USAID
Deuster, Paul R.	USAID
Dod, David	USAID
Doernberg, Andres	USAID
Downing, Jeanne	USAID
Farnsworth, Sarah	USAID
Foster, Susan	USAID
Fox, The Honorable J. Edward	USAID
Frantz, Brian	USAID
Garden, Lolitta	USAID
Gellerson, Mark W.	USAID
Grayzel, John	USAID
Greene, Bradford	USAID
Harbert, Karen	USAID
Hatch, John	USAID
Hendrix, Steven	USAID
Hermann-Deluca, Kristin	USAID
Howey, Linda	USAID
Huber, Konrad	USAID
Jeffcoat, Scott	USAID
Jones, John	USAID
Joshi, Ajit	USAID
Kennedy, Tom	USAID
Kleinberg, Scott	USAID
Kranstover, Peter	USAID
Krasik, Erin	USAID
Kumar, Krishna	USAID
Kvitashvili, Elizabeth	USAID
Leavitt, Bob	USAID
Lerner, Patricia J.	USAID
Lessard, Joseph	USAID
Lester, Robert	USAID
Liner, Dave	USAID
Lombardo, Joseph	USAID
Low, Sonny	USAID
Marshall, Wendy	USAID
Marx, Michael	USAID
McGlothlin, Kevin	USAID
McMahon, D.A.	USAID
Meserve, Lawrence	USAID
Mohan, Charles	USAID
Moore, Franklin	USAID
Morris, Sharon	USAID
Natsios, Andrew	USAID
Nicholson, Norman	USAID
Pavlovic, Milan	USAID
Phillips, Ann	USAID
Powell, Clydette	USAID
Randall, Kristin	USAID
Reinhardt, Susan	USAID
Renison, Bill	USAID
Robinson, Ray	USAID
Rockel, Nancy	USAID

Rolfson, Vann	USAID
Roquitte, Sheila	USAID
Sambunaris, Georgia	USAID
Sarles, Margaret	USAID
Schaberg, Lynne	USAID
Schlagenhauf, Mark	USAID
Schneider, John	USAID
Sillers, Donald	USAID
Simmons, Emmy	USAID
Smith, James	USAID
Springet, Cristin	USAID
Sprout, Ronald Van Alen	USAID
Starr, John	USAID
Taylor, David	USAID
Timberman, David	USAID
Turner, Barbara	USAID
Walker, Tjip	USAID
Weden, Charles	USAID
Weiss, Holly	USAID
Weyland, Gordon	USAID
Williams, Susan	USAID
Wilson, Lori	USAID
Wilson, Wesley	USAID
Wisecarver, Steve	USAID
Witthans, Fred	USAID
Yaeger, Bill	USAID
Corbett Sanders, Karen	Verizon
Nowotny, Thomas	Vienna University, Austria
Kirst, Michael	Westinghouse Electric Company
Casson, Kathryn	World Bank
Clement, Caty	World Bank
Dadush, Uri	World Bank
Droop, James	World Bank
Gilles, Ali	World Bank
Lotz, Christian	World Bank
Goodman, Margaret	World Learning
Ayenew, Mesfin	WorldSpace Corporation

APPENDIX H: PPC IDEAS ACCRUAL BASIS FINANCIAL REPORT

For the Period Beginning October 1, 2003 and Ending September 30, 2004					
Task Order	PPC IDEAS Task Orders	Task Order Budget	Expended 10/01/03 to 09/30/04	Total Expended 10/01/02 to 09/20/04	Remaining
Clin 3	Senior Development Specialist Support	\$249,299	\$245,198	\$245,198	\$4,101
2002-02	Assistance in Support of the Muslim World Outreach Initiative	\$128,793	\$13,631	\$86,205	\$42,588
2003-04	Support to the Revolutionizing Effort - Phase 1	\$62,614	\$15,008	\$54,571	\$8,043
2003-10	Democratic Governance Research Design	\$282,500	\$70,625	\$282,500	\$ -
2003-11	Iraq Assessments	\$27,686	\$22,927	\$27,686	\$ -
2003-12	Fragile States Strategy Research	\$250,000	\$204,771	\$237,107	\$12,893
2003-13	4th Quarter Administrative Support	\$36,611	\$36,611	\$36,611	\$ -
2003-14	Support to the Revolutionizing Effort - Phase 1	\$15,000	\$6,265	\$6,265	\$8,735
2003-15	Support for Transatlantic Forum on Public-Private Partnership for International Development	\$34,524	\$34,524	\$34,524	\$ -
2004-01	1st Quarter Administrative Support	\$36,342	\$36,342	\$36,342	\$ -
2004-02	2nd Quarter Administrative Support	\$36,338	\$36,338	\$36,338	\$ -
2004-03	3rd Quarter Administrative Support	\$36,338	\$36,338	\$36,338	\$ -
2004-04	Education Reform	\$23,038	\$23,038	\$23,038	\$ -
2004-05	4th Quarter Administrative Support	\$36,152	\$36,152	\$36,152	\$ -
2004-06	Fragile States Assessment Tool	\$147,314	\$ -	\$ -	\$147,314
TOTAL		\$1,402,548	\$817,768	\$1,178,875	\$223,673



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