

E-8

Deciding and Financing Global Policy Initiatives: An Analysis of Multilateral Agencies and Programs

Hertie School of Governance, Berlin, Germany

Syllabus—Spring 2008
Convener: Inge Kaul

Course Contents and Objectives

This course will: 1) analyze and assess current patterns of decision-making in multilateral agencies and programs; and 2) explore how follow-up initiatives to agreed-upon policy priorities are being financed, notably how policy priorities and financing priorities are being matched.

The multilateral agencies that will be examined include among others, the United Nations (UN) General Assembly and Security Council, the International Monetary Fund, World Bank and World Trade Organization as well as the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria (GFATM), the G-8, and/or others, depending on the interest of course participants. In addition, the course will focus on select global issues like climate change, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), HIV/AIDS control, and peacekeeping in order to trace the negotiation history of these challenges and study how in these specific cases the matching between policy and financing priorities occurred, if at all.

The objective of the course is to: 1) familiarize students with the current structure and functioning of multilateral decision-making and the present system of international cooperation financing (ICF); 2) develop and apply criteria for assessing the current decision-making and financing arrangements (e.g. in terms of fairness, legitimacy, accountability as well as efficiency and effectiveness); and 3) explore feasible options for policy reform and enhancement. Of special interest will be the question of what lessons to draw from past experience and current theory for the follow-up process to the December 2007 Bali Conference on the UN Climate Change Convention.

Course Overview

Session	Date	Topic
1	31/1	Introduction and discussion of the course design
		Part I—Multilateral decision-making venues and processes: Why do they come in different forms? How fair, legitimate, accountable, efficient, and effective are they?

2	7/2	Towards the design of an analytical framework: definition of key concepts; assessment criteria and premises
3	14/2	Applying the analytical framework: Decision-making in select multilateral organizations—UN system agencies, BWIs, and WTO
4	21/2	Applying the analytical framework (cont'd): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decision-making in select multilateral organizations, including UNDP, GEF, GFATM and WEF and G-8 • Towards a typology of multilateral decision-making venues
5	28/2	Applying the analytical framework (cont'd): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tracing the negotiation history of select global policy issues, including climate change, the MDGs and peacekeeping • Analyzing the key decisions/agreements in terms of what they say—and don't say—about financing desirable/required follow-up activities
		Part II—Financing agreed-upon multilateral policy priorities
6	6/3	o—Setting the stage for an analysis of the current system of international cooperation finance (ICF): basic concepts; some economics; and premises o—Overview of the present ICF system: the main organizational components, instruments, and flows
7	13/3	Overview of the present ICF system (cont'd): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mechanisms for linking policy and financing priorities • Factors that may cause de-linking between policy/finance priorities
8	20/3	The Finance for Development (FfD) process: A negotiator's perspective on the lessons to be learned about multilateral decision-making, the link between policy and finance priorities, and the financing of development
9	27/3	o—Case studies on the financing (resource mobilization) of select operational agencies, including UNDP, GEF, and GFATM, and on how these organizations align their expenditures with agreed-upon global priorities; o—Discussion of draft final papers
10	3/4	How to make the present system of ICF work better? A perspective from the OECD Development Centre
11	10/4	o—How to make the present system of ICF work better? A World Bank perspective, including a discussion on the IDA replenishment process o—Discussion of draft final papers
12	17/4	o—The financing of the regular budget of UN system agencies and of peacekeeping operations o—New and innovative sources of financing o—Summary discussion of Part II o—Discussion of draft final papers
13	24/4	o—Lessons to draw from the course analyses for the forthcoming follow-up negotiations to the 2007 Bali UNFCCC conference o—Discussion of draft final papers
14	8/5	Conclusion and evaluation of the course

Course Implementation

The theme to be discussed in this course is wide-ranging. Yet a comprehensive review of the theme is important in order for participants to recognize basic patterns, trends and differences between agencies and issue areas. In order to keep the course workload nevertheless manageable, the course will be organized as a “joint venture”, i.e. a team effort. Participants will, at the beginning of the term, choose an area of focus for which they will, for the duration of the course, assume special responsibility—a focal-point role. More specifically, they will:

- *Select an area of focus*—The focus topic could pertain to a multilateral agency, a global issue, or to some other relevant issue such as the ODA system or the emerging new “system” of financing global-public-good concerns. A draft list of possible focus topics will be posted for and distributed in session 1.
- *Act as resource person, and in this capacity, also prepare an annotated bibliography on the chosen focus topic*—The bibliography should present the key literature on the topic, covering both decision-making and financing aspects, including suggested future reforms. It should be distributed to co-participants at course-midpoint (e.g. session 6) so as to enable all students to have a comprehensive literature survey available for the preparation of their final term paper. A suggested outline for the bibliography will be made available for/in session 2.
- *Submit and discuss in class an annotated outline/first draft of the final term paper*—Students will also prepare an outline of their final course paper for distribution and discussion in class. The purpose of the in-class discussion is to allow participants to benefit from peer comments and suggestions before finalizing their paper. A schedule for the submission of these outlines will be established in session 3.

In line with this “joint venture” or focal-point approach, participants will also share among themselves the burden of absorbing the required readings. The required readings will often be of two types: 1) a text to be read by all; and 2) some texts for which individual students will volunteer (on a rotating basis so as to ensure fair burden-sharing) to assume the main responsibility together with the course convener, of introducing and critiquing one of the required readings in class.

Guest Speakers

A number of guest speakers have been invited to participate in the course. The tentative list of speakers includes: Dr. Amar Bhattacharya, Director, Intergovernmental Group of 24 on Monetary and Development Finance, Washington, D.C.; Mr. Yvo de Boer, Executive Secretary, UNFCCC Secretariat; Ambassador Ruth Jacoby, former Chair of the Preparatory Process for the Finance for Development Conference and present Ambassador of Sweden to Germany; Mr. Bruce Jenks, Assistant Administrator of UNDP, New York; Ms. Claudia von Monbart, Senior Counsellor, The World Bank, Paris and Berlin; and Prof. Helmut Reisen, OECD Development Research Centre, Paris. The speakers’ travel schedules are still being finalized. Thus, changes in the course design could occur; and participants are expected to adjust to possible changes, as and if necessary, in a flexible manner.

Final Term Paper

The final term paper should have a length of about 4000 words. A list of possible topics will be made available, together with the list of focus areas, in session 1.

Deadlines

Choose focus area latest by:	Session 2
Annotated bibliography due by:	Session 6
Draft term paper due by:	See timetable to be established at session 3
Final submission date for term paper:	Two weeks after the last course session

Grading

Grades will be based on the following:

- Participation, discussion and teamwork in class: 20%
- Bibliography: 20%
- Timely preparation of final paper outline 20%
- Final paper 40%

Reading Materials and Information/Data Sources

Required readings

The required readings are listed below, under the session titles. *All* students are expected to have read and be prepared for the discussion of the materials labeled “A” *before* the session under which the readings are listed.

As discussed above (under “Course Implementation”), the texts labeled “B” will be introduced in class by especially appointed discussants. However, in order fully to benefit from, and actively to respond to, their co-participants’ presentation, it would be desirable for all students also to have some familiarity with these materials.

If not indicated otherwise, the required readings are available in hard copy in the library of the Hertie School.

Recommended further readings

A list of recommended further readings is presented in the annex to this syllabus. Again, if not otherwise indicated, these titles are also available in the Library.

Detailed Course Outline

Session 1—Introduction and discussion of the course design

Themes:

- Why the topic of deciding and financing global policies?
- Learning objectives
- Structure and implementation of the course

Required readings: None.

PART I—AN ANALYSIS OF MULTILATERAL DECISION-MAKING

Session 2—Towards the design of an analytical framework

Themes:

- “Multilateral decision-making and financing: What are some of the key issues to explore?”—A presentation by Bruce Jenks, Assistant Administrator, UNDP, New York
- Definition of concepts; premises; data collection/check lists
- Selection of participants’ special-focus areas
- Discussion of the outline for the annotated bibliographies

Required readings:

Albin, Cecilia. 2003. “Getting to Fairness: Negotiations over Global Public Goods.” In Kaul et al. *Providing Global Public Goods*, p. 263-279. (B)

Fowler, Michael and Sumihiro Kuyama. 2007. “Accountability and the United Nations.” In: United Nations University. *Policy Brief*, Nr. 8, 2007. Available at <http://www.unu.edu> (B)

Keohane, Robert O. 2006. “The Contingent Legitimacy of Multilateralism.” *GARNET Working Paper* 09/06. (B)

Smith, Courtney. 2006. *Politics and Process at the United Nations*, chapters 6 and 7. (A)

Thakur, Ramesh, ed. 1999. *What is Equitable Geographic Representation in the 21st Century*. The United Nations University: Tokyo, p. 1-10. (B)

UNDP. 2007. *Annual Report*. –available at http://www.undp.org/publications/annual_report_2007/ (A)

Session 3—Applying the analytical framework

Themes:

- Identification of the key decision-making characteristics of multilateral agencies/venues: UN General Assembly, UN Security Council, IMF and World Bank, WTO
- A first effort at establishing a typology of multilateral decision-making venues
- Interpretation of the findings
- Finalization of schedule for the submission of participants’ annotated outline/first draft of the final term paper
- Selection/assignment of working groups to prepare for session 4

Required readings:

- Buira, Ariel. 2003. “The Governance of the International Monetary Fund.” In: Kaul et al (2003), p. 225-262 (B)
- Chasek, Pamela and Lavanya Rajamani. 2003. “Steps toward Enhanced Parity: Negotiating Capacity and Strategies of developing Countries.” In: Kaul et al (2003), p. 245-262 (B)
- Higgott, Richard. 2007. “Global Governance and Global Public Goods: Some Contradictions in the Relationship between Trade Liberalisation and Development in the WTO—available at http://exchange.unido.org/upload/3361_Governance_Higgott.pdf or Warwick Commission. 2007. *The Multilateral Trade Regime: Which Way Forward?*, chapt. 2—available at <http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/research/warwickcommission/report> (A)
- Intergovernmental Group of 24—visit the Group’s website and read about the group’s mandate, its Communiqué of October 2007 on International and Monetary Affairs and the paper by Abbas Mirakhor and Iqbal Zaidi on “Rethinking the Governance of the International Monetary Fund” (to be found under “XXIV Technical Group Meeting, March 2007). (A)
- Smith, Courtney, op. cit., chapters 2 and 3. (both B)
- World Bank. 2007. “Voice and Participation of Developing and Transition Countries in Decision Making at the World Bank. Options Paper.” –available by entering into Google “world bank development committee”. (B)

Session 4—Applying the analytical framework (cont’d)

Themes:

- Analysis of the special lecture by the Director of the Intergovernmental Group of 24 on Monetary Issues and Development Finance, Dr. Amar Bhattacharya, on 27 February at the Hertie School (tbc)
- Identification of the key decision-making characteristics of multilateral agencies/bodies (cont’d): UNDP, GEF, GFATM, the G-8, and perhaps, the World Economic Forum (WEF)
- Further development of the typology of multilateral decision-making venues
- Analysis of the findings
- Formation of working groups to trace the negotiation history of the MDGs, climate change, and the UN Mission in Sudan/Darfur—in preparation for session 5

Required readings:

Bhattacharya, Amar. 2008. Text of the Hertie School Guest Lecture to be delivered on 27 February 2008. (A)

Smith, Courtney, op. cit., chapters 4 and 5. (both B)

Plus websites of above-mentioned multilateral agencies and bodies (B)

Session 5—Applying the analytical framework (cont’d)

Themes:

- Tracing the negotiation history of global issues, including the MDGs, climate change, UN Mission in Sudan (Working group reports)
- Analysis of the multilateral resolutions/agreements on the selected issues in terms of what they say—and don't say—about the financing of desired implementation and other follow-up action (working group reports)
- First brief review of how the selected issues appear to have actually been financed to date (working group reports)
- Summary and conclusion of the debate on part I of the course

Readings:

As noted under session 4, working groups will undertake literature and web searches on the selected global issues. No further additional readings.

PART II—FINANCING GLOBAL POLICY PRIORITIES

Session 6—The present system of international cooperation finance: Questions to explore

Themes:

- Setting the stage: key concepts, including burden-sharing formulas, and premises
- Overview of the current ICF system: The main institutional elements and instruments
- Presentation, discussion and circulation of participants' annotated bibliographies (see above, under "Course implementation")

Readings:

Burall, Simon and Simon Maxwell with Alina Rocha Menocal. 2006. *Reforming the International Aid Architecture: Options and Ways Forward*. Overseas Development Institute (ODI), London, Working Paper 278—available at ODI's website (B)

International Development Association (IDA). 2007. *Aid Architecture: An Overview of the Main Trends in Official Development Assistance Flows*. —available at <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/IDA/Resources/Seminar%20PDFs/73449-1172525976405/3492866-11722527584498/Aidarchitecture.pdf> (B)

Kaul, Inge and Pedro Conceicao. 2006. *The New Public Finance*, p. 3-70. (A)

Kharas, Homi. 2007. *Trends and Issues in development Aid*. Washington, DC: Wolfensohn Center for Development at the Brookings Institution. Working Paper. (A)

Ruebcke, Felix. 2007. "How Can International Organisations Spend Their Money Efficiently?" In: Schlossplatz 3, p. 35-37. (B)

Witte, Jan Martin. 2008. *The Role of Foundations*. Berlin (B)

Session 7—Overview of the present system of international cooperation finance

Themes:

- Summary and continuation of the discussion in session 6 on the overview of the present ICF system
- The main mechanisms for linking policy and expenditure/financing priorities (e.g. conditionality, targeting, creation of trust funds, global programs, public-private partnering, and creating incentive policies)
- Analysis of the factors that may impede a matching of policy and financing priorities (e.g. geo-strategic, other political and economic considerations or public-management challenges)

Readings:

Collier, Paul. 2006. "Using Aid Instruments more Coherently." In: Kaul et al. 2006, p. 471-485. (A)

Conceicao, Pedro. 2006. "Accommodating New Actors and New Purposes." In: Kaul et al. 2006, p. 269-280. (A)

Dreher, Axel et al. 2007. "Development Aid and International Politics: Does Membership on the UN Security Council Influence World Bank Decisions? *KOF Working Papers* No. 171.— available by entering in Google "KOF Working Papers" (B)

Mavrotas, George and Espen Villanger. 2006. "Multilateral Aid Agencies and Strategic Donor Behaviour." *WIDER Discussion Paper* 2006/02 –available on the WIDER website mentioned above, under *Links* (B)

Sagasti, Francisco et al.

Woods, Ngaire. 2007. "The Shifting Politics of Foreign Aid." *Global Economic Governance (GEG) Programme Working Paper* 2007/36 –available at the GEG website mentioned above, under *Links* (B)

Session 8—The Finance for development (FfD) process: A negotiator's perspective on matching global policy and financing priorities

Themes:

- Presentation by the guest speaker, Ambassador Ruth Jacoby
 - Looking back to the 2002 FfD process
 - Looking forward to the follow-up FfD conference in Doha, 2008
- Questions and answers
- Discussion of first emerging final paper outlines/drafts

Readings:

Review the website of Financing for Development mentioned above, under *Links*. Look in particular for: The Monterrey Consensus of the International Conference on Financing for Development of 2002 and the preparations for the 2008 Doha meeting on FfD. (A)

Session 9—The financing of, and decision-making on expenditure allocations in, select operational multilateral agencies

Themes:

- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

- Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malria (GFATM)
- Global Environment Facility (GEF)
- Prototype Carbon Fund (PCF)
- Discussion of draft final papers

Readings:

Visit the websites of the aforementioned organizations to review their mandates, resource mobilization and allocation strategies, annual reports, evaluations, and other relevant studies that may be available. (A)

Session 10—How to make the present ICF system work better? A view from the OECD Development Research Centre

Themes:

- Presentation by the guest speaker, Prof. Helmut Reisen
 - OECD perspectives on enhancing the efficiency and effectiveness of the present ICF system
 - OECD strategies for promoting desired ICF system reforms: Where do we stand? And what challenges are lying ahead?
- Questions and answers

Readings:

Reisen, Helmut. 2007. “Ownership in the Multilateral Development Finance Non-System”. (Draft version of this paper will be made available on the Blackboard) (A)

United Kingdom, Department for International Development (DFID). 2005. *Engaging with Multilaterals. Report of the National Audit Office*—available at http://www.nao.org.uk/publications/DFID_multilaterals.pdf (A)

World Bank. 2007. Millennium Development Goals: Confronting the Challenges of gender and Fragile States. Washington, D.C.—copy of the report will be made available (B)

Session 11— Making the ICF system work better: Perspectives from the World Bank Group

Themes:

- Presentation by the guest speaker, Ms. Claudia von Monbart, Senior Counsellor of the World Bank, Paris and Berlin
 - What future role for the World Bank (IBRD) and IDA—within the ICF system?
 - World Bank and IDA resource allocation policies and mechanisms: How are global concerns like the MDGs, HIV/AIDS and climate change being taken into account?
 - What are some of the World Bank group’s visions for enhancing development finance efficiency and effectiveness?
- Questions and answers
- Discussion of final paper outlines/drafts (cont’d)

Readings:

Review World Bank website (notably the key words “fund generation”, “financial instruments”, “policies and procedures, including conditionality”) and the IDA website (notably the key words “IDA at work”, “replenishments”, and “Performance assessments and allocation of IDA resources”). (A)

World Bank. 2007. *A Guide to the World Bank*. Washington, D.C. (2nd edition) (B)

_____. 2007. “The Role of IDA in the Global Aid Architecture; Supporting the Country-Based Development Model.” Development Committee Report DC 2007-0016 –available at “world bank development committee”. (B)

Session 12-- The financing of the regular budget of UN system agencies and of UN peace-keeping missions

Themes:

- Financing the regular budget of UN system agencies: Contribution formulas, budget preparations, and challenges encountered in mobilizing requisite resources
- The financing of UN peace-keeping missions
- New and innovative sources of ICF
- Discussion of final paper outlines/drafts

Readings:

Atkinson, Anthony B. 2003. *Innovative Sources for Development Finance: Over-Arching Issues*. United Nations University World Institute for Development Economics Research (WIDER) Discussion Paper No. 2003/88. (A)

Kocks, Alexander. 2007. *The Financing of UN Peace Operations; Providing International Public Goods in the 21st Century*. VDM Verlag Mueller. (B)

Laurenti, Jeffrey. 2007. “Financing”. In: Weiss, Thomas and Sam Daws, eds. *The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations*, pp. 675-700. (A)

Reisen, Helmut. 2004. *Innovative Approaches to Funding the Millennium development Goals*. OECD Development Centre: Paris. Policy Brief No. 34. (B)

Technical Group on Innovative Financing Mechanisms of the “Action Against Hunger and Poverty”. 2004. *Report*. –available at

<http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/IMG/pdf/rapportdugroupequadripartite.pdf> (B)

Volger, Helmut. 2002. *A Concise Encyclopedia*, entry on “Budget” and “Financial Crises”. (both B)

Plus:

o—Search the website of UNMIS, the United Nations Mission in Sudan, and other sites (e.g. IPS) for news and information on the financing/resourcing of UNMIS (B)

o—Visit the website of the Global Policy Forum, notably the page on “UN finance” (for the address, see *Links* in the annex to this syllabus).

Session 13—The follow-up to the December 2007 UNFCCC conference in Bali, Indonesia

Themes:

- Presentation by Mr. Yvo de Boer, Executive Secretary, UNFCCC Secretariat (tbc)

- Review of the negotiation process at Bali
- Plans for the follow-up negotiations, notably the negotiations on the proposed new financing arrangements
- Questions and answers

Readings:

Andresen, Steinar. 2007. "Key Actors in UN Environmental governance: Influence, Reform and Leadership". In: *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics* Vol. 7, No. 4, December 2007, p. 457-468 –available via <http://www.springerlink.com> (A)

Plus: Review the UNFCCC Bali conference website with special attention to the documents/decisions entitled "Bali Action Plan" and "Adaptation Fund"; and see conference webcasts and videos (A)

Visit UNFCCC general site and review under "Cooperation and Support" section on Financial Mechanism". (A)

Session 14—Concluding discussion

Themes:

- Review of the main substantive findings and conclusions emerging from the course deliberations
- Evaluation of the course

Readings: None

Date for the submission of the term paper: 23 May 2008

Recommended Further Readings

TEXTS AVAILABLE IN THE HERTIE SCHOOL LIBRARY

- Blanchard, Odile et al. 2003. “Combining Efficiency and Equity.” In: Kaul, Inge et al, eds. 2003. *Providing Global Public Goods; Managing Globalization*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 280-303.
- Conceicao, Pedro et al. 2006. “Making the Right Money Available at the Right Time.” In: Kaul et al. 2006. *The New Public Finance; Responding to Global Challenges*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 281-303.
- Jones, Philip. 2006. “Taking Self-Interest into Account.” In: *ibid.*, p. 304-323.
- Kaul, Inge and Katell Le Goulven. 2003. “Financing Global Public Goods.” In: Kaul, Inge et al, eds. 2003. *op. cit.*, p. 329-370.
- _____. 2003. “Institutional Options for Producing Global Public Goods.” In: *ibid*, p. 371-409.
- Mingst, Karen A. and Margaret P. Karns. 2007. *The United Nations in the 21st Century*. Boulder, Col.: Westview Press.
- Rittberger, Volker
- Sagasti, Francisco et al. 2005. *The Future of Development Financing. Challenges and Strategic Choices*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Smith, Courtney. 2006. *Politics and Process at the United Nations*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- United Nations. 2004. *Basic Facts about the United Nations*. New York: United Nations.
- Volger, Helmut. 2002. *A Concise Encyclopedia of the United Nations*. The Hague: Kluwer Law International.
- Weiss, Thomas G. and Sam Daws, eds. 2007. *The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations*. New York: Oxford University Press, notably chapters 5-7, 9 and 10 (on the principal organs of the UN), 12-16 (on the UN’s relationships with other actors) and 19 (on peacekeeping operations).

DOWNLAODABLE TEXTS

- OECD Development Assistance Committee. 2007. *Development Cooperation Report 2006* –available at <http://www.sourceoecd.org/developmentreport>
- _____. 2008. *Development Cooperation Report 2007* –available at the same sourceoecd site
- United Nations Millennium Project. 2005. *Investing in Development. A Practical Guide to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals*. –available at <http://www.unmp.org/reports/index/htm>
- United Nations Non-Governmental Liaison Service. 2007. *Intergovernmental Negotiations and Decision Making at the United Nations: A Guide*. Geneva. 2nd edition—available at the link listed below.

Selected journals

Selected links

Bank Information Center (BIC): <http://www.bicusa.org>
Bretton Woods Project: <http://www.brettonwoodsproject.org>
Center for Global development (CGD): <http://www.cgdev.org>
Global Environment Facility: <http://www.gefweb.org>
Global Fund to fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria (GFATM): <http://www.theglobalfund.org>
Global Policy Forum: <http://www.globalpolicy.org>
International development Association (IDA): <http://www.worldbank.org/ida>
International Monetary Fund (IMF): <http://www.imf.org>
Millennium Development Goals: <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals>
OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC): <http://www.oecd.org/dac>
OECD Development Centre: <http://www.oecd.org/dev> , in particular the page on “OECD Global Development Forum, 2006-2009”
Overseas development Institute (ODI): <http://www.odi.org.uk>
The Reality of Aid: <http://www.realityofaid.org>
United Nations (UN): <http://www.un.org>
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP): <http://www.undp.org>
United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC): <http://unfccc.int>
United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Finance for Development (FfD) Office: <http://www.un.org/esa/ffd>
United Nations Non-Governmental Liaison Service: <http://www.un-ngls.org>
United Nations University World Institute for Development Economics Research (WIDER): <http://www.wider.unu.edu>
World Bank: <http://www.worldbank.org>
World Trade Organization (WTO): <http://www.wto.org>

Books recommended for purchase

Course participants might want to purchase the following recently published titles on the issue of foreign aid and development—titles which present thorough analyses, make for fascinating reading, and figure—within the aid community—among the “must read” texts:

Collier, Paul. 2007. *The Bottom Billion. Why the Poorest Countries are Failing and What Can be Done*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Easterly, William. 2007. *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done so Much Ill and so Little Good*. London: Penguin Books.