

Seeking Solutions

Paper Abstracts

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Good Governance and Accountability Versus Corruption

Unpacking “Good Governance”: Exploring Subnational and Sectoral Variation in the Quality of Governance in Malawi

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Pierre Landry (NYU-Shanghai) and Lise Rakner University of Bergen)

Despite a surge of interest in “good governance” over the past two decades, scholars and policymakers have yet to reach a consensus regarding the concept’s definition and measurement. Moreover, governance is typically conceived of -- and measured -- at the country level. We add to the ongoing debate with a novel measure of local governance, the Local Governance Performance Index (LGPI). The LGPI looks at how communities and local leaders find ways to overcome resource deficits, assure transparency and accountability, and provide services -- focusing on the experiences of ordinary citizens rather than simply perceptions. Drawing on a recent LGPI survey conducted with over 8,000 households in Malawi, we document significant variation in the quality of local governance both across geographic areas (region, district, and village) as well as across sector (e.g. health, education, security). We account for this variation primarily in terms of differences in local social institutions -- i.e., community norms and social networks -- within the country.

Varieties of Corruption and Collective Action

Monika Bauhr (University of Gothenburg)

The paper develops a typology of corruption and suggests that corruption varies along at least three important dimensions, the level in society in which it takes place (where?), the motivations for actors to engage in corruption (why?) and the relationship between the actors involved (how?). Using first hand data reported to anticorruption help lines, it subsequently illustrates the importance of distinguishing between different forms of corruption for the effectiveness of anticorruption reforms. Despite recent innovations in corruption studies, influential research on the causes and effects of corruption still investigates corruption as a problem that varies in scale between societies, while ignoring that corruption can take vastly different forms. This paper suggests that failing to take into account the vastly different nature of different kind of

corruption risk leading to false inferences about the kinds of solutions that corruption provides in every day life, and by implication the effectiveness of anticorruption reforms.

Patronage and Accountability: Civil Servants and Citizens in the Peruvian Regions Marcia Grimes (University of Gothenburg) and Agnes Cornell (Aarhus University)

Informal modes of interaction and exchange between citizens and government officials, such as clientelism, patronage and patrimonialism may provide a means for citizens to secure access to public goods and services. The use of such informal channels of accountability, which from the citizens' perspective consist chiefly of directly contacting patrons or personal acquaintances, are however normatively problematic in that they are disproportionately available to constituents of incumbents. Such informal practices may also, we argue, deter citizens from using *formal* channels of accountability out of loyalty as well as dependency. This paper examines the link between the prevalence of clientelism and citizens' use of informal vis-à-vis formal, democratic channels of accountability. We argue that citizens will be more likely to choose informal accountability channels, and less likely to employ formal accountability mechanisms, in contexts where the use of clientelistic linkage strategies is widespread.

Moreover, we argue that the prevalence of clientelism is related to a specific feature of the institutional environment, namely the degree of political control of the bureaucracy. While the main spheres of a polity, whether national or subnational, may theoretically be delineated into access to power and the exercise of power, this distinction may empirically blur when politicians have extensive control over civil servants' careers. The empirical analyses build on original survey data of civil servants in Peruvian regional governments, which capture the degree of political control, but also the prevalence of clientelism using randomized response techniques. These data are combined with observational data from Peruvian government offices (e.g. Office of Public Defender) and opinion data from the Americas Barometer to capture the use of formal and informal channels of accountability. Preliminary analyses of the survey data indicate that in regions with a higher degree of bureaucratic politicization, civil servants themselves feel that informal channels present a more viable alternative than formal channels of accountability, which is consistent with theoretical expectations.

The Challenges of Urbanization in Mega-Cities

Neighborhoods and Inequality in Cairo: A Call for Subnational Spatial Analysis Diane Singerman (American University) and Danielle Higgins (American University)

Where citizens live should not be the foremost determinant of citizen rights. Yet, in many countries, and particularly in urban centers, public service provision and the quality of life vary dramatically from one geographic area to another. Research on inequality in Egypt, before and during the Arab Spring, suggested that it was relatively low compared to other nations at similar levels of development. Yet, public perception and concerns about inequality and social injustice fueled demands for change. Our paper will argue that studies of inequality which focus on the macro-level miss the spatial dimensions of inequality within countries, leaving the lived experience of inequality largely invisible. The purpose of this paper is to show the importance of moving down to the subnational and neighborhood level of analysis since it reveals stark

inequalities within and between localities. Using census data from the Greater Cairo Region that is disaggregated at both the neighborhood-level and the district-level, we conduct a cluster analysis to create a typology of inequality in both neighborhoods and districts. After dividing geographic areas into groups based on how advantaged or disadvantaged the area is relative to others, we then can map the clusters to understand and examine how inequality varies across space. This allows us to identify how adjacency and proximity might explain the accuracy of popular perceptions of inequality. We will identify several case studies of this spatial variation to build a more nuanced and grounded understanding of inequality. Our paper offers a challenge to conclusions drawn about inequality in Egypt based solely on macro-level data and further explores the mismatch between the spatial distribution of public service provision in Egypt and community needs at the subnational level. This paper also explores how local actors can use publically accessible subnational data to track and hold governments accountable. On a programmatic level, our approach offers an alternative targeting strategy that takes into consideration the particular challenges of individual neighborhoods and districts.

Infrastructure, Climate Citizenship and Exclusion in Urban Africa: A View from Lagos and the Eko Atlantic City Project

Stephen Marr (Malmö University)

Lagos is now the largest city in Africa with a resident population pegged at twenty million and climbing. The accelerated pace of demographic increases, along with concurrent growth in the scope and scale of urban space in Lagos, has long produced widespread political, socio-economic, and planning challenges to which the government has often been unable to respond. The proposed paper thus seeks to examine dynamics of inequality, sustainability and urban governance via large-scale urban engineering projects underway in Lagos.

The Eko Atlantic development is intended to resolve problems wrought by failing infrastructure and poor planning, while at the same time serving as an investment against future ravages caused by a changing climate. The pursuit of these goals, in Lagos and elsewhere in Africa, however, often comes at the cost of increasing exclusion and inequality within the space(s) of the city. Of particular importance in the coming years then, is the specific question of to what extent urban inequality and sustainability will come into conflict as cities are divided into neighborhoods occupied by climate haves and have-nots. More broadly, the paper begins to address how these newer forms of urban segregation might be theorized, as well as offer reflections on the ways in which citizens might engage, resist, or claim a space for themselves in Eko Atlantic and other similar zones of urban exclusion.

Understanding the interaction between unequal urbanization in Africa, the manner in which states and local communities respond to these challenges, and the changing scope of sustainability politics in an era of climate change is an urgent task for scholars and policymakers. The paper relies on both comparative urban studies literature, along with planning and promotional material related to these projects in order to trace the emerging contours of climate exclusion in contemporary urban Africa.

Spatial Contests and Urban Governance in Cairo

Salwa Ismail (SOAS)

Over the past four decades, millions of ordinary citizens in Cairo have forged mechanisms of self-help to meet their basic needs of housing and security. Notably, through a mode of “peripheral urbanization”, these citizens have pursued their right to making a living in the city. This paper will provide an overview of strategies and forms of action that have enabled them to create and appropriate city spaces and to establish everyday communities. It will also examine recent developments in regimes of urban governance that threaten through policies of forced eviction to undermine these citizens’ claim to life to in the city. In the process, these policies have elicited citizens’ struggles against exclusion and dislocation.

Challenges of Urbanization in Newly Urbanizing Localities and Smaller Cities

Growing Pains: Contentious Urbanization in Small Cities Across Ghana
Abdul-Gafaru Abdulai (University of Ghana) and Jeffrey W. Paller (USF)

Most scholarly attention on Africa’s rapid urbanization focuses on its large cities. Yet a new World Bank report suggests that in Ghana “the number of medium (20,000–50,000 people) and large medium (50,000–100,000) sized towns has quadrupled and tripled respectively,” suggesting a need for a closer examination of the socio-political developments of these smaller cities. Like bigger metropolitan areas, these smaller cities also experience growing pains, including illegal property allocation and squatting, discrimination against immigrants and migrants, demolitions, exclusive urban planning and the formation of parallel governance structures. These historically shaped processes contribute to production and reproduction of socially segregated spatial organization, and unequal access to services and urban space today.

In this paper, we explore the politics of urban growth—what we call contentious urbanization—in Ghana’s small, but rapidly growing cities. We examine why some Ghanaian cities 1) have greater taxation capacity, 2) receive more transfers or projects from the central government, 3) are more effective at carrying out their development priorities and meeting the basic needs of residents, and 4) integrate outsiders or strangers in a peaceful and just manner. We employ a paired case comparison. Our universe of cases includes all cities over 100,000 people that have experienced rapid urban growth between 2000 and 2010. We then select eight cities that vary along four important explanatory variables: whether it is the regional administrative capital; whether it has experienced a natural resource boom in the last 20 years; whether there is an underlying chieftaincy dispute; and whether it is electorally competitive. We assess the impact that these institutional features have on urban governance and politics. In doing so, we demonstrate the ways in which ordinary citizens in small African cities seek solutions to the challenges they face in their daily lives.

Refugees Can Enhance Cities and Economies: Evidence from Syrian Small Entrepreneurs in Beirut (Lebanon)

Mona Harb (American University of Beirut)

The war in Syria has led to major population displacements in neighboring countries. Lebanon currently hosts 1.2 million displaced Syrians—a very high number relatively to its 4.4 million inhabitants. The Lebanese government, as many Lebanese people, has a negative perception of this massive influx, which is represented as a threat to security and stability, a major economic burden, and a serious social liability. Syrians are thus stigmatized as lesser humans, dangerous beings, guilty for having fled their homes, willing to work cheap labor, and abusive of humanitarian aid. They are typically stereotyped into poor male laborers, and passive, deprived, captive females, living in tented settlements, in abject conditions—images that are well reproduced by the media.

In this paper, I debunk this homogenizing and reductive perception of Syrian refugees by examining how some Syrians are contributing to the economy and to city making of their host country, against many odds, through the establishment of small businesses and enterprises. I argue that these investments are diversifying the market and fostering a healthy competition, in addition to enriching the city's urban life. The paper's data comes from participant observation, and a set of fifteen qualitative interviews with Syrians who established small businesses in central Beirut after 2011. The findings confirm that, conversely to the dominant discriminatory perception of Syrian refugees as a burden, some Syrians display evidence of enterprise and innovation, indicating a positive impact on their host country's economy. The impact of these small-businesses should not only be assessed through monetary value, but should also account for the worth of these initiatives in enhancing inclusion and social cohesion, and contributing to a more diverse and vibrant city life. The findings thus underscore the need to alter host countries' and locals' perceptions of refugees as a problem, and explore how lifting barriers to employment and enterprise can bring in good returns on various fronts.

How Concrete is the Case for Titling in Cities?

Alexandra Panman (University of Oxford)

Land titling has a policy priority for developing country cities for decades. Policy makers anticipate that titling will result in a wide range of benefits. These expectations are predicated on the assumption that there is a causal relationship between title and increased tenure security, greater participation in formal urban services, and reduced costs of property transactions. We show that these assumptions do not hold in a case study city, by drawing on data from a new household survey instrument that was piloted in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. As such, we argue that the standard for evidence to support the case for land titling in cities has been too low.

Inequalities in Service Provision: Where Citizens Turn to for Help

Social Connections and Primary Health Care: Evidence from Rural Kenya

Josephine Gakii (University of Gothenburg)

Access and utilisation of health services remains low in developing countries despite the documented benefits to health. This paper analyses the political economy of the health sector

which has so far gained very little attention. Particularly, it examines the effect of social connections between households and locally instituted community health workers (CHWs) on access to primary health care in rural Kenya. I also examine the effects of access on household health seeking behaviour. I find that households that have a strong social connection with the community health worker significantly get more health care visits and are less likely to pay a bribe to get the limited essential drugs which should be obtained for free is also influenced by the strength of the social connection. The results further suggest that households that get more visits have better health seeking behaviour compared to those that get less visits. The evidence suggests that community health worker fair behaviour is influenced by the amount of compensation they get. A policy implication of this study is that careful attention should be paid to both placement of local health care providers in the community and their compensation.

Community-Driven or Self-Interested Voters? A Conjoint Experiment on Vote Buying and Identity in Malawi

Kristen Kao, Ellen Lust (University of Gothenburg), and Lise Rakner (University of Bergen)

This paper questions the assumptions behind the finding that politicians favor their coethnics using evidence from Malawi. Studies of ethnic favoritism often assume, often implicitly, that the benefits from co-ethnics are the same, regardless of the nature of the co-ethnic's position (e.g., whether it is elected, appointed, or inherited; at the village, municipal, or national level), and that the importance of ethnicity in determining obligations of co-ethnics is uniform within societies. Yet, does the influence of shared ethnicity with authorities vary depending on the type of authority? And does ethnicity play a similar role in determining social relations across communities? We use original survey data of over 8,000 Malawian citizens on service provision and governance in the realms of education and land ownership to answer these questions. We find that village level factors are dominant drivers of the extent to which individuals can obtain quality government services. Second, ethnic characteristics remain salient, even when taking into account political clientelism and networks. Third, the impact of ethnicity depends critically on the norms and rules governing social interactions in the community, or what we call social institutions. The findings of this paper are important for policy makers, development specialists, and others who seek to improve the lives of millions who suffer from poor education, disputes over land, and lost opportunities.

Exit, Voice and Loyalty: Contentious Urbanization in Accra and Nairobi

Jacqueline M. Klopp and Jeffrey W. Paller (USF)

African cities have long histories of urbanization, which include illegal property allocation, land invasions and squatting, immigrant and population expulsions, demolitions, exclusive urban planning and the formation of parallel governance structures. These historically shaped processes contribute to production and reproduction of socially segregated spatial organization, and unequal access to services and urban space today. In this paper, we explore the politics of urban growth—what we call contentious urbanization—in two African cities: Accra and Nairobi. We examine the conditions under which neighborhoods politically engage with the state, and whether they choose to exit the formal system, voice their political grievances, or remain loyal to the governing regime. We argue that these decisions depend on a mix of political factors that cannot be reduced to simple state capacity or demographic factors that are dominant in the academic literature. We pay close attention to the informal networks of power and brokerage that mediate how slum communities access land, space and services. The paper offers insights into the needed transformation of urban politics required to improve service delivery and address inequity in

ethnically diverse and weak-formally institutionalized African cities. It also demonstrates the ways in which ordinary citizens seek solutions to the challenges they face in their daily lives.

Addressing Governance Challenges in Conflict and Post-Conflict Settings

Understanding the Link Between Conflict Experiences and Post-War Pathways:
Combatant Social Networks in Eastern Congo
Zoe Marks (University of Edinburgh)

Surviving war – whether within or outside an armed group – is a deeply social process. Yet, leading theories of conflict dynamics and post-conflict peacebuilding only vaguely engage with the complex relationships and organizational dynamics that shape people’s lives through war. This paper presents the first cut of new data from a comparative study measuring differences in the social networks of mobilized and de-mobilized combatants in Eastern Congo. Working with a team of local researchers, we collected detailed data on the social networks and personal war experiences of over 400 members of three different armed groups in DRC: regional rebels, local militias, and state security forces, with civilians as a ‘control’ group. Our gender-disaggregated analysis cuts across military ranks and degrees of mobilization, shedding light on both how armed groups are structured, and how those same structures transform for post-conflict livelihoods in community contexts. By measuring systematic differences in the structure and demographics of individuals’ social support networks, we can better understand how wartime experiences shape longer-term post-war trajectories. This has valuable policy implications for designing context-responsive DDR and SSR programs. It also offers important theoretical contributions: demanding us to think more rigorously and creatively about how organizational structure, power hierarchies, and social capital shapes individual and group wellbeing in conflict-affected contexts.

Beyond Victimization: Women’s Political Mobilization in Response to Wartime
Sexual Violence
Anne-Kathrin Kreft (University of Gothenburg)

Previous research has shown that amidst the many negative consequences of civil war, women frequently carve out new political spaces for themselves. Gender scholars customarily attribute these gains to demographic imbalances resulting from male-dominated fighting. This article explores a complementary driving factor: women’s political mobilization in response to sexual violence. The theoretical framework comprises two causal mechanisms. First, women who experienced sexual violence may engage in political activism as a coping strategy in a process of post-traumatic growth. Second, drawing on social movement theory emphasizing the mobilizing effect of threat, the article proposes that women engage in collective action in response to the threat to their collective identity and interests that wartime sexual violence embodies. Three sets of statistical analyses reveal a positive association between high levels of wartime sexual violence on the one hand and women’s protest activity, linkages to international women’s non-governmental organizations, and women’s legislative representation on the other. A case study of Colombia, which comprises also first results from fieldwork-based interviews, illustrates the causal mechanisms. The results call for more nuanced research on women’s responses to wartime sexual violence and on the effects of violence on individuals’ political behavior.

Responding to Crisis: Re-Establishing Governance and Access to Services After a Natural Catastrophe

Informal Institutions in Response to Crisis:
Evidence from Ghana's Flood Zone
John F. McCauley (University of Maryland)

Individuals living in poor, rural settings often lack reliable social welfare and formal insurance and instead rely during times of crisis on various forms of informal social insurance: political patrons, non-political patrons, family, and the community. This study uses a controlled comparison of residents in Northern Ghana, some exposed to severe flooding and some otherwise similar residents not exposed to flooding, to analyze the sources of support that rural Ghanaians favor when confronted with threats to their subsistence. Survey data from respondents in the flooded and non-flooded sites suggest that constituents do not expect additional help from patrons; instead, they are more likely to invest in family and community ties. The study has implications for the conditions under which rural residents cash in their political capital with patrons: individuals exposed to crisis tend to rely on peer and family networks, preserving their capital with patrons for more anticipated needs or opportunities to get ahead.

Natural Disasters and Civic Engagement: Mixed Evidence from the 2015 Floods in Malawi.

Felix Hartmann (University of Gothenburg)

Abstract: How do natural disasters affect civic engagement? Conventional wisdom holds that the poor have lower rates of participation in civic groups and community associations. However, recent evidence challenges this conventional wisdom and paints a more dynamic picture of civic engagement. A Natural experiment from Pakistan indicates that negative income shocks due to natural disasters (floods) can have a positive effect on local civic and political participation. The effect is conditional on receiving financial assistance in the aftermath of the disaster, and is not manifested for the poor and most vulnerable part of the population. This study sheds light on the question in the context of the 2015 floods in Malawi. I combine geo-coded flood data with geocoded survey data collected in March 2016. The survey was fielded in four highly affected districts in southern Malawi (N=1805 households). The results indicate that the flood did not have a lasting negative economic or psychological effect on citizens, but led to higher levels of trust in government institutions, and lower levels of civic engagement in communities.

Climate Change and Energy Poverty in New Democracies: Explaining Citizen Response to the Electricity Crisis in Ghana

Lauren M. MacLean (Indiana University)

Climate change and persistent energy poverty threaten to undermine many new democracies in Africa. Even though Africa as a region contributes the least to global climate change, many African countries are most dramatically affected by changes in the environment. In Ghana,

climate change has reduced water levels to historic lows in the large hydroelectric dams built in the post-independence era. These dams are now unable to generate enough power for the nation. Ghanaian citizens have responded to frequent black outs and unannounced loadshedding by taking to the streets, Twitter, and to the voting box to protest and to demand reform. Indeed, in December 2016, the incumbent presidential candidate, who had become known as “Mr. Power Cut”, lost the election to the lead opposition party. Meanwhile, Western donors have urged Ghanaian politicians and policymakers to “leapfrog” over traditional fossil fuel technologies for electricity provision and adopt a new solution to these challenges – renewable energy technologies such as solar and wind. These renewable energy solutions are not just offering new engineering and business models, but present a fundamental transformation of politics at the local level. These new solutions often provide electricity service provision on a smaller, much more decentralized scale than the historic paradigm of the highly centralized national grid. They also involve multiple non-state actors including donors, non-governmental organizations, businesses, community-based organizations and citizens in the collaborative governance of service provision. This paper investigates how Ghanaian citizens are seeking solutions to the contemporary electricity crisis. Drawing on an analysis of local newspapers, social media posts, political party documentation, and parliamentary proceedings, I first establish how citizens conceptualize and understand this problem in their daily life as well as the opportunities and limits of the potential solutions. I then document the change in citizen response over time. I argue that the nature of the Ghanaian citizens’ response is explained by a history of high expectations for a state role in the provision of electricity combined with the consolidation of the democratic regime in Ghana.

Refugees and Governance

Networks, Social Norms, and Community Perceptions of Violence Against Children: Evidence from Long- and Short-Term Refugee Populations in Nyarugusu Refugees Camp Erin K. Fletcher

While the world’s attention is fixed on the acute Syrian refugee crisis, protracted conflict and political instability have led some refugee situations to drag on for decades. Nyarugusu Refugees Camp, in Kigoma region, Tanzania, currently hosts around 140,000 refugees from Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, more than three times the number of people it was designed to hold. The Congolese populations, having been in Tanzania 20 years, are long-term refugees. The majority of the Burundian population was only permitted to enter Nyarugusu in April of 2015. Many of these Burundian refugees are fleeing Burundi for the first time as a result of political violence associated with President Pierre Nkurunziza’s controversial bid for a third term. However, many of them are among those who fled Burundi’s selective genocide in 1972 and/or civil war in 1993, and their children, and thus the total Burundian population includes both long- and short-term refugees. I use a unique data set collected in Nyarugusu Refugees Camp in February and March of 2016 to examine the structure of social networks in a camp that is largely cut off from the outside world. The structure of these recently-formed and longstanding refugee networks can inform our understanding of the dissemination of information and norms in the camp context, where travel outside the camp and internet access are limited, as well as suggest avenues for programming or policy to effect behavioral change. In particular, I examine

the effect of social network size, connectivity, and strength on perceptions of community beliefs regarding violence against children.

Social Ties and Public Goods Management in Syrian Refugee Communities

Daniel Masterson (Yale University)

What is the impact of social network structure on refugee self-governance? Like many communities that exist outside or on the margins of formal state order, refugee communities achieve varying levels of social order based on their ability to establish and maintain local governance. Using a social-network experiment among Syrian refugees in Lebanon and Jordan, this paper provides empirical evidence and theory about why refugee communities with close ties are better able to manage public goods problems. I use a novel sampling methodology that creates focus groups with either close ties or random ties between participants, who are then presented with collective problem solving vignettes about public goods problems common in refugee communities, such as resolving security concerns and the redistribution of humanitarian resources. Outcomes include self-reported beliefs about the effectiveness of group cooperation and metrics of cooperation and deliberation drawn from the focus-group transcripts. Based on preliminary results from Lebanon, I find a large positive effect of the close-ties network structure on participants' abilities to solve public goods problems.

Voluntariness and Resistance: Negotiating Local Responses to the “Refugee Crisis”

Susanne Bygnes (University of Bergen)

As a response to the increase in asylum arrivals during the so-called “refugee crisis” the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration established 257 relatively small-scale reception facilities in local communities all over the country. Geographically far from the hyper-visible and hyper-mediated events of Europe’s border spectacle, negotiations on how to deal with the sudden increase in neighborhood diversity went on in hundreds of Norwegian local communities. Before the arrivals, large numbers local op-eds were written, public meetings were held, thousands of volunteers were mobilized and three planned refugee facilities were burned to the ground. Based on observational data from meetings, qualitative interviews with asylum seekers and members of local communities gathered in Norway between November 2015 and April 2016, this article compares what happened in two particular local communities when the imaginations and media images were replaced with the presence of recently arrived individuals temporarily residing in the local community. By zooming in on some of the negotiations that went on before and after the arrival of the newcomers, the analysis shows that fear of the asylum seekers diminished after their arrival to the local communities and that personal and engaged volunteering styles had a particularly strong impact on neighborhood relations.

The Migrant Perceptions of Istanbul’s Shopkeepers: Is it the Economy?

Mine Eder (Bogazici University)

The aim of this research is to draw a preliminary map of how Turkish shopkeepers develop their perceptions toward irregular new migrants (“new” as of post 1980s) and explore the nature and

the extent to which the intensity of economic relationships with migrants shape those perceptions. As the fourth largest migrant recipient country in Europe, understanding migrant perceptions has become ever more significant. As is widely accepted, the incorporation of migrants to the economy and to the social fabric of the host country is a crucial issue. It is impossible to assess this incorporation process without taking into consideration the perceptions and the attitudes of the citizens regarding migrants. Enacted in April 2013, together with bureaucratic and administrative changes, Turkey's new Law on Foreigners and International Protection determines the procedures and principles with regard to the foreigners' entry into, stay in and exit from Turkey, aiming to secure the ability to use their rights and to better manage the incorporation process of those foreigners living in Turkey. The purpose of the legal changes with this new law was to introduce a series of measures and regulations that will provide for a better management of irregular migration in Turkey. With the influx of 2.76 million Syrian "refugees" (who are officially not recognized as such but is put under ambiguous "temporary protection" status in Turkey), this process has become more complicated and more urgent. Understanding perceptions of citizens towards migrants can also help us make sense of the incorporation process and assess the effectiveness of the legal/economic and political management of irregular migration in Turkey.

The findings of this paper are based on a pilot study which tried to capture extensively the perceptions of shopkeepers various economic relationships with immigrants, in four districts of Istanbul, Osmanbey, Laleli, Kumkapı and Aksaray in which large numbers of irregular immigrants can be encountered. The research involved a total of 60 in-depth face to face interviews (15 in each), one focus group in each district and a small pilot survey based on 208 shopkeepers (52 in each) which are sampled based on the number of buildings across each street in the respective neighborhood. The fundamental characteristic of these four districts is that, they all host a considerable number of diversified migrant groups, who either reside in the neighborhood, engage in "shuttle trade," send goods and food supplies to their home countries and/or work in different sectors so as to survive. In short, the migrant groups make part of the economic life, albeit a predominantly informal one. What are the factors that shape the perceptions of shopkeepers concerning migrants? How do the shopkeepers with an economic relationship with immigrants differ from those with no relationship? If any? Do positive economic relationships/profits have an impact on the perceptions toward migrants? How does his own economic condition (and yes the shopkeepers are predominantly male), his economic threat perception (precarity, vulnerability to shocks) as well as his perception of the state and state's undertakings so as to manage irregular migration shape those sentiments? Are there differences among various migrant groups in terms of perceptions? With such and similar questions, this study thus aims to provide a map of the possible determinants of perceptions about migrants in Turkey with particular emphasis on the economic networks with migrants in these four districts.

Extractive Capacity and State Building

**The Gap Between Autonomy and Statehood:
Policing, Taxing, and Resisting in the West Bank**
Diana Greenwald (University of Michigan)

Classic theories of state formation suggest that an increase in state coercive control will also increase state fiscal capacity. According to the logic underlying this literature, as the state deploys its coercive power to protect property and citizens, those benefiting from this protection will

willingly dedicate some share of their resources toward the state in the form of taxation. Alternatively, state coercive power may be directed toward the citizenry to compel tax compliance. Either way, conventional wisdom would predict an unconditional, positive relationship between the coercive and fiscal capacities of states. However, do these insights apply to settings of conflict, where control over the means of coercion is contested? Subnational geographic variation in the Palestinian Authority (PA)'s autonomy over policing in the West Bank provides an opportunity to assess this claim. Using a newly constructed dataset of revenues from 107 localities in the West Bank from 2006 to 2012, I find that greater Palestinian control over internal policing only appears to enhance revenues in towns that were governed by Hamas, the opposition party, not towns governed by the ruling party, Fatah. I conclude that not all state-like capacities grow together among contemporary national movements seeking statehood: Instead, consolidating policing authority under one party in a conflict setting may lead the opposition to develop other forms of local capacity as a means of building its base. I suggest that these findings are relevant for other settings of occupation, contested statehood, or asymmetrical rule.

Tax Compliance in the Developing World: Illustrations from Nigeria

Adrienne LeBas (American University)

Taxation is a cornerstone of accountable government: reliance on tax revenues is associated with higher levels of democracy and services delivery, and citizens who pay taxes are more likely to take action to improve government accountability. But why do individuals pay tax? Do they respond to increased enforcement and monitoring, or are they driven by more beliefs about the legitimacy of taxation, often termed "tax morale"? The political science literature on taxation has often neglected the developing world, especially sub-Saharan Africa, where state capacity to monitor and tax citizens remains weak. These settings, however, are likely to provide important insights into how social contracts between states and citizens first emerge. Drawing on the author's own work in Nigeria, this paper lays out the distinct obstacles to expanding tax mobilization in settings of low state capacity, which include the size of the informal economy and the presence of non-state actors who engage in informal taxation. The article concludes with a brief discussion of a planned tax appeal experiment to be implemented in Lagos, Nigeria, this coming summer.

Extraction and Social Institutions

Ellen Lust (University of Gothenburg) and Lise Rakner (University of Bergen)

Why do some communities raise local revenue, engage in collective actions to provide secure environments, build roads and schools and create other goods that promote human development, while others fail to do so? These questions are key for policy makers, development specialists, and others who seek to improve the lives of millions who suffer from violence, poor education, unattended illnesses, and lost opportunities at the hands of corrupt leaders. In this essay, we examine literature from anthropology, economics, history, and political science, to gain a better understanding of the role that social institutions play in the extraction of labor and material resources, and the development of formal fiscal structures. In doing so, we consider the extraction at the national and local levels, mobilized via state institutions, traditional authorities and social norms. We make the case that understanding resource mobilization requires going beyond the focus on state-driven revenue extraction that dominates the literature on taxation, and requires, as well, careful attention to the ways in which overlapping authorities and

institutions structure these processes. The essay aims to contribute to our understanding of resource extraction and also open up new arenas of inquiry.