

What Works?

**Towards a theory of change for
enhancing legitimate order**

Or

“Getting to Botswana”

Dr. Rachel Kleinfeld
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
rkleinfeld@ceip.org | 202-320-2918

QUESTION AND HOW I GOT THERE

Rule of law requires functional state with:

- Monopoly on legitimate violence
 - How do weak states establish legitimate control over state & non-state violence?
- But functional bureaucracies gen. established by autocrats
 - How do functional bureaucracies (non-corrupt, fulfilling public purpose) get established in weak democracies?



How do weak democracies establish functional institutions serving publicly-stated purposes in order to provide legitimate control against state & non-state crime and violence?

NEED TO LOOK AT CORRUPTION AND VIOLENCE BECAUSE THEY ARE LINKED

Corruption can control violence of elites & major violent groups

But:

It delegitimizes gov't

This catalyzes and enables violence while corrupting institutions, reducing gov't's ability to fight



INTERACTING WITH MULTIPLE LITERATURES

■ **Statebuilding**

- Weber: Patrimonial/Neopatrimonial
- North, Wallis, Weingast: Limited Access – doorstep conditions
- Acemoglu and Robinson: Extractive – political institutions
- Tilly, Olson, Mann: State as Organized Crime, Stationary Bandit, Forms of state strength

How do limited/extractive orders evolve into open access orders?

■ **Democratic Quality/Good Governance**

- Diamond, Levi
- Rothstein: Legitimacy created by output, not input
- Andrews, Pritchett, Woolcock; Practitioner Literature

How do you help weak governments deliver?

■ **Development/Nation-Building/Empirical Violence**

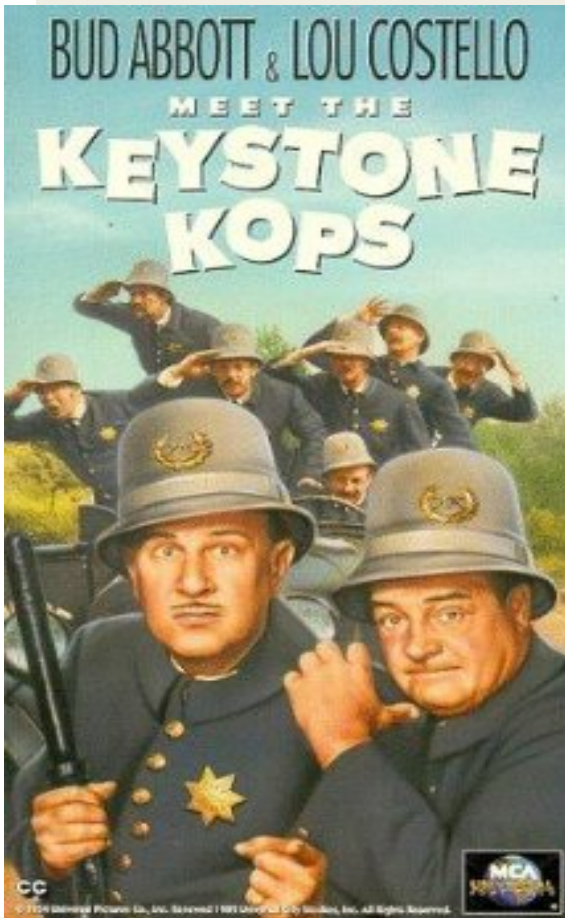
- Empirical scholarship/practitioner literature; Collier; WB 2011

How can functional institutions/governance be built?

METHODOLOGY AND CASE SELECTION

- **Democracies: Not autocracies**
- **Political unit level: Not “enclaves of excellence”**
- **Positive deviance based on change: Not on end point**
- **Starting from low point: Not “good & getting incrementally better” – Getting to Botswana**
- **Significant movement that has been sustained or shows patterns of sustainability – (will return to this)**
- **Violence/Corruption: Not rule of law as a whole**

WHAT DOES “SUCCESS” LOOK LIKE? U.S. MUNICIPAL POLICE REFORM



HIGHLY PRELIMINARY NOTIONAL FINDINGS

THESE ARE REFORMS THAT ARE INHERENTLY POLITICAL

- Violence/Corruption not flaws in system – they ARE the system; state not “weak” – designed that way
- Need to change system: Reforms holistic, not enclaves
- These are issues of politics and power, not expertise: Solutions are not best practice; not always open-access – people self-interested
- Civic engagement matters: Broad coalition & elite
- Iteration towards solution, multiple battles

NEW METHODS OF MEASUREMENT NEEDED FOR THIS KIND OF REFORM TRAJECTORY

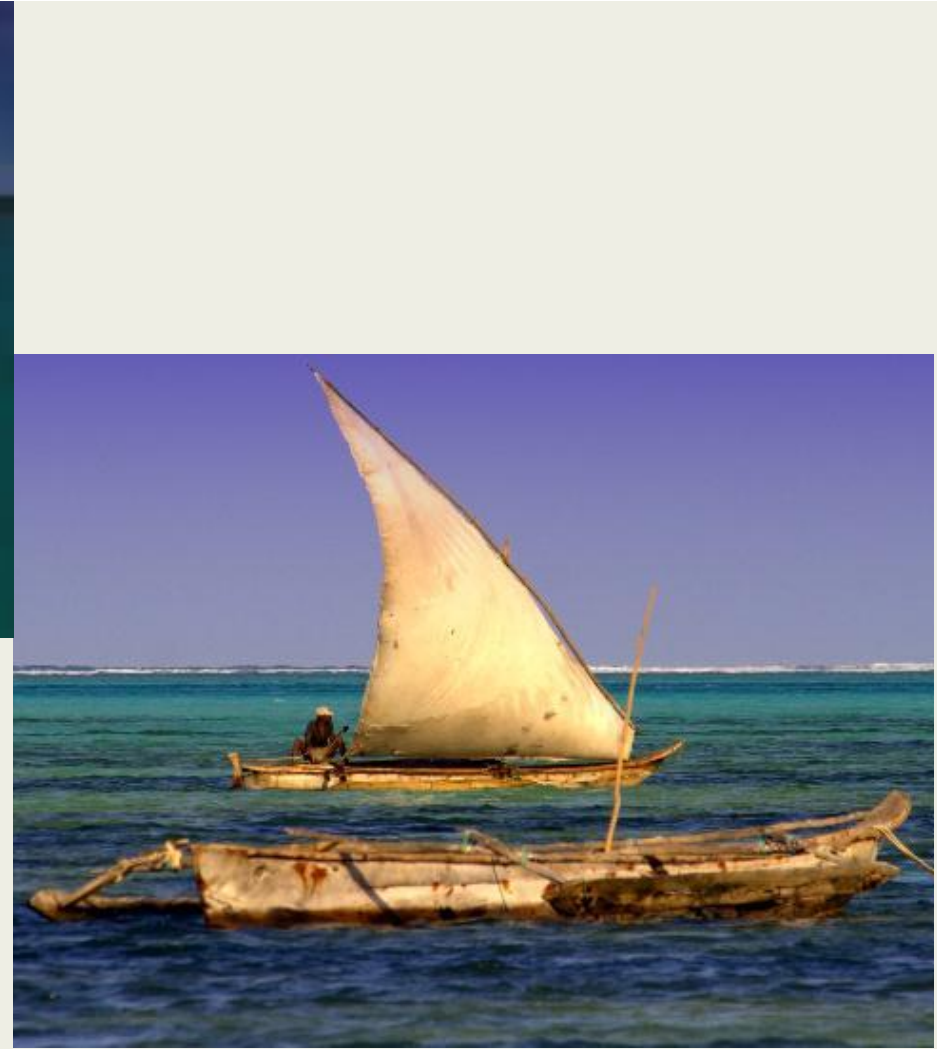
- Non-linear: Tipping points, punctuated, not steady
- Windows of opportunity/critical junctures: Idiosyncratic
- Opponents: Backlash and counter-reform
- Side Effects: Success often sets stage for next problem

When do you measure? What methodology is suited to measurement? What metrics?

Look for “Phase Space” or Space of the Possible:

- Patterns
- Baskets” not singular metrics

Dictatorship vs. Democracy



**EXTRA SLIDES IF NEEDED
TO ANSWER QUESTIONS**

WHAT DOES “SUCCESS” LOOK LIKE IN CASES OF POLITICAL CHANGE?

- **1857: Dred Scott Decision**
Slaves, not citizens
- **1870: Reconstruction**
1,000 elected to office
- **1892: Reversal**
Jim Crow, lynchings peak
- **1968: Civil Rights Act**
Voting Rights Act
- **2014: New Equilibrium?**
Prison, Employment, Murder

