

**SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY
UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
FALL SEMESTER 2016**

SYLLABUS

ETHICS, DEVELOPMENT, AND FOREIGN AID

LECTURER: Chloe Schwenke, Ph.D.
Course Number: PUA 783 Class Room: VMH _____
Time: Tuesdays 4:15pm to 6:45pm

Syllabus version of August 24, 2016

INTRODUCTION

*"There is no escaping our obligations: our moral obligations as a wise leader and good neighbor in the interdependent community of free nations – our economic obligations as the wealthiest people in a world of largely poor people, as a nation no longer dependent upon the loans from abroad that once helped us develop our own economy – and our political obligations as the single largest counter to the adversaries of freedom."
John F. Kennedy*

This course employs an explicitly moral lens to address the empirical, conceptual, political, institutional, and ethical dimensions of foreign aid and relief. In so doing, we will carefully consider the varying perspectives of the various key stakeholders, which includes the US Government and other governments who provide foreign aid, civil society organizations, experts and consultants, recipient country governments, targeted aid beneficiaries, marginalized peoples, and aid critics.

The course includes three classes in November that will be held at the offices of three different foreign aid or civil society organizations located in Washington, D.C., with their participation.

As a graduate level course, the syllabus is designed to develop within students the fundamental reflective and discernment skills and sensibilities so that they can be aware of and responsive to the normative public policy dimensions of international relief, humanitarian assistance, and foreign aid. The course will also include comparisons with other fundamental ethical principles that shape international relations and foreign assistance public policy: human rights, social inclusion, human capabilities and functionings, gender equity, social justice, and human flourishing.

During this course, we will consider together such questions as:

- What is the present character of development and humanitarian relief in poor countries/regions? Should Americans care about the plight of poor people living outside our borders?
- How should development be conceived, and by whom? How different does it look when viewed from the receiving end of foreign aid?
- Who is morally responsible for emergency humanitarian assistance, and why?
- What development strategies are best, and most sustainable – and what does “best” mean in this context?
- Where do concepts about human dignity and human rights fit into international development, if at all?
- What is and should be the purpose of U.S. development and relief assistance? In terms of ethically justifiable results, should the purpose and priorities of international development really be decided by Congress?
- Is the moral burden of alleviating global poverty simply too heavy? Or is this often stated goal only empty rhetoric anyway?
- What does it mean to “do no harm” when it comes to international development interventions? Doesn’t someone’s interest always get harmed when change happens?
- Do each of us have a direct and personal stake in how these questions about international relief and development are answered, or at least an obligation to find such answers?

The course has three main components:

- 1) What is foreign aid, and why should we be involved? A moral perspective on the history, trends, key roleplayers, and effectiveness of foreign aid.
- 2) Ethics, and the politics and structure of foreign aid
- 3) Moral dilemmas and the “moral toolbox” of foreign aid

Upon successful completion of the course, students with a wide variety of specific sectoral interests should be able to:

- ❑ Articulate a persuasive and thoughtful view of the role of foreign in terms of its strengths and weaknesses, and offer arguments for and against the continuation and reform of foreign aid.
- ❑ Contextualize specific moral challenges to human dignity in the context of foreign assistance, and suggest approaches to address these.
- ❑ Understand and articulate – from the different perspectives of the Global North and the Global South – the many dimensions of “progress”, development, human dignity, human well-being and flourishing, social inclusion, and gender equality.
- ❑ Frame policy analysis, outputs, and outcomes in terms of international development priorities and concerns.

ASSIGNMENTS, READINGS, AND GRADING

There will be one short paper required early in the course, a mid-term examination, a group presentation, and a final examination:

- ❑ **Assignment One:** Due by 6pm on Tuesday September 27th. From the perspective of either human rights or social inclusion, prepare and submit an 8 to 10 page (1.5 line spacing) paper with proper

citations (Chicago Manual of Style) addressing your own relationship and “position” at this time to foreign aid from one or more of the following perspectives: a) a person concerned about good public policy; or b) as someone with a direct interest in participating in or advocating for (or against) foreign aid; or c) someone who cares deeply about the plight of the poor and marginalized; or d) a concerned citizen. Be sure to distinguish the important differences and values associated with “insider” and “outsider” status (20% of grade)

- ❑ **Exam:** There will be a sixty minute closed book mid-term examination on October 11th (20% of grade), and a 90 minute closed-book final examination during the week of December 12th (25% of grade).
- ❑ **Assignment Two - Dueling PowerPoints:** Prepare, in two-person teams, a professional quality PowerPoint, Prezi, (or similar) presentation of not more than 15 minutes per person (30 minutes in total), pertaining to a leading issue (and associated desired outcomes) in foreign aid or humanitarian relief, framed from the perspective of: a) social inclusion, or b) human rights, or c) capabilities approach. The issue to be addressed will be selected from a list of issues provided by the professor. Within each two-person team:
 - ❑ One student will argue/advocate strongly in favor of a specific foreign aid/humanitarian relief policy direction or outcome by relying on a persuasive moral argument(s) based upon one of the listed frameworks; while
 - ❑ The other student will counter this argument or advocacy, by questioning the moral relevance/obligations of this foreign aid/humanitarian relief approach for the same targeted issue, and by offering either a strong counter-argument based on a different listed framework, or by advocating for a distinctly different approach to the same issue (based on either the same or a different framework as the other group has used).

Further details will be provided later. A discussion period will also be scheduled after each presentation, and a (secret ballot) vote taken to determine whose presentation was the most persuasive. The professor will evaluate this presentation on the basis of its content, on the effectiveness of its presentation, and on its persuasiveness – both in terms of the vote results, and based on her own judgment (25% of grade).

Class attendance and participation are extremely important. Students will be expected to complete the readings and come to class prepared to discuss them. Since the class does not follow a text consistently, students can only keep up through regular attendance. *Constructive and thoughtful participation in classroom discussions counts for 10% of grade.*

Part One: What is foreign aid, and why should we be involved?

Class 1, August 30th – Introductions, review of syllabus, and engagement on initial case studies.

Case study one – urban development: Northwest Luzon Growth Quadrangle project and the workshop at Pangasinan Province, Philippines of Sep. 3, 1993 (2-page case study to be distributed in advance by professor)

Case study two – never-ending civil war, yet more aid requested for South Sudan? See <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/12/11/no-foreign-aid-no-peace-in-south-sudan/>

Case study three – cattle rustling in the Karamoja region of Uganda, and the USAID Women Building Peace Project, see <https://www.usaid.gov/news-information/frontlines/risk-resilience-and-media/calling-shots-women-mend-fault-lines-conflict>

Readings for the next class (Sep. 6th):

- The Case for Aid, by Jeffrey Sachs, at <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/01/21/the-case-for-aid/>
- The Great Surge: the Ascent of the Developing World by Steven Radelet, chapters 1-3, pages 3-71
- “A Brief History of Aid”, see <http://www.aidwatch.org.au/stories/a-brief-history-of-aid/>
- “Economic development and the effectiveness of foreign aid: A historical perspective”, by **Sebastian Edwards**, see <http://voxeu.org/article/development-and-foreign-aid-historical-perspective>

Class 2, September 6th – Short history of fifty years of international development.

An overview of what the main goals, themes, expectation, assumptions, successes, and failures look like over the past five decades, and what has really changed. Building on the crumbling history of colonialism, and the new global institutions that emerged after WWII, we will explore foreign aid conceived as “economic progress” and “modernization” (usually through industrialization) to a “softer” view that included social concerns, human rights, and the grinding impact of poverty on the most vulnerable. We will see how the MDGs and the Paris Declaration have now led to the SDGs, and how new areas of focus have now emerged that embrace social inclusion and the plight of the most marginalized. We will also begin to assess Steven Radelet’s assertion that the developing world is on the rise.

Readings for the next class (Sep. 13th):

- “The Future of Aid and Beyond” by Myles Wickstead, chapter 2 of The Donor’s Dilemma: Emergence, Convergence and the Future of Foreign Aid edited by Andy Sumner and Tom Kirk
- “Aid as Disruption” by Shanta Devarajan, chapter 23 of The Donor’s Dilemma: Emergence, Convergence and the Future of Foreign Aid edited by Andy Sumner and Tom Kirk
- “Does the US Have an Obligation to Give Money Abroad?”, blog by Ella Cady, see <http://borgenproject.org/us-obligation-give-money-abroad/>
- Peter Singer’s 1972 paper “Famine, Affluence, and Morality”, see <http://www.utilitarian.net/singer/by/1972----.htm>

Class 3, September 13th – The moral obligations to assist – to some extent – others in need

Why should the developed countries of the world be sending off millions of dollars or pounds sterling to “Bongo-Bongo Land” (as questioned by Godfrey Bloom, the leader of Britain’s UKIP party)? Is the United States, as arguably the world’s wealthiest country, remarkably stingy on what percentage of the national budget goes to aid those experiencing dire poverty abroad? Are certain forms of assistance (health) more morally compelling than others (democracy-building)? Since aid resources are never sufficient, how should we divide and distribute what we have in a way that is ethically defensible? Should we focus on how much money is given (or lent), or on what results are achieved (and for whose benefit)? Do developing countries need to “earn” their foreign aid by clamping down on runaway population growth? Or are we to be swayed by Peter Singer’s 1971 argument to shoulder a very heavy moral burden, which implies that our way of life in the more developed countries must change radically so that the global “pie” of resources and wealth (and food and medicine) can be more equitably shared? Do we really care about

social justice, poverty, social inclusion, equity, and emergency assistance?

Readings for the next class (Sep. 20th):

- The Great Surge: the Ascent of the Developing World by Steven Radelet, chapters 4-7, pages 72-179
- Creating Capabilities: The Human Development Approach, by Martha Nussbaum, chapters 1-2, pages 1-45
- “Foreign Aid: For What and for Whom”, by Samuel P. Huntington, see <http://foreignpolicy.com/2010/12/30/foreign-aid-for-what-and-for-whom/>

Class 4, September 20th – Roleplayers and morality in international development

The terminology of international development tells a tale. We have insiders” and outsiders; experts and beneficiaries, facilitators and analysts, target groups and key populations. Elites and the poor live in close proximity but in dramatically different “worlds”. Development ethicists are notable by their absence.

International development is carried out by for-profit and non-profit organizations, by civil society and government, by faith-based groups, and even by the military. Researchers, academics, think-tanks, economists, and development scholars set the intellectual tone to shape foreign aid policy. Do the poor themselves have any voice?

Readings for the next class (Sep. 27th):

- “The political and economic dynamics of foreign aid: A case study of United States and Chinese aid to Sub-Sahara Africa”, by Kafayat Amusa, Nara Monkamy, and Nicola Viegiz, ERSA working paper 595, available at: www.econrsa.org/system/files/publications/working_papers/working_paper_594.pdf
- The Great Surge: the Ascent of the Developing World by Steven Radelet, chapters 8 and 9, pages 180-230
- “The 1961 Foreign Assistance Act”, see <http://www.essaydocs.org/the-1961-foreign-assistance-act.html>

Part Two – Ethics and the politics and structure of foreign aid

Class 5, September 27th – Political environment, foreign aid institutions, and the role of self-interest in international development

- ***First assignment due***

Foreign assistance from the United States to the developing world (the Global South) has never been politically popular among American citizens, which may account for the fact that the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 remains the foundation for our foreign aid. Congress sets annual foreign aid allocations and imposes strict guidelines for how such money is to be spent (mostly on health, never on abortion), and the 1961 Foreign Assistance Act remains in place – even though the nature of aid has changed drastically since then. The World Bank and other (regional) multilateral aid institutions are more flexible and have a much better defined evolution in their thinking and policy priorities, but such institutions are constrained from being too “political” and hedge around on the issue of human rights. The United Nations (UNDP, UN

Women, etc.) is not as constrained, and speaks out forcefully on human rights and social inclusion – but lacks any robust or reliable funding. Other countries have cut back (often drastically) on bilateral foreign aid due to self-interested nationalism and isolationist pressures, leaving philanthropists, faith groups, and various foundations to try to pick up the slack – but with many strings attached. And then there is the argument that trade should replace aid...

Readings for the next class (Oct. 4th):

- “Transforming Development Aid” by Asuncion Lera St. Clair, chapter 7 of The Donor’s Dilemma: Emergence, Convergence and the Future of Foreign Aid edited by Andy Sumner and Tom Kirk
- “Mirages of International Aid”, by David Sogge, see <https://www.globalpolicy.org/social-and-economic-policy/financing-for-development-1-45/international-aid-1-126/45032.html>
- “The UK’s foreign aid industry goes from bad to worse”, by Jonathan Foreman, see <http://www.express.co.uk/comment/expresscomment/656547/UK-foreign-aid-industry-bad-worse-Turkey-Palestine>
- “How the foreign aid industry demeans Africa”, blog by Fraser Nelson (and watch the embedded short video too!), see <http://blogs.spectator.co.uk/2013/11/how-the-foreign-aid-industry-demeans-africa/>

Class 6, October 4th – Moral content and the structure of the international development “industry”

Foreign aid is a major industry, marked by accelerating consolidation into ever-larger (and ever more bottom-line focused) development firms and non-profit organizations, who also are locked in fierce competition with each other over how aid contracts and grants ought to be procured. This “industry” has many sub-divisions: international development, emergency relief, humanitarian assistance, human rights advocacy. It also has several main sectors: economic growth, health, agriculture, infrastructure, environment and natural resources, education and human development, urban development, rural development, trade. These sectors in the past formed separate “silos”, but they are now overlaid with cross-cutting strategic areas: democracy, public sector governance, rule of law, human rights, social inclusion and marginalized populations, gender equity, social protection, conflict mitigation and management/peacebuilding.

How do we make sense of this elaborate industry, its incentive structures, its leadership, and its orientations (sustainable and measurable “results”, profit maximization, competitive edge, ability to influence policy and resource allocations)? Whatever happened to the Paris Declaration? Is there any room for collaboration and solidarity within this highly competitive industry? Does anyone at the top really care about the poor?

Readings for the next class (Oct. 11th):

- “From Charity to Social Justice” by Dhananjayan Sriskandarajah, chapter 15 of The Donor’s Dilemma: Emergence, Convergence and the Future of Foreign Aid edited by Andy Sumner and Tom Kirk
- “The Sustainable Development Goals: The Role of Ethics”, by J.A. Singh, see <https://www.google.com/search?q=sustainable+development+goals&ie=utf-8&oe=utf-8#q=sustainable+development+goals%2C+morality>

Class 7, October 11th – Mid-term exam for first hour of class. Remainder of class: Development priorities, the governance of foreign aid, and the Sustainable Development Goals

Who sets the development agenda, and why? Who is excluded both from the agenda-setting process, and/or from the anticipated benefits? How much influence do the new SDGs really have, and what is their moral significance?

Readings for the next class (Oct. 18th):

- Creating Capabilities: The Human Development Approach, by Martha Nussbaum, chapters 3, 4 and 5, pages 46-112

Videos to watch for the next class (Oct. 18th):

- Julia Markovits on Utilitarianism, (4:30 minute): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uvmz5E75ZlA>
- Kant Ethics, (7:56 minutes): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eQcC1qYP08s>
- Introducing Virtue Ethics, (9:21 minutes): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PHVuzec6s0c>
- Tony Kashani on Virtue Ethics (4.55 minutes), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w8bDxQDMRCU>
- Carol Gilligan on Women and Moral Development (6:30 minutes), http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2W_9MozRoKE
- Gilligan's Moral Development Theory (4:26 minutes) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zIzpBuWzkBU&feature=youtu.be>
- Rawls Theory of Justice (6:49 minutes) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kZ2CaSI1dvM>

Part Three – Moral dilemmas and the “moral toolbox” of foreign aid, visits to development practitioners

Class 8, October 18th – Alternative moral frameworks and foreign aid – part one

- Utilitarian perspective
- Kantian moral theory
- Rawlsian theory of justice
- Ethics of Care
- Virtue ethics and ethical leadership

Readings for the next class (Oct. 25th):

- Creating Capabilities: The Human Development Approach, by Martha Nussbaum, chapters 6, 7 and 8, and Conclusion, pages 113-192

Videos to watch for the next class (Oct. 18th):

- Human Rights and Global Ethics. NEH Institute, (13:15 minutes): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZPu1ztugyLE>

Class 9, October 25th – Alternative moral frameworks and foreign aid – part two

- Human rights
- The capabilities approach

Readings for the next class (Nov. 1st):

- The Great Surge: the Ascent of the Developing World by Steven Radelet, chapters 10 and 11, pages 231-269
- Review in detail the website of the first development organization to be visited (to be determined)

Class 10, November 1st – Visit to a Washington DC based development organization to discuss the moral dilemma of resource scarcity and inequitable distribution, from the perspective of social inclusion.

Readings for the next class (Nov. 8th):

- The Great Surge: the Ascent of the Developing World by Steven Radelet, chapters 12 and 13, pages 270-293
- Review in detail the website of the second development organization to be visited (to be determined)

Class 11, November 8th – Visit to a different Washington DC based development organization to discuss the moral dilemma of insecurity and conflict, from the perspective of human rights.

Readings for the next class (Nov. 15th):

- “Addressing the Structural Roots of Persistent Underdevelopment” by Thomas Pogge, chapter 16 of The Donor’s Dilemma: Emergence, Convergence and the Future of Foreign Aid edited by Andy Sumner and Tom Kirk
- Review in detail the website of the third development organization to be visited (to be determined)

Class 12, November 15th – Visit to a Washington DC based development organization to discuss the moral dilemma of social exclusion of women and marginalized populations.

Readings for the next class (Nov. 22nd):

- none

Class 13, November 22nd – Class presentations and final exam review class

READINGS

Readings will include the following complete books or e-books (purchase recommended):

- *The Great Surge: the Ascent of the Developing World*, by Steven Radelet, Simon & Schuster, New York, 2015
- *The Donors’ Dilemma: Emergence, Convergence and the Future of Foreign Aid*, edited by Andy Summers and Tom Kirk, Global Policy E-Books, 2014
- *Creating Capabilities: The Human Development Approach*, by Martha C. Nussbaum, Belknap Press, 2013

Readings will also include numerous selections from (free) online sources or as provided by the professor, to be detailed prior to the start of the semester.

OFFICE HOURS AND FACULTY BIO

Students may schedule time by calling or emailing the lecturer, so as to understand issues more fully or to discuss their work. Dr. Schwenke's cell phone 301-448-2953. Dr. Schwenke's email is chloemaryland@gmail.com.



Dr. Chloe Schwenke is an international development practitioner, human rights activist, and educator with extensive experience in academia, government, non-profit, and for-profit organizations. In her work she draws on her extensive international and multicultural experience in diversity and leadership training, gender equality and women's empowerment, results-based human rights programming, LGBTIQ issues, democracy / human rights / governance (DRG) analysis and issues, and development ethics. Her prior employment includes service as vice president at Freedom House, a senior human

rights political appointment at USAID, managing director at a South African country office of a multinational (Siyakhana, a joint venture of the Louis Berger Corporation and a South African organization), and co-founder and managing director of a US-registered development firm with offices in four African countries. She is also on the Advisory Board of World Learning, and on the board of directors of both the Society for International Development (SID) and the International Development Ethics Association (IDEA).

In a career of over three decades covering project experience in over 40 countries, her experience includes one year as a Fulbright professor teaching ethics, gender equity, and human rights to graduate students in Uganda, and nearly 15 years of residency and employment divided between Kenya, South Africa, Uganda, and the Philippines. She has also worked at a senior management level in London. Chloe is recognized for her topical expertise and numerous publications in gender equality & female empowerment, ethical leadership, human rights theory and practice, LGBTIQ issues, governance, corporate social responsibility, and applied ethics. Chloe is also an accomplished public speaker, including two significant speaking engagements at the White House, one at Camp David, and a TED Talk.

Chloe received her Ph.D. in public policy at the School of Public Policy at the University of Maryland at College Park, where she was chosen as Alumna of the Year for 2013. She has an extensive list of publications; among her most recent work is the 2013 article "The Provocative Human Right to Be", in the LGBTQ Policy Journal at the Harvard Kennedy School. Soon to be published is "An American's view of trans*emergence and feminism's response in Africa", chapter 12 in *Bodies in Resistance: gender politics in the age of neoliberalism*, Palgrave Macmillan, UK. In 2008 her book *Reclaiming Value in International Development: The Moral Dimensions of Development Policy and Practice in Poor Countries* was published by Praeger. She also has a chapter on the ethical response to violent conflict in Africa in the book: *New Directions in Development Ethics*, (Wilber and Dutt, eds., 2010) and a chapter on development ethics in *The Handbook of Global Communications and Media Ethics* (Fortner and Fackler, eds. 2011). She also has written a memoir, *Self-ish*, that will be published in 2018 by Red Hen Press.