



## PART 3

# Growth Challenges in Specific Country Contexts

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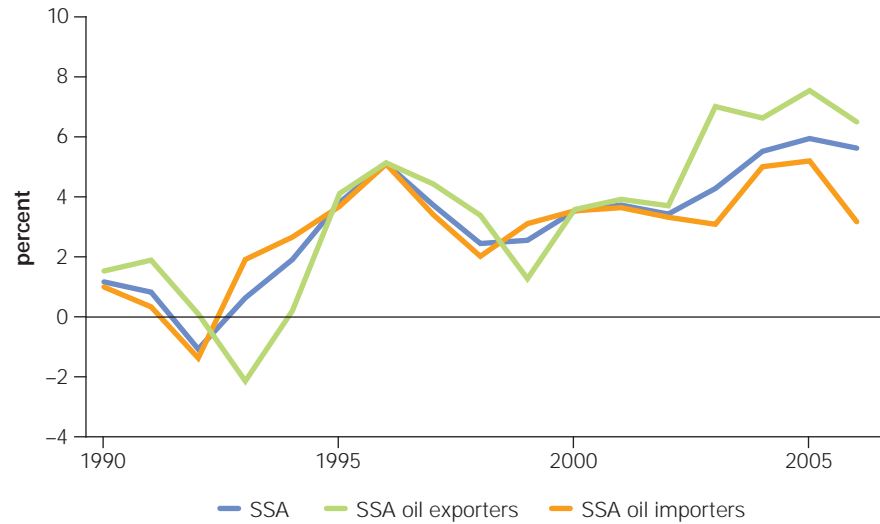
### Sub-Saharan Africa<sup>30</sup>

Sub-Saharan Africa is enjoying its fastest growth in decades. The pace of the region's economies picked up in the mid-1990s and has grown by 6 percent a year in the past few years (see figure 8). African countries owe this growth to better microeconomic policies, more prudent macroeconomic management, a more generous volume of aid—and higher prices for their exports. In many countries, if not most, a new generation of leaders is in power, committed to growth and to more open and accountable government. Institutions have also improved in a number of cases. Botswana has a tradition of long-term planning guided by a vision for the future direction

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30 Commission for Africa, 2005. *Our Common Interest*. Report of the Commission for Africa. London. <http://www.commissionforafrica.org>; Collier, P. 2007. "The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries Are Failing, and What Can Be Done About It?" New York: Oxford University Press; and proceedings of the Commission on Growth Workshop on country case studies, which included Collier, P. 2008. "Growth Strategies for Africa." Working Paper No. 9. Commission on Growth and Development, Washington, DC; Maipose, G. 2008. "Policy and Institutional Dynamics of Sustained Development in Botswana." Working Paper No. 35. Commission on Growth and Development, Washington, DC; Kigabo, T. R. 2008. Leadership, Policy Making, Quality of Economic Policies and Their Inclusiveness: The Case of Rwanda." Working Paper No. 20. Commission on Growth and Development, Washington, DC; Iyoha, M. 2008. Leadership, Policy-Making and Economic Growth in African Countries: The Case of Nigeria." Working Paper No. 17. Commission on Growth and Development, Washington, DC; Ndiaye, M. 2008. "Growth in Senegal: The 1995–2005 Experience." Working Paper No. 23. Commission on Growth and Development, Washington, DC.

Figure 8 Real GDP Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa



Source: World Bank.

of the economy. More recently, Rwanda has shown similar farsightedness. Nigeria, Tanzania, and Botswana have strengthened checks and balances, and have taken major initiatives toward reducing corruption. Botswana has long had a strong focus on monitoring and evaluation, and so now does Rwanda.

The challenge is to convert these favorable circumstances into lasting progress, based on rapid job growth and a more diverse economy. The task is to use the fruits of the commodities boom to reduce the region's dependency on those commodities.

Investment rates in countries such as Uganda, Tanzania, Mozambique, and Ghana are close to 20 percent of GDP or more. Over the last 10 years, these countries have lifted their saving rate and diversified their exports. But elsewhere, like many other developing countries, African economies still save and invest too small a share of their GDP. And in some cases, incentives for diversification have lessened as high commodity prices, more aid, and stronger capital inflows have strengthened their exchange rates.

Moving forward, the leadership in African countries is focused on taking advantage of the opportunity created by the commodity price increases to enter paths of higher sustainable growth. As the earlier part of this report discussed, this requires strategies facilitating integration with the global economy; densification, of people and activities; and policies that encourage self-discovery of the products in which Africa can create comparative advantage, including labor-intensive and diversified exports. This implies in turn stepped-up state involvement in infrastructure, activist and sensible

industrial policies, and macroeconomic policies consistent with the need to maintain competitive exchange rates. With a view toward long-run objectives, it would also be important to formulate growth-oriented strategies with time horizons of 10 years or more.

There are several components to this effort that merit attention.

- With the help of external resources and technology, increase the productivity and output of agriculture.
- Invest in infrastructure to support agricultural productivity growth and potential export diversification as described earlier in the report. This will also help create a larger, more connected continental market.
- With the help of international development agencies, increase the productivity of private sector firms. Reduce the cost of doing business through improvements in government administration and by streamlining and simplifying administrative procedures.
- Continue the significant progress in elementary school enrollments, improve quality and the output of skills, and commit more resources to secondary and tertiary education.
- Encourage regional cooperation to build infrastructure that serves the needs of all the countries, particularly the landlocked ones.
- As many countries have low populations, they face the problems common to small states described later in this report. Regional integration to share key government services and selected outsourcing can help reduce the high per capita costs of effective government for the smaller countries.
- Promote selected financial sector development so that all citizens and sectors have access to secure channels for saving and access to credit. As in other parts of the world, progress formalizing property rights with supporting legal institutions will facilitate local investment and entrepreneurial activity, including especially the scaling-up of successful businesses.
- Adoption of best practices in the exploitation of natural resource wealth is essential in capturing and channeling natural resource rents into growth-promoting investments in education, technology, and infrastructure. The recently announced EITI++ program of the World Bank, building on the existing EITI transparency framework, has the potential to help countries manage their resource wealth. (See box 6 in the section on resource-rich countries.)
- Africa's recent macroeconomic stability owes a lot to determined policy makers and institutional reforms. Many African countries now have independent central banks. But inside and outside Africa, the origin of mismanagement has often been fiscal, not monetary. An example of what can be done is Nigeria's passage in 2007 of the Fiscal Responsibility Bill, which limits what the finance minister can do during economic cycles.
- As the investment in higher education rises, there is a growing incremental opportunity for "trade" in services, domestically and regionally, and

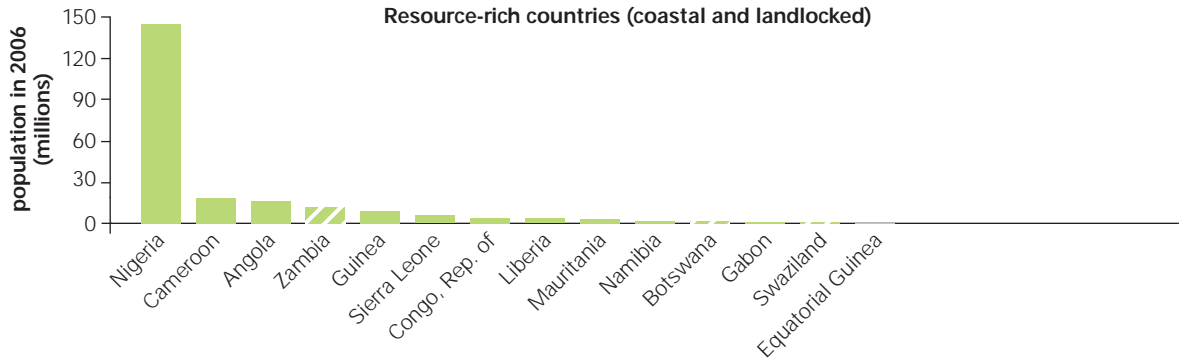
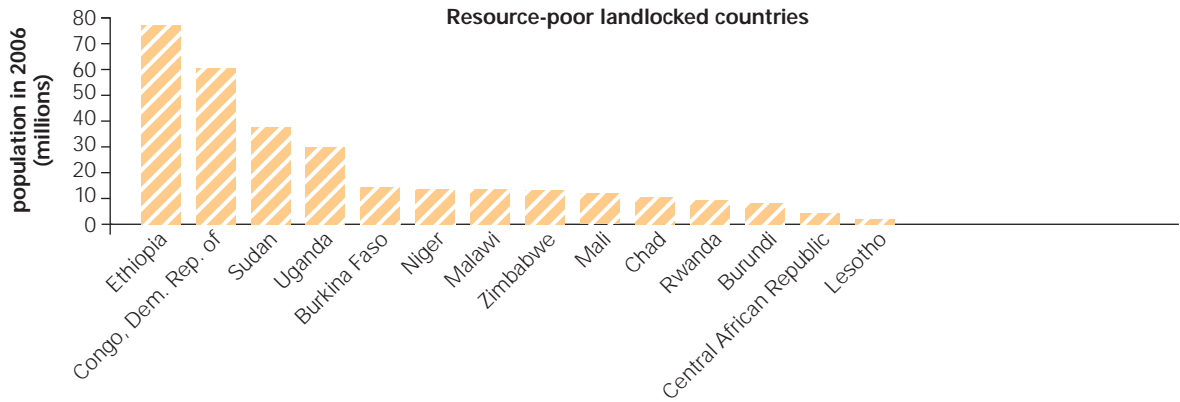
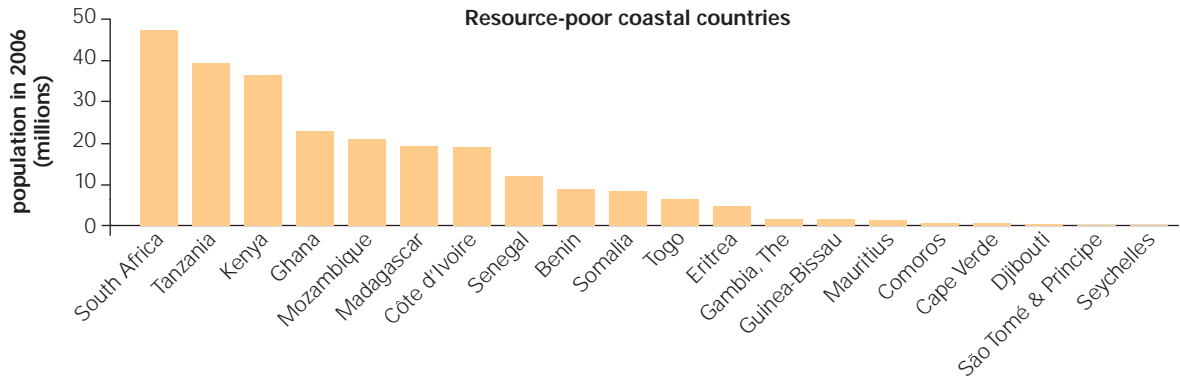


oping world lives in countries with access to the coast (but no other natural resources). In Africa only a third does. Outside Africa, only 1 percent of the developing world's population lives in landlocked countries that lack natural resources. In Africa, a full third does. This configuration is the result of colonial border-making. In other parts of the world, places that are landlocked and resource-scarce did not become countries. In Africa, they did. The region

cannot reverse this legacy of history. It can only try to make the best of it.

*Source:* Paul Collier and Stephen A. O'Connell, "Opportunities and Choices." Prepared for the synthesis volume of the African Economic Research Consortium's *Explaining African Economic Growth* project.

*Note:* Collier and O'Connell's paper classifies Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo as landlocked based on the judgment that the vast majority of the populations in these two countries have limited access to the coast.



perhaps internationally. This is of particular importance to landlocked countries.<sup>31</sup>

- Higher education and higher-level skills training raises the brain drain issue. It is important. There is no simple response to meet this challenge. Domestic job opportunities are clearly crucial. Making public financial-support conditional on domestic employment and service is a possible approach. It has been done before. In the 1960s and 1970s in the United States, college and university loans were reduced or forgiven over time if students worked as teachers or lecturers.

It is clear that there is an expansive agenda of policy actions and investments to be undertaken, some domestically and others on a multinational basis within the continent. They will take time. Persistent, focused, and determined leadership will make the difference. It need not happen overnight. Progress on these fronts will enable a pattern of accelerated growth of an inclusive kind in the coming decades.

Africa's policy makers have spent many years preoccupied with debt, deficits, and inflation. Having won the fight for macroeconomic stability, they can now afford to think about long-term growth. Over the past two years, for example, South Africa has invited economists to visit the country and help the authorities rethink their growth strategy. Similar efforts are underway in other countries, including Rwanda, Ghana, Uganda, and Madagascar. This is important.

The foundations of sustained growth will take time to build. But the region is now blessed with a group of leaders who recognize the importance of a stable climate for private investment and clean, inclusive government. They each evince a greater sense of control over their country's destiny, and a greater sense of responsibility for it.

African countries have much to do for themselves. What can advanced countries, other developing countries, donors, and the international development institutions do by way of support?

- Grant time-bound trade preferences to manufactured exports from African countries to help them overcome the disadvantages of being late starters. If they are successful, preferences will not cost the advanced countries much and, if not successful, the costs would be minimal (see box 5).
- Provide more support to postconflict countries. Under current strategies, peacekeepers remain until elections can be held, and then leave promptly thereafter, presumably because elections legitimize the new government. In the case of the Democratic Republic of Congo, elections were held on October 29, 2006, and the withdrawal of international peacekeepers was

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<sup>31</sup> Bangalore, Hyderabad, and Gurgaon in India are nowhere near a coast. They depend primarily on ICT infrastructure and services, and on the normal urban services that attract a highly educated workforce.

### Box 5: Trade preferences for Africa

Can trade preferences make a tangible difference to Africa? They already have. In October 2000, America opened its markets to 37 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa under the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). The duty-free access provided by the act has increased apparel exports to America 7- to 10-fold by some estimates. In Lesotho, for example, the garment industry accounts for almost 90 percent of the country's export earnings.

The act has been less of a boon to other manufactured products, however, because they do not benefit

from the same liberal rules of origin that apply to apparel. These rules determine whether a product made in one country from parts made in another, qualifies for duty-free access or not.

What Africa needs is a policy giving all African countries (not only the poorest) preferential access to OECD countries, with no rules-of-origin requirements, for a period of 10 to 15 years.

scheduled for October 30. Yet the evidence suggests the risk of conflict goes up after elections, not down. Peacekeeping in fragile countries must be guided by more realistic expectations.

- Industrialized countries benefiting from Africa's brain drain need to pay for at least a part of the investments made by African governments. This could take the form of financing expansion of tertiary education.
- Rethink how aid is channeled into Africa. Over the last few decades, Africa has received a large volume of aid, in various forms. Much of this assistance has been very beneficial and has helped improve Africa's health and education status. But it does not always reflect the right priorities, or the priorities of the countries that are supposed to benefit from it. Neglected areas include infrastructure and higher education. Some also fear that large volumes of aid undermine the competitiveness of Africa's exports, either by driving up the exchange rate or bidding up local wages and prices. These fears are difficult to prove, but equally difficult to dismiss. Some argue that if aid makes the economy more productive, it will offset any harmful effects on the exchange rate. But these offsetting increases in productivity would have to be large and rapid. There is no agreement on how best to deal with this problem. But it is no excuse for donors to reduce volumes of aid. The government of a poor country may well consider the competitiveness of its export sector when choosing how much aid to accept. But that should not determine how much aid is offered.

## Small States

There are over 50 small states in the world: each has a population of less than 2 million and their combined population totals less than 20 million.

Their cases are interesting in their own right. But they also help to illuminate the role of size in a growth strategy, and the potential of regional integration to make a larger economic bloc out of discrete political units.

Small states face at least three distinctive disadvantages. One is the absence of scale economies, both in the production of goods and the provision of public services. A second is risk: many small states are in regions vulnerable to hurricanes, cyclones, droughts, and volcanic eruptions. Their economies are also less diversified than those of bigger states. Some, but not all, small states are also geographically remote, a third disadvantage that makes it harder for them to integrate with the world economy.

But small states do not have lower average incomes or slower growth than other countries. Indeed, they benefit from some countervailing advantages. They are easier to monitor and comprehend, which allows policy makers to rely more on common sense and discretion. They also have little choice but to turn outward. The ratio of trade to GDP in small states is higher than for other country groups. Singapore, for example, embraced export-led growth only after the 1965 breakup of its brief union with Malaysia.

Singapore (which now has more than 2 million people) shows that smallness is not a decisive handicap in economics, especially if the country enjoys close proximity to world markets and a privileged geographical location. The expansion of world trade makes a big domestic market less vital for development. It may explain why the number of independent countries has increased rapidly in the past six decades.

In recent years, the external environment has become both more hospitable to small states and less so. A new range of services has become tradable, thanks to advances in information, communications, and technology (ICT), as the rise of outsourcing and offshoring illustrate. This creates new opportunities, which should be seized, for small countries that rely heavily on trade. On the other hand, many small states are suffering from “preference erosion.” They enjoy preferential access to developed country markets, but these privileges lose their value as tariffs fall across the board. Tighter regulation of offshore financial centers has also curtailed the freedom of action of some small states.

It is noteworthy that most small states are very “young” states—over half of them were founded after 1970. Independence meant that public services, such as security, justice, and regulation of economic activity, were no longer imported from colonial powers. They instead had to be produced locally by national institutions. But the provision of such goods in small states is expensive whenever there are indivisibilities in production.

The financial system provides one example. As empires fragmented, financial transactions once contained within a single banking system had to be carried out in different currencies, under different supervisory regimes, and so on. Unfortunately, the cost of bank supervision is probably similar

for a country with a population of 400,000 people as for a country with a population of 4 million. (It is certainly more than a tenth of the amount.)

In response, small states have shown great ingenuity in pooling their efforts and outsourcing public services. The Central and West Africa region, for example, relies on multicountry central banking, as does the Eastern Caribbean. The Eastern Caribbean also has a single telecommunications authority. Its Supreme Court is a particularly interesting example. It is a superior court of record with nine members. These include six independent states—namely, Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent and the Grenadines—and three British Overseas Territories: Anguilla, the British Virgin Islands, and Montserrat. As well as pooling its services, it also outsources the role of the final appellate court to the Privy Council in London.

In all of these cases, small states sacrificed some political sovereignty in exchange for better quality of service. The rules governing these arrangements were not easy to write—they had to maintain political stability and uphold high technical standards. But the consensus is that they have worked.

By contrast, Australia Aid is dealing with a dozen microstates in the Pacific, which possess many of the institutions typical of a large country: representatives in the UN, embassies abroad, central banks, and so on. In these circumstances, undiluted sovereignty is an expensive proposition. A more viable model would be a self-governing structure in association with Australia or New Zealand. One possible model is Puerto Rico, a self-governing commonwealth in association with the United States.<sup>32</sup>

In sum, small states should seek to pool their markets, through regional economic integration, and to spread the burden of public services, through partial political union. Good governance is an important foundation on which regional cooperation and multinational integration can build.

Dealing with risk is more difficult. In principle, it is a problem the international financial system exists to solve. A state could hold a diversified portfolio of financial assets, even if it does not have a diversified economy. But in practice, small states are more often saddled with foreign liabilities than cushioned by foreign assets. The global financial industry and the international financial institutions should be able to create instruments of interest to them. For example, Caribbean states, with the help of donors, have created an insurance fund for members struck by hurricanes or earthquakes. Their reserve pool is reinsured in the international financial markets.

Finally, small size translates into a relatively weak voice in international trade negotiations. The WTO, other international organizations, and the advanced countries need to make a special effort to take into account the

*“The country I’m from, St. Lucia, has 160,000 people. The cost of government per capita is very high; the markets are very small; and the cost of production is very high. Also, every year we have a hurricane season, which can destroy the country’s GDP. In some countries, it can also lead to high debt levels. Their infrastructure is destroyed, before they have paid for it, so they borrow again. Then it is destroyed a second, and sometimes even a third time.”*

*—Sir K. Dwight Venner*

<sup>32</sup> For a description of the division of functions, see <http://welcome.topuertorico.org/government.shtml>.

peculiar needs and interests of small states. Even if their economies are not overwhelmingly significant, these states are morally and often strategically important.

## **Resource-Rich Countries**

Thanks to burgeoning global demand for commodities, from iron ore to soybeans, countries blessed with natural resources are growing quickly. But the sudden increase in commodity prices can make it harder to diversify an economy—harder to create room for export industries that do not rely on nature’s patrimony.

The foreign exchange such exporters earn counts for less in an economy flush with petrodollars or mineral revenues. And as the proceeds of commodity sales percolate through the domestic economy, wages and rents will rise, making it harder for the country’s other export industries to compete abroad.

This problem of “Dutch disease,” as economists call it, is not insurmountable. An endowment of natural resources did not stop several countries—Botswana, Brazil, Oman, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand—from making our list of 13 success stories. Botswana’s growth began before the discovery of diamonds and continued after it. Many middle-income and advanced economies have also taken resource booms in their stride. The problem is not the resources themselves, but how the proceeds (or “rents”) are handled.

Governments, especially in poorer countries, do not always handle them well. In the first place, they sometimes fail to claim their rightful share of them, by selling extraction rights too cheaply and taxing the revenues too lightly. As Paul Collier of Oxford University has pointed out, the Democratic Republic of Congo received only \$86,000 in mineral royalties in 2006. It is such instances that the EITI initiative (see box 6) seeks to combat.

Second, the money that does materialize is sometimes stolen or wasted. Often, it is collected and spent in secret, making it difficult to know how it is used. Resource rents have the potential to relax constraints on growth and development, providing a ready source of foreign exchange a country might otherwise lack. But they can also distort a country’s politics. Political leaders may fight for power not to serve the country, but to get their hands on the resource revenues, which they can then use to buy votes and stay in power. In extreme cases, the availability of rents can lead to violent conflict over how they are spent.

Even if a government does have the right intentions, it is not easy to know how to use the money to lift growth. For example, there is no straightforward way to decide how the proceeds should be distributed over time, how much should be consumed and how much invested for the future. If governments spend the money on public investment, they need to pick the right

### Box 6: The Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative

It takes the most sophisticated prospecting technologies to discover fresh oil deposits hidden beneath the earth's surface. Too often, tracking oil revenues is equally difficult. The Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI), launched in 2002, aims to bring the money that governments earn from oil, gas, and mining to the surface ([www.eitransparency.org](http://www.eitransparency.org)).

To meet the initiative's standards, companies must declare how much they pay to governments in royalties and for oil, gas, and mining rights. By the same token, member governments must disclose the revenues they receive from their natural resources. A big gap between those two figures would be one sign of malfeasance. Moreover, by bringing the money to light, the initiative makes it easier for outside observers to monitor its subsequent use.

The initiative is unusual in that it is managed by a broad coalition of governments, companies, industry associations, investors, the World Bank, and nongovernmental organizations like Transparency International and Global Witness. The initiative is voluntary, but it is

nonetheless hard to ignore. Its reporting template provides a useful benchmark and rallying point for public campaigns and international pressure. Companies and governments that comply with its standards win public approval; those that refuse risk opprobrium. As a result, 22 countries are now implementing the initiative.

The World Bank recently announced an extension of the framework called EITI++. It aims to promote similar standards of transparency up and down the full supply chain, from the initial allocation of extraction rights to the final expenditure of the proceeds. It could, for example, help governments design auctions, monitor royalty collections, and hedge against price volatility. It could also give countries broad guidelines about how much of their revenues to spend and how much to save.

The initiative is far more ambitious than the original EITI and its success will also depend on building a broad coalition of partners and supporters. But given the extraordinary boom in commodity revenues, the stakes could not be higher.

projects generating the best social returns. They do not always have the capacity to do this, particularly in the early stages of development.

How, then, should governments proceed? Below we briefly describe the key elements of a sound strategy. All require governments and companies to remain open and transparent, disclosing the sums they pay and spend so the nation knows where its wealth is going.

First, governments must decide how to allocate the rights for exploration and development of their oil fields, mineral deposits, and so on. They must also decide how to tax the earnings the concessionaire makes. These two decisions together determine the flow of rents to the country and how those rents adjust to changing global prices. There is a growing body of expertise on both the design of auctions and approaches to taxation that can be tapped. That expertise should help governments strike better deals in the future. But what about the past? In cases where the allocation of exploitation rights was flawed, governments should renegotiate the concession to restore a proper balance between private return and public revenue.

The next issue is where should the rents flow? There is a plethora of options. The money can be consumed at home, or invested at home, either

*“Institutions—that is, organizations, norms and rules—provide sustainability and longevity to policies. Let’s say you have a windfall, and there are no institutions. People tend to take the windfall as normal, and then when the windfall disappears, they have difficulty adapting. If you have institutional arrangements, I think those problems could be mitigated. They won’t go away, but you won’t have large swings.”*

*—Sir K. Dwight Venner*

by the private sector or the public sector. Alternatively, it can be invested in overseas deposits, bonds, or other financial instruments. These choices will determine how the rents are distributed across generations. The calculations can become quite complicated and there is a need for a simplified framework to guide sensible choices. Because public investment matters so much to growth, and because it is often squeezed by other fiscal pressures, we would propose that it enjoy a first claim on resources. Although countries will differ in their circumstances and in the investments they choose, they should aim to invest in the range of 5–7 percent of GDP—or more if they have great needs in education or infrastructure.

Those are big sums. To get the most out of the money, governments must pick the right investment projects for the right reasons. They may need international assistance, especially with the procurement process, which is often a source of waste and corruption. Some also argue that projects should be planned, implemented, and monitored by separate parts of the government. When these functions are all combined in the same ministry, its pet projects are not questioned and mistakes are glossed over.

If these public investments do not exhaust the resource rents, the remainder should flow into a savings fund. The fund should be managed by experienced investment professionals operating within well-defined parameters of risk, return, and diversification. They should divide the money between domestic and foreign assets as best serves their investment goals. However, the capacity of the domestic economy to absorb this investment will be limited. In such cases, a nontrivial fraction of the incremental rents should be invested outside the country.

The fund must be insulated from political forces. There are two reasons for this. First, this is the only way to ensure decisions are made in pursuit of risk-adjusted returns. Otherwise, powerful interest groups will divert the investment for their own purposes. Second, there is a growing unease about the financial power of sovereign wealth funds. If a fund has political objectives that trump its commercial aims, its access to the global capital markets may in future be curtailed.

The fund should not hoard its wealth entirely. It should pay out a percentage of the total each year for the benefit of the citizens, much as non-profit endowments do. It can pass this money to citizens directly, or do it indirectly through tax cuts. The distribution of these payouts will vary from one country to the next, but in all countries they can further the goals of equity and inclusion.

## **Middle-Income Countries**

Of the 13 high-growth cases, six eventually reached income levels associated with the advanced countries. But this is uncommon. In a large group of

countries, including many in Latin America, growth has slowed markedly at the middle-income level. The reasons are complex. If anything, this second stage of growth, from middle to high income, is less understood, and certainly less studied, than the first stage.

The focus on poorer countries is entirely understandable. But middle-income transitions deserve more attention than they have received. Many people live in such countries, including many who are poor. In a number of them, inequality remains high. The politics of a country that has lost its growth momentum are fraught. Without growth, unequal societies become trapped in zero-sum games.

No one can identify all the reasons why some economies lose momentum, and others don't. But there are common patterns across countries that are suggestive. As the economy evolves from middle to high income, it branches out into more capital-intensive and skill-intensive industries. The service sector grows. The domestic economy with its increased size and wealth becomes a more important engine of growth.

The supply of labor in middle-income countries, which once seemed infinitely elastic, ceases to be so. As surplus labor disappears, the opportunity cost of employing a worker in one sector rather than another, rises. Firms compete for workers and wages increase. These higher wages slow the growth of the labor-intensive sectors. Indeed, these export industries, which once drove growth, decline and eventually disappear.

Shortages of high-skilled labor emerge. As a result, policies shift toward promoting human capital and technology. The policy maker's role must also change. When a country is far behind the leading economies, says Philippe Aghion, a leading growth theorist at Harvard University, "it is very clear what you have to do, so you can run things like an army." But as an economy catches up with the leaders, it becomes less obvious what it should make and where its prosperity lies. More must be left to the bets of private investors and the collective judgment of the market.

The different stages are not cleanly delineated in time. In a country like China, the skill-intensive sectors, which are emerging strongly, live side by side, in a sense, with the labor-intensive industries that are still busily absorbing China's rural millions. China's policy makers show an intense determination to expand higher education and research, in response to the growing demand for human capital.

The first priority for policy makers is to anticipate this transition and the new demands it will make of them. Many governments have a planning unit, which focuses attention on the future evolution of the economy and anticipates the public policies and outlays needed to support it. Korea, for example, changed its policies and public investments in the 1980s and 1990s to help the economy's evolution from labor-intensive manufacturing to a more knowledge- and capital-intensive economy. It opened the

door to foreign direct investment, privatized the national steel company, joined the OECD, and watched labor-intensive manufacturing move to new destinations.<sup>33</sup>

The second—not easy—is to let go of some of their earlier policies, even the successful ones. To be specific, special export zones, heavily managed exchange rates, and other forms of industrial policy can be pursued for too long. The problems these policies address decline over time, so they are not needed forever. Resisting such forces will delay the structural change of the economy. It will divert investment away from new export industries and from industries that serve the domestic market.

Singapore, for example, responded to evolving economic conditions at home and abroad by allowing labor-intensive manufacturing to migrate elsewhere in the region, where labor was cheaper. It even ran special economic zones in China and India, which hosted some of the departing industries. This allowed Singapore to concentrate its resources on industries befitting a labor-scarce economy.<sup>34</sup>

Just as it is possible to hold on to a labor-intensive strategy for too long, it is possible to abandon it as a growth engine too quickly. Countries should wait until surplus labor is absorbed and the human capital stock has risen to a level that supports the transition to higher value-added sectors. The effect of a premature shift can be to strand unskilled labor in traditional or informal sectors.

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33 Nike plants for example, departed for cheaper locations elsewhere, where they were still often run by the original Korean owners and managers.

34 For an instructive discussion of the transition, see Ying, Tan Yin et al. 2007. “Perspectives on Growth: A Political Economy Framework (The Case of Singapore).” Case Study, Commission on Growth and Development.