

*Background Paper*

**GLOBALISATION AND AFRICA:  
PERSPECTIVES FOR DEVELOPMENT CO-OPERATION**

**1 INTRODUCTION**

The two Africa Divisions of the Swiss Agency for Development and Co-operation (SDC) are organising a workshop on '*Globalisation and Africa. What Perspectives for Development Co-operation?*' in Basel (Switzerland), September 5 – 6, 2002.

SDC and the Swiss State Secretariat for Economic Affairs (seco) are actively engaged in development co-operation and policy making at bilateral and multilateral levels. The overarching goal of all Swiss development oriented efforts is poverty reduction. Some 35% (SDC – 40%) of regionally classified Swiss bilateral development assistance was allocated to African countries in 2000. The African partners – governments as well as NGOs – are confronted with the adverse effects of globalisation, which is in turn a challenge for development co-operation. Against this background, SDC has decided to organise a two-day workshop to rethink globalisation from an African perspective.

The objectives of the *workshop* are threefold:

- a) African experts will question Swiss perspectives on globalisation, challenge Swiss policies, including bilateral activities in Africa and positions taken in multilateral institutions, and propose alternative policy options.
- b) Participants involved in development co-operation with African partners will increase their competence to link effectively their strategic objectives and daily work on local issues to the global economic environment.
- c) Key areas of consensus as well as of controversy will be identified from a development co-operation perspective, with regard to the emerging SDC/Swiss position on Globalisation.

In this context, this *background paper* aims to

- provide an overall framework for the SDC workshop;
- offer an orientation for the three working groups in all three sessions;
- stimulate debate and learning.

The background paper has been a joint effort by a preparatory group<sup>1</sup> of SDC staff, supported by an external consultant.

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## 2 OVERVIEW

In past decades, structural adjustment policies and other economic reform programs in Africa have been intended to:

- strengthen the state's management of monetary and fiscal policy;
- decrease state intervention in private markets through liberalisation, particularly of the exchange rate and agricultural producer prices;
- reduce the size of the state by promoting privatisation of state enterprises.

However, this radical redefinition of the state has left Sub-Saharan African countries with a disturbing model of a fragile state. The administrative capacities of many institutions of the state, including the legal system, have become seriously impaired. Even countries that are performing well economically, find their fiscal position remain highly vulnerable to changes in foreign aid. This process has led to a drastic decline in the quality and coverage of social services and infrastructure provision. Private-sector provision of many services, traditionally in the government's domain, is supposed to accelerate, assuming a capable private sector exists. Simultaneously, the demand for government accountability is putting severe pressure upon state-centred patronage networks.

### *Globalisation and its discontents*

Today, globalisation is perhaps one of the most fashionable and emotive terms in international relations discourse. It has been the source of tremendous self-congratulation by those who believe it to be the way to a better, brighter future and the cause of riots world-wide by those who do not. The term is a historical outcome of the capitalist project of an integrated world market. Globalisation may be considered as an accelerated process by which, in particular Western technologies, production methods, institutions, consumption patterns and worldviews are spreading across the planet. More than just an economic phenomenon, globalisation is considered as a far-reaching socio-cultural process. It is characterised by the diffusion not only of consumer products but also of political ideas and principles, as well as socio-cultural symbols and images in new settings. The existence of potentially large benefits of globalisation makes the question of fairness in sharing those benefits critically important.

### *Specific features of globalisation*

- ◆ The globalisation process is to a large extent the result of policy choices inspired by particular interests, and thus determined by political decisions and values. The lens through which development is perceived profoundly affects those choices.
- ◆ Financial and trade liberalisation has occurred in developing countries as part of IMF / World Bank conditionalities. Financial liberalisation seeks to remove national and cultural barriers in the free movement of international capital, and to secure access for trans-national companies to national markets.
- ◆ The assumption underlying the promotion of globalisation is that foreign investment, unrestricted and unregulated, brings only benefits to developing countries. Current international agreements (such as TRIPs – Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights and TRIMS – Trade Related Investment Measures) ensure that trans-national companies do not face disadvantage in competition with domestic companies. However, competition between trans-national and local companies is often distorted, necessitating under certain conditions protection for local companies (infant-industry-argument). Experience shows that not all foreign direct in-

vestment (FDI) is beneficial and selectivity concerning FDI can be advantageous for the economy in the long run.

- ◆ Globalisation is neither uniform in its reach or impact, nor does it address the inequities in the international political economy. The debate on globalisation is broadly between those who see it as a transformative capitalist project that is dissolving international borders and rendering the nation-state and traditional concepts of sovereignty obsolete, and those who insist that it is far from a linear, uniform or homogenising process.
- ◆ Expanding global trade is promoted as beneficial to all countries. The argument is that production specialisation according to each nation's comparative advantage leads to a more efficient allocation of resources, to higher levels of growth and will in turn promote national development and reduce poverty. However, there is no convincing evidence that trade liberalisation will lead to economic growth. The only systematic relationship is that countries dismantle trade restrictions as they get richer, which accounts for the fact that most of today's rich countries (incl. East Asian countries) embarked on economic growth behind protective barriers, which they subsequently lowered. The East Asian countries were shaping their own path, combining trade reliance with unorthodox policies (export subsidies, import-export linkages, restrictions on capital flows, directed credit) that are largely precluded by today's rules.
- ◆ The environment for today's globalisers is significantly more restrictive. The relevant question for policy-makers is what the correct sequence of policies is and how much priority trade liberalisation should receive in the reform process. Experience shows that the liberalisation of financial markets must be planned even more carefully and should be rather sequenced at the end of the liberalisation process. Reaping the gains from openness requires a full complement of institutional reforms (financial regulation; governance and anti-corruption measures; legal and administrative reform; labour market flexibility; social safety nets).
- ◆ Pressure on Southern countries to reduce their trade barriers and open up their markets is contrasted with continued protectionism in the North (subsidies to agricultural producers; tariffs for imported manufactured goods etc).

### ***Crowding out of development priorities***

- ◆ Across much of Sub-Saharan Africa, the loss of protection, devaluation, demand restraint and real interest increases have resulted in a process of de-industrialisation. However, a coherent reform process demands the active role (selective and phased liberalisation) of the nation-state.
- ◆ Many of the institutional reforms needed for integration in the world economy do not necessarily coincide with the priorities of a broader development agenda. A strategy that focuses on getting the state out of the way of the market overlooks the important functions that the state must play during the process of economic transformation.
- ◆ Successful development strategies require a blend of imported practices with domestic institutional innovations. Policy makers need to forge a domestic growth strategy, relying on domestic investors and institutions.

- ◆ A cross-country study<sup>2</sup> shows that liberalisation benefits mainly the top 20% of society, whereas the lowest 20% are marginalised. The distribution effects of globalisation are of crucial importance.
- ◆ It is crucial that integration into the world economy is based on a dynamic analysis of strengths and weaknesses, avoiding the deadlock of specialisation based purely on the current advantages in agriculture.
- ◆ The decisive question is: do the trade arrangements – current and proposed – maximise the possibilities of development at national level? In a historical perspective, the merits of globalisation will be measured by the extent to which it has contributed to solve the problem of poverty.

### **Basic facts**

In Africa South of the Sahara (SSA) 650 million people live in 48 countries, corresponding to 11% of the world population. Their Gross Domestic Product, however, equals just the incomes (measured as GDP) of the 7 million people living in Switzerland, or 1% of the world's wealth. 25% of those living in extreme poverty, on less than one dollar a day, live in SSA, corresponding to 340 million people or half of Africa's population. Life expectancy at birth increased from 40 years in 1960 to 52 years in 1990 but since then it fell to 49 years (2000) and will continue to fall due to the AIDS pandemic.

<i>Trade</i>	Africa's share of world trade in general and raw materials in particular has been declining during last 50 years. Africa's average share of world exports dropped from 5.3% (1960-69) to 1.5% (1999).
<i>Capital flows</i>	FDI remains marginal – 0.7% of global FDI takes place in SSA whereas capital flight is very high.
<i>Human resources</i>	The 'brain drain' is at record levels. It is estimated that 30% of qualified Africans live outside the continent.
<i>Aid</i>	Total official development assistance to Africa dropped drastically, from US\$32 per capita in 1990 to US\$9 ten years later.
<i>Communication</i>	0.2% of worldwide internet access is located in Africa.
<i>Negotiations</i>	In international negotiations, African countries play a marginal role; 13 countries are not even represented in Geneva.

### **Questions**

#### **a. Can globalisation work for Africa?**

- How can globalisation contribute to poverty reduction and gender equality?
- Are there alternative and more targeted forms of globalisation?
- What changes are required at the multilateral level (WTO, IMF, etc) and the national level?
- What are the key policies Switzerland should support in the World Trade Organisation (WTO), in the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank Group and the UN organisations?

#### **b. How does globalisation affect indigenous solutions?**

<sup>2</sup> Lundberg Mattias/Squire Lyn, *The Simultaneous Evolution of Growth and Inequality*, Washington 2000

- In Africa, there are myriads of self-help initiatives at the grassroots level. How are they affected and influenced by globalisation?
- Traditional notions of locality, group identity, culture, and tradition need to be reconsidered. What kind of creative as well as conflictual responses towards influences of globalisation in conditions of scarcity, insecurity, and conflict may emerge?
- What is the appropriate role of Switzerland towards these initiatives and their networks?

**c. *What can regional solidarity offer Africa?***

- Is regional co-operation a promising option to overcome fragmentation in Africa?
- To what extent are regional initiatives and networks beyond boundaries already happening among private players?
- What obstacles have to be removed to enhance regional dynamics?
- Is there a critical mass when regional co-operation and integration becomes an alternative to globalisation or is it rather complementary?

### **3 GLOBALISATION AND GOVERNANCE**

Globalisation has an impact on the general framework within which people live and make their choices. Governance is about the design of this framework as well as about the process of enforcing it. The quality of the design and its use depend on respect for governance principles such as efficiency, accountability, participation, transparency, equity and non-discrimination.

However, the globalisation process can limit nation states in their choices of governance structures and in the actual act of governing, often leaving adaptation as the only option. Nation-building depends upon governance as well as being directly influenced by globalisation.

Nevertheless, complaining about exogenous changes is fighting lost battles. In addition, the process of globalisation comprises not only risks but opportunities. Therefore, the quest is to identify those areas where design is possible and beneficial, i.e. optimising the general framework so as to minimise the negative impacts of globalisation and maximise the opportunities. Opportunities for development must be actively sought and seized – be it at the local, national, regional or global level.

#### ***Economic influences***

Economic globalisation influences governance in a crucial way – with trade and finance as the key transmission belts of the globalisation process. Again, risks and opportunities lure: unplanned liberalisation of trade and the financial sector in developing countries risks ruining local enterprises and destabilising economies. Conversely, access to markets of industrialised countries carries an opportunity for developing countries to reap the benefits of competition (through the necessity to become competitive, pressure to innovate etc.), gain access to information, knowledge, resources, economies of scale etc. and hence, to fight poverty.

Transnational corporations tend to be engaged in the more ‘modern’ sectors of the economy, use relatively capital intensive methods of production and require relatively more skilled labour. Their contributions to employment are rather modest. Some foreign investment is of the enclave type, located in export-processing zones and

largely cut off from the rest of the host economy. The poorer the country and the lower its rate of growth, the less likely it will be able to attract foreign capital – unless it happens to possess a rich source of raw materials.

### ***Undifferentiated or ideological application of the 'Washington Consensus'***

In the past, an unrealistic application of the 'Washington Consensus' policy magnified the negative effects of globalisation and further weakened economies and governance structures in developing countries. The inappropriate structural adjustment programmes of the 1980s and 1990s have led many central governments to cast off their responsibilities for basic services to local governments without equipping these adequately, technically, administratively, politically or financially. The state (central and local) became increasingly incapable of performing a socially relevant function for growing numbers of urban and rural people, mostly (self-)employed in the rural economy and urban informal sector.

### ***Absence of global governance structures***

The negative impact of structural adjustment programs is due on the one hand to bad economics, i.e. an undifferentiated and ideological shaping of programs in which local, country-specific conditions, limits and preferences were mostly ignored. On the other hand, it is due to the lack of a global governance structure, in particular a competition authority. Considering globalisation as a more or less unregulated and uncontrolled process it is not astonishing that distorted world market conditions are the result. Strong global actors such as the Bretton Woods Institutions or the WTO are captured by powerful interest groups. Transnational companies with turnovers, or even capitalisation, in excess of the GNP of a great number of developing countries defend their profit interests very effectively within international institutions and in a distorted market. A concerted lobby of private and social interests is lacking.

### ***Weak nation-states***

In addition, the concept of a modern state is based on political traditions and history in Sub-Saharan Africa that do not look beyond the colonial past. Completely different concepts for organising political life and public service provision account for many weaknesses of states and unresolved problems regarding governance.

### ***Decentralisation and collaboration with civil society***

Hence, the capacity of more or less democratically elected politicians to reveal collective preferences and to articulate collective demands is increasingly questioned. Through decentralisation to and democratisation of local level government, part of this legitimacy may be regained. The social-political legitimacy of the state in society came under discussion in relation to policy conditionalities of structural adjustment programmes and under the banner of 'good governance'. As regards the delivery of collective goods, a consensus seems to emerge, which states that the public service approach is but one of a number of ways in which collective goods can be delivered.

### ***Globalisation and/or bad governance***

A discussion whether or not globalisation is an important factor for weakening African economies and governance structures is not judicious. Independent of the answer, bad governance in African countries is the rule and not the exception. Development strategies are needed that take weak states, local constraints and preferences into account. Thus, the creation of innovative institutions to pursue those strategies seems to be of crucial importance.

### ***Questions***

#### **a. Constraints**

- What are the constraints to shaping a development-oriented governance framework?
- How far is lack of information and resources (human resources, knowledge, finance, reliable statistics, administration) a constraint?
- How far is political will lacking at the national or multilateral level?

#### **b. Aid and governance**

- What is the relevance of different forms of governance for poverty reduction strategies?
- What is the experience of development co-operation?
- Are crucial issues of governance adequately addressed in PRSPs?

#### **c. Private sector and civil society**

- What is the link between governance and the increasing role of the private sector and of civil society organisations, including transnational enterprises and international NGOs?
- How can these bodies be made accountable to the people of the African host countries?

#### **d. Shaping global policies**

- Good governance is also required of multilateral organisations. What are the possibilities of African countries being able to influence global policies, e.g. in the World Trade Organisation and the Bretton Woods Institutions?

## **4 GLOBALISATION, FOOD PRODUCTION AND FOOD SECURITY**

Agriculture is the backbone of the economies in Sub-Saharan Africa. About a third of the continent's wealth (GDP) is produced in agriculture, which is also a major source of foreign exchange. "It supplies the bulk of basic food and provides subsistence and income for large rural populations, employing more than 60 percent of the labour force", writes the Congolese economist Isabelle Mamaty.

The central role of agriculture contrasts with the low level of productivity compared to other regions of the world. Among other reasons (environment, etc), the following factors contribute to this situation:

**Land distribution** Land is unequally distributed and / or the land tenure is insecure. In some African countries (in particular, SADC countries) dualism prevails between a sector where small subsistence farmers produce domestic food crops and another sector characterised by large-scale estates producing cash and export crops. In West African countries, the main constraints on agricultural intensification are access to land and insecure land tenure systems. Production of tropical commodities for export has been organised through plantations or other large-scale operations, but much of it has relied on smallholder production. Smallholders are losing their position because of increased competition.

Increasingly agile markets seek out the lowest cost producers. In other cases, governments have managed to tax, regulate or control the export industries.

**Transaction costs** Africa is characterised by a great scarcity of physical infrastructure, particularly road networks, hampering domestic and international trade and causing (1) high transportation costs, (2) high differentials between producer and consumer prices; (3) segmentation of agricultural markets, (4) limited market orientation of the small farmers who produce largely for subsistence with low marketable surpluses.

**Inadequate policies** Sub-Saharan Africa relied for many years on policies that heavily discriminated against agriculture, in favour of urban areas and industrialisation. The main mechanism for obtaining the resources needed was heavily taxing the agricultural sector, directly – through artificially low consumer prices for food and high input prices – and indirectly – through an overvalued exchange rate on agricultural tradable products. The adverse effects of taxation of agriculture were not counter-balanced by government investment in rural areas and in agricultural development. Reforms in the 1990s led to improved policies.

**World market distortions** The protection of agriculture by tariffs and non-tariff barriers, internal support measures and export subsidies is mainly practised in developed countries. The Agreement on Agriculture of the WTO has not substantially removed barriers of access to the lucrative markets of the North while it limits protection options for the South. This distorted international environment in the key sector for Sub-Saharan economies is detrimental to their interests.

A substantial liberalisation of the agricultural sector in Africa, far beyond the requirements of the WTO, has been taking place during recent years, guided by structural adjustment programs. Cheap and heavily subsidised agricultural exports from the European Union and other exporters, however, still threaten and undermine local production in African countries. There is an asymmetry between the absorption of imports after liberalisation and the internal capacity to increase exports, as well as market access in the developed countries. Poor countries require cheap but effective forms of interventions (“development box”) to enhance food production and food security. The right to food is considered a basic human right. Such an approach focuses on protecting vulnerable groups and individuals in internal agricultural policies as well as international trade policy.

The urban minority of about 20% of the SSA-population living in towns today, however, relies on imported rather than home-grown food. In 2025, more than half of the population will live in urban areas with potentially important implications for food production and consumption. **Globalisation** favours urban lifestyles, large-scale estates, market production and technocratic solutions. It neglects small-scale farming, with its diversified and mainly subsistence-oriented cultivation, its needs for better access to markets, its access to education and training, etc. The dominant forms of globalisation revive the earlier discriminative policies and reinforce poverty and rural migration.

These trends have significant implications for **gender** relations. Women constitute the backbone of agricultural production and their work is critical for food security. They are usually small farmers or engage predominantly in the production of food crops. Trade reform tends to favour large and medium producers, while neglecting smaller ones, partly through intensified import competition. When opportunities emerge with

new markets, women face difficulties in taking advantage of them, as they often lack access to credit, new technologies, knowledge of marketing and the like. There are reasons to believe that trade liberalisation in predominantly agricultural economies may jeopardise women's livelihoods and well-being, or that women will be the last to take advantage of the opportunities created, owing to the gender division of labour and gender-based differences in ownership and control over land, credit and production and marketing knowledge.

### *Questions*

#### **a. *Food security***

- How can food security be enhanced in a globalising agriculture?
- Are special measures required to promote cultivation systems and crops essential for food security?
- Are such measures compatible with the Agreement on Agriculture?
- What are the options for reform? Can African agriculture be 'modernised' and become competitive while opting for the family farm as a central element of its agricultural and rural development strategy?
- What are the implications for a wide range of policy measures of placing the family farm enterprise at the heart of agricultural policies?

#### **b. *Liberalisation and agriculture***

- Under present conditions in Sub-Saharan Africa, is a strong and productive agricultural sector a pre-requirement for liberalisation or – vice versa – does liberalisation strengthen agricultural production and food security?

#### **c. *Poverty reduction***

- What are the implications of a strong national poverty reduction strategy for the sector of agriculture?
- In what respect does agricultural globalisation enhance poverty reduction, in what way does it aggravate the problem of poverty?
- What are potential consequences for Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers?

#### **d. *Trade reforms***

- What reform requests do African governments and NGOs present in the process to revise the Agreement on Agriculture?
- What would be a reasonable coherent Swiss position in the negotiations on the Agreement on Agriculture, translating the experiences of international co-operation in agriculture into WTO options?

## **5 GLOBALISATION AND THE PROVISION OF BASIC SERVICES**

Transformation processes are to be explained in their proper historical context. How are the dynamics of African modernisation compatible with what we in the West tend to regard as 'traditional' characteristics? How are 'traditional' forms to provide basic services (health, education, transport, etc.) complemented by or competing with a western-style physical and social infrastructure? Too often, the contribution of

the 'traditional sector' is neglected, although for large poverty-stricken and remote areas it is the main or even sole provider of basic services. Neither governmental nor private structures reach out to these areas.

Privatisation features prominently in the conditionality arrangements that the Bretton Woods Institutions establish with Sub-Saharan Africa country governments. The current WTO negotiations on General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) involve the 'progressive' opening up of public sector services to corporate competition. Despite the shift of focus from macroeconomic performance to poverty, privatisation remains an unquestioned core policy. The need to meet conditions for aid and debt relief often becomes a primary incentive to privatise. Conditionality-driven privatisation can deflect attention from the overall priorities of improving services. Although it is a key policy of PRSPs, the links between privatisation and poverty are rarely spelt out.

In 2002, the World Bank approved its private sector development strategy, which is broadening the remit of private sector further to encompass delivery of basic services. It expands the scope of the divisions of the World Bank that deal directly with the private sector, namely the International Finance Corporation (IFC) and Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA). To shift service provision from the public sector to the private sector, the strategy calls upon borrowing governments to delegate basic services provision (e.g. water, health, education) to private firms (and NGOs) under contracts that tie provision of financial support to the outputs or services delivered. The strategy intends to accelerate the private (and NGOs) provision of basic services on a commercial basis (with cost-covering user fees).

The drive towards privatisation of the public sector is argued for both on ideological and pragmatic grounds. The ideological justifications posit the greater efficiency of private over public agencies. The pragmatic arguments revolve around the necessity to attract foreign investment and / or bring in advanced technology through the sale of whole or part of attractive state utilities and enterprises. Pragmatists also point to the necessity to off-load loss-making, state-owned enterprises and to reduce the burdens on the public purse, while at the same time raising funds to off-set government budget deficits and / or repay part of the public debt.

In most countries, infrastructures – in telecommunications, postal services, transport, energy, audio-visual, aviation, and water or sewerage sectors – are among the first to be privatised. Governments are turning to the private sector for financing the badly needed investments, as well as for operating these infrastructures. The implementation of the private sector strategy is already well underway in the water sector. Investment in infrastructure, for example in a water supply programme, is not the most attractive proposition for the private sector for the reason that it requires extensive up-front investment and it takes many years to recoup the cost. To accommodate this, privatisation projects have been designed so that private firms only acquire an interest in the aspects of service delivery that make quick profits, leaving the longer-term, less financially attractive responsibilities for investment with the government.

### ***Risks to those living in poverty***

Once social services are no longer viewed by the authorities as basic needs, human rights, or as development imperatives that have to be sustained by public resources, such services are increasingly subject to commercial and profitability criteria.

Splitting markets into profit-making and loss-making components can institutionalise 'apartheid-like' systems: rich versus poor, private vs. public structures. Barriers to access by people living in poverty to services may be raised since, in some geographi-

cal areas, the privatised system may be the only one available. Policies that impose user fees are controversial because they have been shown to impede access to basic services.

The private sector appears to be beneficial mainly for urban areas, yet leaves peri-urban and rural areas to their own fate. If the private provision of basic services is to be a valid option, this can only be where there is an institutional framework that can effectively regulate private operators and this is largely absent in most Sub-Saharan African countries.

Many governments lack the administrative and fiscal capacity to mitigate the negative social consequences of economic liberalisation. Moreover, in order to attract foreign capital, governments are compelled to give tax breaks, shifting the burden of taxation from capital to labour.

In contrast to the powerful industrialised economies – which can decide when, where and how far they are prepared to liberalise – for weaker economies, liberalisation erodes or severely narrows the policy-making space and rights of national governments. The space is tightly restricted within which national governments can formulate differing and appropriate national economic policies, and respond to diverse interests, proposals and democratic pressure from the ground.

The 1999 UNDP Human Development Report ties intensification of global trade competition to a squeeze in the provision of care – both unpaid and paid. A squeeze in provision of care jeopardises human development in the long run. Women suffer in particular. On the one hand, they benefit less from publicly provided services, such as education, health care, clean water. On the other hand, their work burden in the form of unpaid household work and care may increase to make up for the shortfall.

### ***Questions***

#### ***a. Privatisation and provision***

- How will the contradiction between the reduced fiscal capacity of the state, shrinking ODA disbursements and the safety net approach to poverty reduction – including access to basic services for all – will be resolved?

#### ***b. Monopoly risk***

- Private sector involvement may in many cases simply replace a public monopoly by a private one. Privatising without simultaneously, or even previously, setting up regulators and strengthening government capacity might in most cases produce adverse effects. It appears that private sector participation is able to develop only in densely populated urban areas. However, where investments are most needed, the private operator has usually no obligation to provide services. Does privatisation of infrastructure proceed to ‘cream-skimming’, thus tending to do whatever is profitable, while leaving the state, communities, NGOs with all the unprofitable parts of services?

#### ***c. Local control***

- How can decentralisation, user-participation, inter-regional co-operation and other approaches enhancing local responsibilities be reconciled with growing financial needs, technological expertise and the growing power of TNCs?
- What is the best way to manage services (water, health, education) in the age of globalisation, with many powerful corporations having the expertise to do so, while people and public entities increasingly lack the power to make their interests heard?

## READING MATERIALS

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[www.africapolicy.org](http://www.africapolicy.org)

[www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/indiv/africa/cuvl/](http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/indiv/africa/cuvl/)

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