

Notes

2 Reviewing the Theoretical Landscape

1. This chapter draws on my chapter in Nicola Phillips (ed.) *Globalising Political Economy*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (in press) (Söderbaum, 2004).
2. For other theoretical overviews and volumes, see Hurrell (1995), Hettne *et al.* (1999a), Hout (1999), Laursen (2003) and Söderbaum and Shaw (2003).
3. Aspects of trade creation and trade diversion both result from the removal of trade barriers between members, and both increase trade within the union. The two terms refer to gain and loss effects respectively. Trade creation refers to a replacement of high-cost domestic production by low-cost products from another member, while trade diversion represents a union-induced shift in the source of imports from lower-cost external sources to higher-cost partner sources. There is both a consumer and a production effect.
4. The WOA is developed by scholars associated with the Political Economy Research Centre (PERC) at the University of Sheffield; see Gamble and Payne (1996a, 2003), Hook and Kearns (1999), Breslin and Hook (2002), Grugel and Payne (2000). Also cf. Grugel and Hout (1999). It was Hout (1999) who first referred to it as 'the world order approach'.
5. The NRA was first developed within the UNU/WIDER research project on *The New Regionalism*, under the leadership of Björn Hettne; see Hettne and Inotai (1994), Hettne *et al.* (1999a, 2000a, b, c, 2001). Since then the NRA has also been applied and developed, for instance, by Hettne and Söderbaum (1998a, 2000), Hettne (1999), MacLean (1999), Mittelman (2000), Thompson (2000), Schulz *et al.* (2001c), Söderbaum (1998a, 2001a, b, 2003a, b), Grant and Söderbaum (2003), Hettne (2003) and Söderbaum and Taylor (2003). Also see Hentz and Bøås (2003).
6. Regionness refers to when different processes of regionalization intensify and converge along several dimensions within a given region (Hettne, 1993, 1999, 2003; Hettne and Söderbaum, 2000). Regionness means that a region can be a region 'more or less' and the level of regionness can both increase and decrease. There are five generalized levels of regionness: regional space, regional complex, regional society, regional community and regional institutionalized polity.
7. The main texts representing new regionalisms approach/weave-world include a special issue of *Third World Quarterly* (edited by Bøås *et al.*, 1999a), Bøås *et al.* (2003) and Bøås and Marchand (2004). Other texts that more or less develop this perspective include Shaw (1998, 2000) and Bøås (2003).
8. Personal communication with Morten Bøås. Also see Bøås (2003). Initially this approach was referred to as the new regionalisms/new realist approach (see Bøås *et al.*, 1999a).
9. I am grateful to Nicola Phillips for drawing my attention to these aspects.

3 Theorizing the New Regionalism Approach

1. A large number of labels have been used in the debate for capturing these two similar (but not always identical) phenomena, such as top-down and bottom-up regionalization; *de jure* and *de facto* regionalization; (states-led) regionalism and (market and society-induced) regionalization; formal and real/informal regionalism.

5 The Political Economy of Formal and Informal Regionalism

1. Interview with Antonio Inascio, SADC Affairs, Division of Multilateral Economic Relations, Mozambique, 5 March 1999.
2. *BusinessMap's* database captures and details all major investment (over USD 1 million) by sector, country and company. The data include firm intentions, new investments, expansion of productive capacity, mergers and acquisitions, as well as failed investments, liquidations and disinvestments. Investments in smaller ventures and undisclosed amounts are not captured so figures cannot be taken as definitives and are likely to be underestimates (and in a few cases some incompatibilities appear). Still they can be read as a reflection of trends. The database measures both intentional and actual FDI as well as FDI where money capital is raised on the local market. This contrasts with the IMF's and South African Reserve Bank's measure and definition of FDI, which only measure the investment by foreigners in investment undertakings in which they have individually or collectively at least 10 per cent of the voting rights. Furthermore, conventional methods measure only the transfer of money capital and not other income-generating assets, such as technology, management and capital equipment.
3. Interview with Alfredo Namitete, Chairman, Committee of Senior Officials, Southern African Transport and Communications Commission (SATCC), Mozambique, 6 April 2000.
4. Interview with Keith Atkinson, CEO, Imani Development Ltd, Harare, Zimbabwe, 15 July 1999. Imani Development is the consultancy firm that coordinated the CBI during its first years in operation. Subsequently the CBI/RIFF became housed and coordinated by the COMESA Secretariat.
5. Interview with Keith Atkinson, CEO, Imani Development Ltd, Harare, Zimbabwe, 15 July 1999.
6. In an earlier document, and with particular reference to Southern Africa, it was pointed out that the World Bank Group supports outward-oriented trade integration and the inclusion of aspects such as regional infrastructure development and the liberalization of labor and capital flows. Such a broader view of regional cooperation is more promising than the narrower trade integration model because it is more likely to benefit all the countries involved, less likely to end up as an inward-looking protectionist trade agreements, and more sustainable by involving the private sector more directly. (World Bank, 1998: i-ii)
7. It was observed that several government officials in the ministries of foreign affairs and the donor agencies of the Nordic countries favoured the project of market integration during the workshop on 'Regional Integration in

Africa', organized for the Nordic donor agencies by the Nordic Africa Institute in Uppsala in March 2001.

8. Interview with Andres Jato, Africa Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Stockholm, 2 October 2001.
9. MacLean refers to the following report: United Nations Security Council (2001), *Report of the Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of the Democratic Republic of the Congo* (S/2001/357), 12 April 2001.
10. Thanks to Ian Taylor for highlighting this point.

6 Civil Society Regionalism

1. Interview with Malcolm Daimon, Coordinator, East and Southern African Economic Justice Network (EJN), 27 October 2000.
2. Motives expressed in official documents, and also confirmed by a large number of civil society actors interviewed for the study (see the List of Interviews; also cf. Söderbaum, 1999).
3. Interview with Michael Mallet, Southern Africa Development & Consulting (CRIA SA-DC), Namibia, 30 October 2000.
4. Interview with Motseoa Senyane-Makatjane, Coordinator, Transformation Resource Centre (TRC), Lesotho, 30 March 2000.
5. Interview with Malcolm Daimon, Coordinator, East and Southern African Economic Justice Network (EJN), 27 October 2000.
6. Interview with Ivin Lombardt, Manager, Special Projects, Namibia Non-Governmental Organization Forum (NANGOF), Namibia, 5 October 2000.
7. Interview with Simon Boshielo, Director, Southern Africa Relations, Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), South Africa, 7 November 2000.
8. Interview with Malcolm Daimon, Coordinator, East and Southern African Economic Justice Network (EJN), 27 October 2000.
9. Interview with Opa Kapijimpanga, Director, African Forum on Debt and Development (AFRODAD), Zimbabwe, 7 June 1999.
10. Interview with Malcolm Daimon, Coordinator, East and Southern African Economic Justice Network (EJN), 27 October 2000.
11. Interview with Malcolm Daimon, Coordinator, East and Southern African Economic Justice Network (EJN), 27 October 2000.
12. Thanks to Dr Ian Taylor, University of Botswana, for highlighting this point to me.
13. Information provided by Dr Ian Taylor, University of Botswana.
14. Interview with David Madurai, Networks Coordinator, South African National NGO Coalition (SANGOCO), South Africa, 7 November 2000.
15. Interview with Sam Chiezeb, Director, Namibia Chamber of Commerce and Industry (NCCI), Namibia, 28 September 2000.
16. Interview with Mr N. Nahasond, Coordinator, Namibian Network of Aids Service Organizations (NANASO), national chapter of SANASO, Namibia, 4 October 2000.
17. Interview with Malcolm Daimon, Coordinator, East and Southern African Economic Justice Network (EJN), 27 October 2000.

18. Interview with Opa Kapijimpanga, Director, African Forum on Debt and Development (AFRODAD), Zimbabwe, 7 June 1999.

7 The Political Economy of Shared River Basins: the Case of the Zambezi

1. This chapter extends the argument originally developed in Patrik Stålgren and Fredrik Söderbaum (2002).
2. Anonymous interviewee at the Department of Water Development in Zimbabwe, 15 April 2001.
3. Interview with Mats Ericksson, Department for Natural Resources, Sida, Sweden, 2 October 2001.
4. Interview with representative of Christian Care, Harare, 24 April 2001.

8 The Political Economy of Micro-regionalism: the Case of the Maputo Development Corridor

1. Matthews Phosa outlined the idea of a revived Maputo Corridor as early as 1994, in his inaugural speech as Premier of Mpumalanga (*Southern Africa Report*, No. 2, 1998: 24).
2. Interview with David Arkwright, South Africa's MDC Project Manager, South Africa, 12 April 2000.
3. Interview with David Arkwright, South Africa's MDC Project Manager, South Africa, 12 April 2000.
4. Interview with Francisca Henriqueta Soares, MDC Project Manager, Ministry of Transport and Communications, Mozambique, 10 April 2000.
5. Interview with Francisca Henriqueta Soares, MDC Project Manager, Ministry of Transport and Communications, Mozambique, 10 April 2000.
6. Interview with Jonathan Mitchell, Special Projects and Policy Unit, Mpumalanga Provincial Government, South Africa, 5 April 2000.
7. Interview with Jonathan Mitchell, Special Projects and Policy Unit, Mpumalanga Provincial Government, South Africa, 5 April 2000; David Arkwright, South Africa's MDC Project Manager, South Africa, 12 April 2000.
8. This view is confirmed by a series of officials on both sides of the border.
9. Interview with Jonathan Mitchell, Special Projects and Policy Unit, Mpumalanga Provincial Government, South Africa, 5 April 2000.
10. Interview with David Arkwright, South Africa's MDC Project Manager, South Africa, 27 November 2000.
11. Interview with Jonathan Mitchell, Special Projects and Policy Unit, Mpumalanga Provincial Government, South Africa, 5 April 2000.
12. Interview with Gordon Griffiths, CEO, Mpumalanga Investment Initiative (MII), South Africa, 4 April 2000.
13. Interview with Gordon Griffiths, CEO, Mpumalanga Investment Initiative (MII), South Africa, 4 April 2000.
14. Interview with Margarida Martins, Regional SDI Coordinator, Special Projects, Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), South Africa, 16 March 1999.

15. Interview with David Arkwright, South Africa's MDC Project Manager, South Africa, 27 November 2000.
16. Interview with Professor Carlos Nuno Castel-Branco, Faculty of Economics, Eduardo Mondlane University, and a consultant evaluating the Mozal, Mozambique, 29 August 2003.
17. Interview with Jonathan Mitchell, Special Projects and Policy Unit, Mpumalanga Provincial Government, South Africa, 5 April 2000.
18. Interview with Jonathan Mitchell, Special Projects and Policy Unit, Mpumalanga Provincial Government, South Africa, 5 April 2000.
19. Interview with Francisca Henriqueta Soares, MDC Project Manager, Ministry of Transport and Communications, Mozambique, 10 April 2000.
20. Interview with Gordon Griffiths, CEO, Mpumalanga Investment Initiative (MII), South Africa, 4 April 2000.
21. See the various studies by Taylor (2000), Lundin and Taylor (2003) and Ngwenya and Taylor (2003) for more detailed assessments of local participation in the establishment and decision-making of the PPPs and the N4 Toll Road.
22. Interview with Alfredo Namitete, Chairman, Committee of Senior Officials, Southern African Transport and Communications Commission (SATCC), Mozambique, 6 April 2000.

9 Conclusion

1. Interview with Malcolm Daimon, Coordinator, East and Southern African Economic Justice Network (EJN), South Africa, 27 October 2000.

Internet Resources

AfDB	www.afdb.org
AFRONET	afronet.org.za
AGOA	www.agoa.gov
ANC	www.anc.org.za
AU	www.africa-union.org
BusinessMap	www.businessmap.co.za
CBI/RIFF	www.afdb.org/cbi
COMESA	www.comesa.int
Commonwealth	www.thecommonwealth.org
COSATU	www.cosatu.org.za
DBSA	www.dbsa.org
DPRU	www.uct.ac.za/depts/dpru
ECA	www.uneca.org
Eskom	www.eskom.co.za
ESSET	www.esset.org.za
EU	www.europa.eu.int
IDC	www.idc.org
IGAD	www.igad.org
IRIN	www.irinnews.org
Lalit	www.lalitmauritius.com
MII	www.mii.co.za
MWENGO	www.mwengo.org
Nacala Corridor	www.nacalacorridor.com
NEPAD	www.nepad.org
OECD	www.oecd.org
SADC	www.sadc.int
SADC Central Banks	www.sadcbankers.org
SADC Energy	www2.ebonet.net/sadc
SADC Today	www.sardc.net/editorial/sadctoday
SADC water page	www.thewaterpage.com/sadcWSCU.htm
SAHRINGON	afronet.org.za/sahringon/profile.htm
SANGOCO	www.sangoco.org.za
SAPES	www.sapes.co.zw
SAPSN	aidc.org.za/sapsn
SARDC	www.sardc.net
SARPN	www.sarpn.org.za

SDI	www.africansdi.org.za
SEATINI	www.seatini.org
Sida	www.sida.se
Spoornet	www.spoornet.co.za
TIPS	www.tips.org.za
UNU/CRIS	www.unu.cris.edu
World Bank	worldbank.org
WTO	www.wto.org

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