



NB: PLEASE NOTE - NO DISTANCE LEARNING APPLICATION FOR ADMISSION TO THE MASTER'S PROGRAMMES IN DEVELOPMENT / POPULATION STUDIES -2012

Thank you for your enquiry regarding admission to our post-graduate Programmes, which start in February 2012. We are only starting acceptance of application in August 2011. Please ensure that the following documents are with us by the 31 October 2011:

- 1. The 'Application for admission as a masters or doctoral candidate' to study at the University of Natal (*Application form 1*)
- 2. The 'Application to the Development Studies Programme' (Application 2). Specify which programme you are interested in Development Studies OR Population Studies.
- 3. Please send a one to two page typed motivation as to why you wish to participate in our School including a possible research topic or area of research interest for your Masters Dissertation.
- **4.** Attach your official academic record from <u>ALL</u> the universities you attended. If graduated from the Universities of KwaZulu-Natal, Natal or Durban Westville, we can access your record. **Please note you must have an average of 65% and above in your last degree to apply.**
- 5. We require two academic referees. Please arrange for your referees to fax or email their references direct to the School indicating your suitability and ability for acceptance into the programme. In cases where the applicant has been employed for some years, it will be acceptable for one of the references to be a professional one. Please make personal contact with your referees and supply their details to us on Application 2 in case we need to contact them as well.
- 6. **APPLICATION FEE** (this is non refundable)
 - R150 for SA citizens
 - R340 for applicants from SADC countries and
 - US\$100 for international students

This can be paid by one of the following methods:

- **NOTE:** currently registered students do not have to pay an application fee.
- Cash (applicant must pay in person at the University cashiers).
- Cheque (all cheques to be made out to *The University of KwaZulu-Natal*).
- Direct bank deposit.
- Credit card (refer to page 4 for an example of the form).

Banking details - Local/SADC:

Bank Name: Standard Bank
Name of Account: UKZN Main account

Account Number: 053080998
Branch: Westville
Branch Code: 045426

Reference code: F001 11402 (applicants to include full name)

Tel: +27 (0)31 2602287 Fax: +27 (0)31 2602359 Website: www.sds.ukzn.ac.za email: konan@ukzn.ac.za

Banking Details – International

Bank Name: Standard Bank

Name of Account: UKZN Foreign Deposit

Account Number: 053082826
Branch: Westville
Branch Code: 045426

Swit Code: S.W.I.F.T. SABZA ZA JJ

Reference code: F001 11402 (applicants to include full name)

Please state your name clearly on any documentation. In a case of direct deposit, please send a copy of the documentation to us. You may also use your credit card for this payment. See attached form. However, students <u>currently studying at the University of KwaZulu-Natal</u>, need not send this fee.

7. Essay Question: As part of the assessment of your application you are required to write an essay of not more than 2000 words. **Development Study applicants**: We enclose an article by Deepak Nayyar "Globalization and Development" from Chang, Ha-Joon. Rethinking Economics, Anthem Press, London. The essay question is on the first page of the document. **Population Study applicants**: Please write an essay entitled *Discuss the effects of HIV/AIDS on the well-being of the population*. You will need to access readings on this topic. **NB: We ask for all essays in electronic format as well please, in order to run through a plagiarism checking system.** This is something asked of all new applicants with regard to the essays which form part of the application process.

Full time/Part time: The masters programmes assume you are a full time student and there is little time for you to do additional work. If you have a job or other responsibilities you may opt to do the degree part time part time. If you were accepted to do a 192 credit masters, you can spread the modules for a 1 year degree over 2 years. If you are doing a 320 credit degree you can complete over 4 years (although many 320 credit part time students complete within 3 years). There is no evening classes or distance learning.

I can give you an estimated idea of what it <u>cost South African</u> and <u>other African</u> students to study at UKZN in 2011 (Cost for one year):

International Tuition – USD 7600 (reading materials) Tuition(SA and SADC) - R16 200 Subsequent dissertation registration – R710 Readings – Between R600 – R800 per reading set Residence – Between R16 000 and R18 000 Medical – R4 500 per annum SADC/International Levy – R900 per semester

On - campus Vacation Accommodation

Accommodation fees do not include residence fees during vacations. Accommodation during vacation is R60 – R80 per day.

Off - campus Accommodation

Accommodation without meals can cost approximately R17 100. Cost of meals can be R14 000

Other Foreign Students pay tuition fees of US\$7 600 (please note this does not include reading materials). Please note if you go over into the following year you will incur an extra cost per semester. Residence costs etc will be as above. Unfortunately there is not much in the way of bursaries for foreign students and you would need to secure funding before coming to South Africa.

Compulsory SAQA (http://www.saqa.org.za/) or Tele: 012- 431 5000 accreditation: All International + other African Countries

Please note that you will need a living allowance over and above this for transport, entertainment, photocopy costs etc. International students should have medical cover before coming here or you can join the Ingwe Medical Scheme (+27 31- 5734189 or website: www.ingwehealth.co.za) for about R4 500 per annum. You would also need to obtain a study permit which costs R425 per application.

Many students require one additional semester beyond their one or two year degree to complete their dissertation. If you are applying to funders we recommend you attempt to include this additional semester.

Depending upon your academic transcript, you might be eligible for graduate assistance which pays a portion of the South African tuition fees only – this year it was 70% of the SA Fee. But this award will only be considered in 2011 after registration so please do not count on that amount.

School of Development Studies

University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus, Durban, 4041, South Africa

Tel: +27 (0)31 2602287 Fax: +27 (0)31 2602359 Website: <u>www.sds.ukzn.ac.za</u> email: <u>konan@ukzn.ac.za</u>

NB: We ask for all essays in electronic format as well please, in order to run through a plagiarism checking system. This is something asked of all new applicants with regard to the essays which form part of the application process.

Please return all of the above by the 31 October 2011 to: Ms Priya Konan konan@ukzn.ac.za

If you are an overseas applicant, please bear in mind that you need at least three months for a study visa to be processed. You need to apply in the country in which you reside as no visas will be given to students applying within South Africa's borders.

Please only apply if you have <u>at least</u>, a good quality second class pass in an honours degree or a three year degree, and/or have practical experience in the development or relevant field.

Yours sincerely **Prof Imraan Valodia**Head of the School of Development Studies

University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus, Durban, 4041, South Africa

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POST GRADUATE PROGRAMME IN POPULATION STUDIES ABOUT THE SCHOOL

This programme is undertaken by the School of Development Studies, which is widely regarded as a premier teaching and research centre in Southern Africa. The School is located on the Howard College Campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Our senior researchers and lecturers are regarded as experts and specialists in their fields. Our researchers collaborate extensively in Africa, North America, Latin America, Asia, Europe and the United Kingdom. Population Studies researchers maintain strong linkages with other leading academic institutions in the field of population studies. The Centre for Population Studies at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, the Department of Population and Family Health, the Population Studies Centre at the University of Michigan, Department of Health and Society at Linköping University, and The Department of International Health at the University of Tulane, are just a few of the institutions currently involved with work with the faculty. The programme also maintains links to an international network of researchers at the Population Council and the Africa Centre for Health and Population Studies.

STRUCTURE OF PROGRAMME

Our academic programme begins in the first week of February each year with an introductory orientation week prior to the commencement of the formal study programme. Full time or part time study is catered for but no distance learning is offered. Students are offered the opportunity to learn about Population Studies in a world class School in a developing country setting. This enables them to match what they learn in the classroom with what they experience on the ground. Students from South Africa, other African countries, Asia, Europe and North America are regularly attracted to our programme. The following degree options are available:

- ➤ Master's degree by coursework and dissertation
- ➤ PhD by research

The Coursework Master's Degree in Population Studies consists of a broad range of modules aimed at equipping students with an understanding of population processes, demographic analysis and techniques and policy formulation, in addition to a dissertation. The dissertation is an important component of the degree that allows students to undertake independent research, illustrate originality and creativity as well as develop familiarity with the identified area of study.

PhD by research. If the intended area of research is appropriate and if supervision capacity is available, we welcome applications from suitable candidates.

WHAT IS POPULATION STUDIES?

Population Studies is a broad social science discipline concerned with the study of human populations in relation to their size, composition and geographical distribution, the changes, which occur in these over time and the factors associated with these changes. The discipline emphasises the empirical

investigation of population processes, including the conceptualisation and measurement of these processes and the study of their determinants and consequences. Population Studies is also concerned with the broader nature of social and economic change, and with the impact of demographic change on the natural environment. The concepts of population studies have an important role to play in understanding of social change. Population Studies is an essential component of many activities, social and market research, physical and environmental use planning, administration, and in particular people-centred development planning.

MODULES OFFERED

Introduction to Population Studies Population and Development Demographic Methods I

Research Methods Fertility and Nuptiality Demographic Methods II

Sexual and Reproductive Health Migration and Urbanisation Poverty and Inequality

Social Policy Informal Economy Agricultural and Rural Development

South African Development Population and Health HIV/Aids in Southern Africa

Electives may be taken from other Schools subject to agreement by the Programme Director. Examples of such electives are: *Sustainable Development and Geographic Information Systems* – from Geography; *Urban Sociology* – from Sociology.

ADMISSION REQUIREMENTS:

Applicants must be degree holders with, at least, a good second-class pass. Good writing skills and an ability to communicate both orally and in written form in English, which is the medium of instruction, is essential. Relevant work experience is an added advantage. Students should be familiar with basic statistics.

STAFF AND THEIR AREAS OF EXPERTISE

Head of SchoolProf Vishnu PadayacheeAcademic Co-ordinatorDr Pranitha Maharaj

- > Dr R Ballard: Social Movements, Identity And Cultural Studies, Refugees, Civil Society
- > Prof Patrick Bond: Civil Society, Political Economy and Municipal Service delivery
- > Dr D Casale: Labour and household economics, gender, household survey data analysis
- Mr R Devey: Data Analysis, Research Methods
- Prof F Lund: Social Policy, Welfare, Informal Economy
- > Dr P Maharaj: Sexual and Reproductive health, HIV/AIDS
- Ms N Manzini: Sexual and Reproductive health, Fertility
- Prof J May: Poverty, Rural Development, Economic Development
- Prof M Morris: Industrialisation, Industrial Restructuring, State Theory
- Ms N Nzimande: Demographic methods, mortality and health, fertility and the family, HIV/AIDS
- Prof V Padayachee: Macro-Economic Policy, Finance And Banking
- > Prof D Posel: Labour Economics, Economic Demography, Microeconometric analysis
- > Prof E Preston-Whyte: Population Studies, HIV/AIDS
- Mr Glen Robbins: Local Economic Development, Local Government, Industrial Policy
- ➤ Ms C Skinner: Informal Economy, Local Government
- > Mr I Valodia: International Economics, Trade Policy, Economic Development And Gender

FUNDING OPPORTUNITIES:

Many organizations exist to provide funding for education and training. South Africans can seek funding from National Research Foundation. The Population Studies Programme also provides apprenticeship training and fellowship support to a limited number of graduate students in a broad range of disciplines who choose Population Studies as their field of specialization. In the apprenticeship programme student interns also gain practical research experience under the supervision of experienced staff members.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Employment opportunities exist in a wide variety of professional settings. Employers include national and local government, universities, non-governmental organisations and private consulting firms. Population Studies graduates work in public sector areas such as census taking, educational planning, labour market analysis, health administration, immigration, urban planning, and social policy.

ACCOMMODATION

The University of KwaZulu-Natal has Halls of residences, which are available to registered students of the School. However, this accommodation is limited so early application is essential. Students may also look for privately rented accommodation such as rooms in private houses, flat shares, rooms with meals provided or flats or houses. The cost of off-campus housing varies depending on the location and facilities.

LOCATION

Located in the coastal city of Durban, the University of KwaZulu-Natal offers a broad range of resources, ranging from an outstanding library and computer system to excellent sport and entertainment facilities. The University is located about 10 minutes drive from the coast and 3 hours from major game reserves. The city of Durban is vibrant and cosmopolitan situated on the east coast of South Africa, offering a wealth of exciting

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION REGARDING APPLICATIONS PLEASE CONTACT

The Administrator

School of Development Studies University of KwaZulu-Natal Durban <u>www.sds.ukzn.ac.za</u>
Tel: 27 (0)31 2602287 Fax: 27 (0)31 2602359 email: <u>konan@ukzn.ac.za</u>





UNIVERSITY of KWAZULU-NATAL



POST GRADUATE PROGRAMME IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

ABOUT THE SCHOOL

The School, situated on the Howard College Campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal, is widely regarded as the premier teaching and research centre of Development Studies in Southern Africa. Our senior researchers and teachers are regarded as experts and specialists in their fields. Our researchers collaborate extensively in Africa, North America, Latin America, Asia, Europe and the United Kingdom.

STRUCTURE OF PROGRAMME:

Our academic programme begins in the first week of February each year with an introductory orientation week prior to the commencement of the formal study programme. Full time or part time study is catered for but no distance learning is offered. Students are offered the opportunity to study development in a world class School in a developing country setting. This enables them to match what they learn in the classroom with what they experience on the ground. Students from South Africa, other African countries, Asia, Europe and North America are regularly attracted to our programme. The following degree options are available:

- ➤ Master's degree by coursework and dissertation **
- ➤ Master's degree by research
- > PhD by research
- ** In addition to the general master's degree, two specialisations are available Social Policy Analysis Economic Development

The Coursework Master's Degree in Development Studies consists of a broad range of conceptual and skills-based modules as well as a dissertation. The aim is to provide students with the necessary knowledge to understand the complexity of development problems and to apply themselves to the process of solving them. The dissertation is an important component of the degree. It allows students to undertake independent research, illustrate originality and creativity as well as develop familiarity with a specialised area of study. Full time studies are undertaken in a one-year programme (if the student has an appropriate honours degree) or in a two-year programme if they have a three-year under-graduate degree. There are three areas of specialisation – see above ** **The Post-graduate Diploma** in Development Studies is intended for people who are already working in the field and wish to extend their conceptual understanding of development issues without undertaking the research dissertation component.

Masters and PhD by research. If the intended area of research is appropriate and if supervision capacity is available, we welcome applications from suitable candidates.

Other Degrees offered in the School are Coursework Masters' Degrees in Population Studies, and Development Planning.

WHAT IS DEVELOPMENT STUDIES?

Development Studies is a broad, interdisciplinary, theoretical and policy field addressing key economic, political and social concerns such as inequality and poverty, uneven or inadequate economic growth, mal-distribution of resources and institutional failures. In addition to analysing their causes, the discipline also attempts to produce appropriate policy responses to resolve them. Development Studies critically examines the role and efficacy of state policies, as well as interventions by other social actors and organisations, in addressing these problems. Researchers and academics in the field engage in debates about the policies and strategies that are most appropriate to the realisation of both economic growth and more equitable social outcomes.

MODULES OFFERED

Agriculture & Rural Development Comparative Development Civil Society and Development

Demographic Methods 1 & 2 Development Management Economics of Development 1 & 2

Informal Economy Introduction to Population Studies Population and Development

Poverty & Inequality Research Methods 1 & 2 Sexual & Reproductive Health

Social Policy South African Development HIV/Aids in Southern Africa

Electives may be taken from other Schools subject to agreement by the Programme Director. Examples of such electives are *Local Economic Development, and Integrated Development Planning* – from Town Planning; *Sustainable Development, and Geographic Information Systems* – from Geography; *Urban Sociology* – from Sociology.

ADMISSION REQUIREMENTS:

Applicants must be degree holders with, at least, a good second-class pass. Good writing skills and an ability to communicate both orally and in written form in English, which is the medium of instruction, is essential. Previous relevant work and practical experience in development is an advantage and will be taken into account in admission decisions.

STAFF AND THEIR AREAS OF EXPERTISE

Our staff are regarded as experts and specialists in their fields. All members of the senior academic staff are integrally involved in the shaping and making of policy at national, regional or local government level. Many members play leading roles in research-based policy support. Staff members at the multidisciplinary Population Studies Programme have expertise in a wide variety of research areas. Located within a developing country context, students are encouraged to conduct research in areas such as: demography, HIV/AIDS, sexual and reproductive health, population and health, population and the environment, urbanization, poverty and development.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION REGARDING APPLICATIONS PLEASE CONTACT

The Administrator

School of Development Studies University of KwaZulu-Natal Durban <u>www.sds.ukzn.ac.za</u>
Tel: 27 (0)31 2602287 Fax: 27 (0)31 2602359 email: <u>konan@ukzn.ac.za</u>



APPLICATION FOR POSTGRADUATE ADMISSION

(International and Local)

Note: Completed applications for all campuses must be forwarded to the Applications and Information Office at:

Postal Address

University of KwaZulu-Natal Applications and Information Office Durban 4041

Physical Address

University of KwaZulu-Natal Applications and Information Office Shepstone Building Level 4 Howard College Campus King George V Ave/Mazisi Kunene Rd Glenwood Durban

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY:						
NAME:						
STUDENT NO:						
DEGREE/DIPLOMA:						
LOCAL:						
INTERNATIONAL:						

Please read these notes before completing the attached application form

- The non-refundable application fee or proof of payment MUST accompany this application form. Application fees sent by post should be paid by cheque or postal order, not cash. Please ensure that cheques or postal orders are made out to the University of KwaZulu-Natal. International and local applicants: Application fees can be paid by electronic transfer/bank deposit. Please find banking details below.
- 2. The application form MUST be **completed as fully and as accurately as possible** to avoid delay in processing. Use names appearing on the identity document when completing the form.
- 3. The University of KwaZulu-Natal is an English medium university. International students from non-English speaking countries must provide proof of English proficiency. Please refer to the Postgraduate Application Guide for further information.
- 4. Applicants whose previous degrees were obtained at a foreign university or from universities outside South Africa must have their qualifications evaluated by South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) prior to submitting an application to the University.
- 5. If you have **attended another university** please submit a full academic record or you must arrange for the Registrar of that University to submit to this University a full academic record for all years of study and a certificate of conduct to the University of KwaZulu-Natal.
- 6. If you are applying for a Masters Degree or Phd please submit a proposal on your chosen area of research together with your application.

Evaluation:

International applicants are required to have their qualifications assessed by the South African Qualification Authority (SAQA).

Please allow for evaluation turnaround time up to three months depending on the rate/amount you have paid. Please refer to the SAQA website.

They can be contacted at: Tel: +27 (0)12 431 5070 or Email: ceeq@saqa.org.za or consult: www.saqa.org.za

Students with Disabilities:

Please contact the Co-ordinator at the Student Counselling Centre for information on services, equipment and support available to students.

 Howard College –
 Tel: +27 (0)31 260 3070/3140

 Pietermaritzburg –
 Tel: +27 (0)33 260 5213/5233

 Westville –
 Tel: +27 (0)31 260 7706/7888

If you need assistance in selecting programmes, choosing

can contact a counsellor at one of our Student Counselling

Tel: +27 (0)31 260 2668/9

Tel: +27 (0)31 260 7337/7751

Tel: +27 (0)33 260 5233

your majors, career or personal guidance, or testing you

Edgewood – Tel: +27 (0) 260 3665

Application Fees:

Local studentsR150SADC & countries in AfricaR340Countries outside Africa\$100

The banking details are as follows:

Name: UKZN Main

Acc. No: 05 308 0998

Bank: Standard Bank

Branch: Westville

Branch Code: 045426 Type of account: Business Current Account

Reference: F001 11402 with applicant's full name

Please provide your details on the deposit slip and submit proof of payment on submission of your application.

Residence Queries:

Needing Assistance:

Centres:

Westville -

Howard College -

Pietermaritzburg -

F or all residence queries please phone the relevant campus:

Edgewood - Tel: +27 (0)31 260 3611 Howard College - Tel: +27 (0)31 260 2282 Medical School - Tel: +27 (0)31 260 2282 Pietermaritzburg - Tel: +27 (0)33 260 6226 Westville - Tel: +27 (0)31 260 8070

Closing Dates:

Please refer to the Postgraduate Application Guide for information on the closing dates for each College/Faculty.

Health Care Insurance:

(Applicable to International Applicants only)

In terms of the *Immigration Amendment Act 19 of 2004* any prospective student coming to the Republic of South Africa, must provide proof of medical cover with a medical scheme registered in terms of the *Medical Schemes Act, 1998 Act 131 of 1998*. The University of KwaZulu-Natal thus only accepts South African Medical Aid products approved in terms of the Medical Aid Schemes Act referred to above. To comply with the regulations, the University requires proof of full Medical Aid cover with a **South African** based medical aid scheme for the full academic period of study. Such cover must cover the **minimum** of hospitalisation, emergencies and day-to-day cover including medicine and doctor's visits. It is thus advisable to make the necessary financial arrangements for the medical aid cover *prior* to your entry into South Africa.



APPLICATION FOR

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UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL POS	STGRADU DMISSIC	JATE RR PR	pp. Fee Paid: R eceipt No: ate: to ITS: y: election Decision: ate:	Date:	
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Medical Practitioners: HPCSA Registration Please ensure that the programme name/s 2. PERSONAL DETAI	s are indicated.				
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Note: Disclosure of information is subject to	o the Promotion of Access to In	formation Act and othe	er relevant laws.		
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3. RESIDENCY				
Are you a permanent resident of SA?	YES	NO		`
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Teacher's Training College	02	Labour For	rce (Employed)	07
Technikon Student	03	Standard 1	0 pupil/Grade 12 learner	08
College of Nursing student	04	OTHER (_)	10
* If university student, please state name of the last NOTE: The code structure has been set up (by IT				good conduct:
If you are employed please complete the following	1:			
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5. ENGLISH PROFICIENCY				
APPLICABL	E TO INTERNA	TIONAL APPLI	CANTS ONLY	
Applicants applying for admission into a degree pro	gramme at the Unive	rsity need to demonstr	ate that they have obtained one of	the following
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 A pass in English language at A-level, or O-level For international applicants who do not satisfy 	. ,	•		ition.
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Applications and Information Office www.ukzn.ac.za

March 2010

APPLICATION (2) FOR ADMISSION TO POST GRADUATE STUDY IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

School of Development Studies - University of KwaZulu-Natal

SURNAME	TITLE		DATE OF BIRTH					
FIRST NAMES								
STUDENT NO. (If you are or ever have been registered at the University of Natal)								
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NB : REFEREES: Please arrange for two referees (one of whom must be an Academic Referee) to supply references on your ability to undertake this course. These must be sent by the referee direct to the School of Development Studies Fax 27 (0)31 2602359 or email konan@ukzn.ac.za . You must ensure that you make contact with your referee and stress the urgency of the reference. Please supply contact names and numbers below to enable us to make contact if necessary.								
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"Globalization is on the whole a positive force for development and poverty reduction." Nicholas Stern, Chief Economist at the World Bank, 2002.

"[Globalization] is used in a normative sense to prescribe a strategy of development based on a rapid integration with the world economy: some see this as salvation, while others see it as damnation."

Deepak Nayyar, 2003.

ESSAY QUESTION: What is globalisation and how does it impact on development and poverty reduction? Do you agree that globalization is a positive force for development and poverty reduction? Substantiate your view.

You may draw from the chapter by Nayyar (provided) and other relevant sources to write the essay. The essay should be no more than 2000 words (approximately five A4 pages using 1.5 spacing). The essay is one of the criteria used in the process of selecting applicants for the Development Studies programme.

From: Chang, Ha-Joon. 2003. Rethinking Development Economics.

Anthem Press: London.

GLOBALIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT*

Deepak Nayyar

This chapter endeavours to situate the process of globalization in the wider context of development. In doing so, it explores the implications of globalization for development in retrospect and prospect. The structure of the chapter is as follows. Section 1 sets out the essential meaning of development, in light of the very uneven development experience and the fundamental change in thinking about development strategies over the past fifty years. Section 2 outlines the dimensions and characteristics of globalization in our times. Section 3 examines the economic factors, the political conjuncture and the intellectual rationale underlying globalization. Section 4 explores the historical origins of globalization, comparing current trends in globalization with those of the late nineteenth century, and highlighting similarities and differences between the two. Section 5 discusses how globalization led to uneven development in the late nineteenth century. Section 6 considers the development experience of the world economy during the last quarter of the twentieth century, which suggests that the exclusion of countries and of people, attributable partly to the logic of markets, is a fact of life. It suggests that, without correctives, it would lead to uneven development now. Section 7 argues that sensible strategies of development in a world of globalization should create economic space for the pursuit of national interests and development objectives. In this task there is a strategic role for the nation state, both in the national and international context.

^{*} This essay draws upon some earlier work of the author. See Nayyar 1995; 1997; 2000; 2001. The author would like to thank Ram Singh for helpful suggestions and valuable assistance.

1. Conception of development

There is a vast literature on economic development which is rich in both its range and depth. Yet there is not enough clarity about what development actually means. There are in fact many different views of what it constitutes, and these perceptions have changed over time. There is, however, an irreducible objective which may be construed as the essential meaning: development must bring about an improvement in the living conditions of people. It should, therefore, ensure the provision of basic human needs for all - not just food and clothing, but also shelter, health care and education. This simple but powerful proposition is often forgotten in the pursuit of material wealth and the conventional concerns of economics. Early literature on development emphasized economic growth and capital accumulation at a macro level; contemporary literature on development stresses economic efficiency and productivity increases at a micro level. Industrialization has always been seen as an essential attribute of development: emphasis has simply shifted from the pace of industrialization to the efficiency of industrialization.

The underlying presumption is that economic growth and economic efficiency are not only necessary but also sufficient to bring about an improvement in the living conditions of people. From time to time, dissenting voices questioned conventional wisdom about using economic growth, or increases in per capita income, as a measure of development, and instead suggested other indicators of development, such as reductions in poverty, inequality and unemployment, that would indicate changes in the quality of life. But these aspects of development were largely ignored by mainstream economics because it did not make this distinction. Economic growth and economic efficiency, or for that matter industrialization, are means. It is development which is an end. Thus, in order to attain development, growth and efficiency need to be combined with full employment, poverty eradication, reduced inequality, human development and a sustainable environment. The purpose of development, after all, is to create a milieu that enables people, ordinary people, to lead a good life.

In conventional terms, the world has made enormous economic progress during the second half of the twentieth century. Over the past fifty years, world GDP has multiplied tenfold while per capita income has trebled.² The growth has been impressive even in the developing world, particularly when compared with the underdevelopment and the stagnation of the colonial era during the first half of the twentieth century. But such aggregates might conceal more than they reveal, for development has been very uneven between countries and within countries. The pattern of development has been such that it has led to an increase in the economic distance between the industrial-

ized world and much of the developing world. It has also led to an increase in the economic distance between the newly industrializing countries, at one end, and the least developed countries, at the other. At the same time, economic disparities between regions and between people within countries have also registered an increase. In other words, many parts of the world and a significant proportion of its people have been largely excluded from development. This may be attributable to the logic of markets, which give to those who have and take away from those who have not, as the process of cumulative causation leads to market-driven virtuous circles and vicious circles. This may be the outcome of patterns of development where economic growth is uneven between regions and the distribution of its benefits is unequal between people, so that there is growing affluence for some combined with persistent poverty for many. This may be the consequence of strategies of development, as a similar economic performance in the aggregate could lead to egalitarian development in one situation, and growth which bypasses the majority of people in another situation.

Uneven development has its consequences. Poverty, inequality and deprivation persist. And there is poverty everywhere. One eighth of the people in the industrialized world are affected by, or live in, poverty. Almost one third of the people in the developing world - an estimated 1.5 billion - live in poverty and experience absolute deprivation insofar as they cannot meet their basic human needs. The same number does not have access to clean water. As many as 840 million people suffer from malnutrition. More than 260 million children who should be in school are not. Nearly 340 million women are not expected to survive to the age of 40. And, as we enter the 21st century, more than 850 million adults remain illiterate. Most of them live in the developing world. But, in a functional sense, the number of illiterate people in the industrialized countries - 100 million - is also large.³

It is clear that the development experience of the world economy since 1950 has been uneven and mixed. The attempts to analyse what turned out right and what went wrong have led to both diagnosis and prescription. This in turn has meant a fundamental change in thinking about development strategies. In the postcolonial era, which began soon after the end of World War II, most underdeveloped countries adopted strategies of development which provided a sharp contrast with those of the first half of the twentieth century. For one, there was a conscious attempt to limit the degree of openness and integration with the world economy, in pursuit of a more autonomous development. For another, the state was assigned a strategic role in development because the market, by itself, was not perceived as sufficient to meet the aspirations of latecomers to industrialization. Both represented points of departure from the colonial era, which was characterized by open

economies and unregulated markets. In the early 1950s, this new approach also represented a consensus in thinking about the most appropriate strategy of industrialization. Despite a few voices of dissent it was, in effect, the development consensus at the time. 40 years later, in the early 1990s, perceptions about development apparently arrived at the polar opposite. Most countries in the developing world, as also in the erstwhile socialist bloc, began to reshape their domestic economic policies so as to integrate much more with the world economy and to enlarge the role of the market vis-a-vis the state. This was partly a consequence of internal crisis situations in economy, polity and society. It was also significantly influenced by the profound transformation in the world economic and political situation. The widespread acceptance of this approach, it would seem, represented a new consensus in thinking about development, which came to be known as the Washington Consensus. Although there was considerable dissent, this remained the dominant view, in part because it was propagated by the IMF and the World Bank, which exercised enormous influence on economies in crisis. However, this belief system was somewhat shaken by the financial crisis in Asia, and the Washington Consensus has also lost some of its lustre as the development experience during the 1990s has belied expectations. Its prescriptions are now subjected to question.⁵ And the questions have not come from its critics alone.6

In spite of the paradigm shift from the development consensus of the 1950s to the Washington Consensus of the 1990s, the degree of openness vis-a-vis the world economy and the degree of intervention by the state in the market have remained the critical issues in the debate on development. The past fifty years have of course witnessed a complete swing of the pendulum in thinking about these issues. But the complexity of reality is not captured by either consensus. The reality, however, is clear. The exclusion of countries and of people from development has become much less acceptable with the passage of time. The proposition that economic growth, or economic efficiency, will ultimately improve the lot of the people is, obviously, far less credible 50 years later.

2. Contours of globalization

Globalization means different things to different people, and the word 'globalization' is used in two ways, which is itself a source of some confusion. It is used in a *positive* sense to *describe* a process of increasing integration into the world economy. It is used in a *normative* sense to *prescribe* a strategy of development based on a rapid integration with the world economy: some see this as salvation, while others see it as damnation.

Even its characterization, however, is by no means uniform. Globalization can be described, simply, as the expansion of economic activities across national boundaries. In this elementary sense, the world economy has experienced a progressive international economic integration since 1950. However, there has been a marked acceleration in this process of globalization during the last quarter of the twentieth century. There are three economic manifestations of this phenomenon - international trade, international investment and international finance - which also constitute its cutting edge. But there is much more to globalization than this. The term refers to the expansion of economic transactions and the organization of economic activities across political boundaries of nation states. More precisely, it can be defined as a process associated with increasing economic openness, growing economic interdependence and deepening economic integration in the world economy.

Economic openness is not simply confined to trade flows, investment flows and financial flows. It also extends to flows of services, technology, information and ideas across national boundaries. But the cross-border movement of people is closely regulated and highly restricted. Economic interdependence is asymmetrical. There is a high degree of interdependence among countries in the industrialized world, but considerable dependence of developing countries on the industrialized countries, and much less interdependence among countries in the developing world. It is important to note that a situation of interdependence is one where the benefits of linking and costs of delinking are about the same for both partners; where such benefits and costs are unequal between partners, a situation of dependence is implied. Economic integration straddles national boundaries as liberalization has diluted the significance of borders in economic transactions. Globalization is, in part, an integration of markets (for goods, services, technology, financial assets and even money) on the demand side, and, in part, an integration of production (horizontal and vertical) on the supply side.

The gathering momentum of globalization has brought about profound changes in the world economy. It is worth highlighting the characteristics of these changes.⁷ An increasing proportion of world output is entering into world trade, while an increasing proportion of world trade is made up of intra-firm trade. Between the early 1970s and the late 1990s, the share of world exports in world GDP rose from 1 /8 to almost 1/5.⁸ The share of intra-firm trade in world trade, which was 1/5 in the early 1970s, rose to 1/3 in the early 1990s.⁹ The significance of international investment flows also registered a rapid increase. Between 1980 and 1996, the stock of direct foreign investment in the world as a proportion of world output rose from less than 5% to more than 10%, while world direct foreign investment flows as a proportion of world gross fixed capital formation rose from 2% to almost 6%.¹⁰

The growth in international finance has been explosive, so much so that, in terms of magnitudes, trade and investment are now dwarfed by finance. The expansion of international banking is phenomenal, while the international market for financial assets has experienced a similar growth. There is a growing international market for government bonds; the size of international foreign exchange markets is staggering. Global foreign exchange transactions have soared from \$60 billion per day in 1983 to \$1500 billion per day in 1997. By comparison, in 1997, world GDP was \$82 billion per day and world exports were \$16 billion per day, while the foreign exchange reserves of all central banks put together were \$1550 billion.

3. Origins and foundations

The origins of globalization need to be analysed in terms of the economic factors underlying the process, the political circumstances that have enabled it to gather momentum and the intellectual rationale that is now almost prescriptive. We will consider each of these issues in turn.

The economic factors which have made globalization possible are: the dismantling of barriers to international economic transactions; the development of enabling technologies; and emerging forms of industrial organization. Globalization has followed the sequence of deregulation in the world economy. Trade liberalization came first, which led to an unprecedented expansion of international trade between 1950 and 1970. The liberalization of regimes for foreign investment came next, while a surge in international investment began in the late 1960s. Financial liberalization came last, starting in the early 1980s. This had two dimensions: the deregulation of the domestic financial sector in the industrialized countries and the introduction of convertibility on capital account in the balance of payments. These did not occur simultaneously. The United States, Canada, Germany and Switzerland removed restrictions on capital movements in 1973, while Britain and Japan did so in 1979 and 1980 respectively, and France and Italy made the transition as late as 1990. The globalization of finance, which has happened at a scorching pace since the mid-1980s, is not unrelated to the dismantling of regulations and controls.

The technological revolution in transport and communications has been a crucial factor in globalization. The second half of the twentieth century has witnessed the advent of jet aircraft, computers and satellites. The synthesis of communications technology, which is concerned with the transmission of information, and computer technology which is concerned with the processing of information, has created information technology that is remarkable in both scope and speed. These technological developments have had a dramatic

impact on reducing geographical barriers. The time needed is a tiny fraction of what it was earlier, while cost incurred has been sharply reduced.

New forms of industrial organization have played a role in making globalization possible. The emerging flexible production system, shaped by the nature of technical progress, the changing output mix and the organizational characteristics (based on Japanese management systems) is forcing firms to constantly choose between trade and investment in their drive to expand activities across borders. The declining share of wages in production costs, the increasing importance of proximity between producers and consumers and the growing externalization of services are exercising a strong influence on the strategies and behaviour of firms in the process of globalization.

The politics of hegemony or dominance is conducive to the economics of globalization. The process of globalization, beginning in the early 1970s, has coincided with the political dominance of the United States as superpower. This political dominance has grown stronger with the collapse of communism and the triumph of capitalism, while political circumstances have transformed the concept of globalization into a Virtual ideology⁵ for our times. Dominance in the realm of politics is associated with an important attribute in the sphere of economics. For globalization requires a dominant economic power with a national currency which is accepted as the equivalent of international money: as a unit of account, a medium of exchange and a store of value. This role is being performed by the US dollar.

Economic theorizing often follows in the footsteps of political reality. It should come as no surprise, then, that recent years have witnessed the formulation of an intellectual rationale for globalization that is almost prescriptive. Globalization is perceived as a means of ensuring not only efficiency and equity but also growth and development in the world economy, and the analytical foundations of this world view are provided by the neoliberal model. Orthodox neoclassical economics suggests that intervention in markets is inefficient, while neoliberal political economy argues that governments are incapable of intervening efficiently. The essence of the neoliberal model, then, can be stated as follows. First, the government should be rolled back wherever possible so that it approximates to the ideal of a minimalist state. Second, the market is not only a substitute for the state but also the preferred alternative because it performs better. Third, resource allocation and resource utilization must be based on market prices which should conform as closely as possible to international prices. Fourth, national political objectives, domestic economic concerns or even national boundaries should not act as constraints. In conformity with this world view, governments everywhere, particularly in the developing countries and the former communist countries, are being urged or pushed into a comprehensive agenda of privatization (to minimize the role of

the state) and liberalization (of trade flows, capital flows and financial flows). It is suggested that such policy regimes would provide the foundations for a global economic system characterized by free trade, unrestricted capital mobility, open markets and harmonized institutions. The ideologues believe that such globalization promises economic prosperity for countries that join the system and economic deprivation for countries that do not. ¹⁴ It needs to be stressed that this intertwined normative and prescriptive view of globalization is driven in part by ideology and in part by hope. It is not borne out by experience.

4. Historical parallel

There is a common assumption that the present set of circumstances, with globalization changing the character of the world economy, is altogether new and represents a fundamental departure from the past. However, such an assumption is incorrect: globalization is in fact nothing new. There was a similar phase of globalization which began a century earlier, around 1870, and gathered momentum until 1914, when it came to an abrupt end. The period from 1870 to 1914 was also the age of *laissez-faire*. Government intervention in economic activity was minimal and the movement of goods, capital and labour across national boundaries was almost unhindered. It was believed that the virtuous circle of rapid economic growth and the process of international economic integration in this era were closely related.

In many ways, the world economy in the late twentieth and early 21st centuries resembles the world economy in the late nineteenth century. 15 The parallels between the two periods are striking. The integration of the world economy through international trade at the turn of the nineteenth century was about the same as it was towards the end of the twentieth. For 16 major industrialized countries, now in the OECD, the share of exports in GDP rose from 18.2% in 1900 to 21.2% in 1913, even though tariffs were then much higher. 16 The story was about the same for international investment. In 1913, the stock of direct foreign investment in the world economy was 9% of world output.¹⁷ At constant prices, total foreign investment in the world economy in 1914 was 4/5 of what it was in 1980. What is more, the stock of foreign investment in developing countries was probably equal to about 1/4 their GDP at the turn of the century, and at constant prices, in 1914, this stock was almost double what it was in 1980. 19 The integration of markets for international finance was also comparable. The cross-national ownership of securities, including government bonds, reached very high levels.²⁰ International bank lending was substantial and, in relative terms, net international capital flows were much bigger than they are now. The only missing dimension was

international transactions in foreign exchange (given the regime of fixed exchange rates under the gold standard).

There are striking similarities in the underlying factors which made globalization possible then and now.²¹ There were almost no restrictions on the movement of goods, capital and labour across national boundaries, so that there was no need to dismantle barriers or liberalize regimes for international economic transactions. The advent of the steamship, the railway and the telegraph brought about a revolution in transport and communications.²² This led to an enormous reduction in the time needed, and the cost incurred, in traversing geographical distances. Emerging forms of industrial organization performed a critical role. In the late nineteenth century, the advent of mass production was characterized by a rigid compartmentalization of functions and a high degree of mechanization. Mass production realized economies of scale and led to huge cost reductions compared with craft manufacturing.²³ Apart from dominance in the realm of politics, Pax Britannica provided a reserve currency, the pound sterling, which was the equivalent of international money. For this was 'the age of empire' when Britain more or less ruled the world.²⁴

There are also important differences between the two phases of globalization. I would like to highlight four such differences: in trade flows, in investment flows, in financial flows and most important, perhaps, in labour flows, across national boundaries.

There are differences in the composition of trade and in the channels of trade. During the period from 1870 to 1913, an overwhelming proportion of international trade was constituted by inter-sectoral trade, where primary commodities were exchanged for manufactured goods. The trade was to a significant extent based on absolute advantage derived from natural resources or climatic conditions. Although trade flows were in the domain of large international firms, it was not intra-firm trade.

Differences also exist in the geographical destination and the sectoral distribution of investment flows. In 1914, the stock of long-term foreign investment in the world economy was distributed as follows: 55% in the industrialized world (30% in Europe, 25% in the United States) and 45% in the underdeveloped world (20% in Latin America and 25% in Asia and Africa). It is clear that developing countries are now far less central to the process.²⁵

In 1913, the primary sector accounted for 55% of long-term foreign investment in the world, while transport, trade and distribution accounted for another 30%; the manufacturing sector accounted for only 10% and much of this was concentrated in North America or Europe. The primary sector is now far less significant, while the manufacturing sector is much more important. In financial flows, there are substantial differences in the destination, the

object, the intermediaries and the instruments. In the last quarter of the nine-teenth century, capital flows were a means of transferring investible resources to underdeveloped countries or newly-industrialized countries with the most attractive growth opportunities. The object was to find avenues for long-term investments in search of profits. Banks were the only intermediaries between lenders and borrowers in the form of bonds with very long maturities. Securitization of long-term bonds with sovereign guarantees was provided by the imperial powers or the governments in the borrowing countries.

But there is a fundamental difference between the two phases of globalization. It is in the sphere of labour flows. In the late nineteenth century, there were no restrictions on the mobility of people across national boundaries. Passports were seldom needed, and immigrants were granted citizenship with ease. Between 1870 and 1914, international labour migration was enormous. During this period, about 50 million people left Europe, of whom 2/3 went to the United States while the remaining 1/3 went to Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Argentina and Brazil.²⁷ This mass emigration from Europe amounted to 1/8 of its population in 1900. But that was not all: beginning somewhat earlier, following the abolition of slavery in the British empire, about 50 million people left India and China to work as indentured labour on mines, plantations and construction in Latin America, the Caribbean, Southern Africa, South East Asia and other distant lands.²⁸ The destinations were mostly British, Dutch, French and German colonies. In the second half of the twentieth century, there was a limited amount of international labour migration from the developing countries to the industrialized world during the period 1950-1970. Since then, however, international migration has been reduced to a trickle because of draconian immigration laws and restrictive consular practices. The present phase of globalization has found substitutes for labour mobility in the form of trade and investment flows. For one, industrialized countries now import manufactured goods that embody scarce labour. For another, industrialized countries export capital which employs scarce labour abroad to provide such goods.

5. Uneven development

The ideologues believe that globalization led to rapid industrialization and economic convergence in the world economy during the late nineteenth century. In their view, the promise of the emerging global capitalist system was wasted for more than half a century, first by three decades of conflict and autarchy that followed World War I and subsequently, for another three decades, by the socialist path and a statist world view. The return of globalization in the late twentieth century is thus seen as the road to salvation. The

conclusion drawn is that globalization now — as much as then — promises economic prosperity for countries that join the system and economic deprivation for countries that do not.²⁹ For those who recall the development experience in the late nineteenth century, it should be obvious that the process of globalization will not reproduce or replicate the United States everywhere, just as it did not reproduce Britain everywhere a century earlier. This historical example reveals how globalization was already associated with uneven development, and is bound to produce uneven development now, not only between countries but also within countries.

The economic consequences of globalization in the late nineteenth century were, to say the least, asymmetrical. In this era, most of the gains from international economic integration accrued to the imperial countries which exported capital and imported commodities. There were a few countries like the United States and Canada - new lands with temperate climates and white settlers - which also derived some benefits. In these countries, the preconditions for industrialization were already being created; this process was strengthened by international economic integration, and was reinforced by direct foreign investment in manufacturing activities stimulated by rising tariff barriers, combined with technological and managerial flows. The outcome industrialization and development - did not happen everywhere. Development was uneven in the industrial world, and much of southern and eastern Europe lagged behind. This meant divergence rather than convergence in terms of industrialization and growth.³⁰ There was, in fact, an increase in economic inequalities between countries and within countries. The income gap between the richest and the poorest countries, for instance, which was just 3:1 in 1820, more than doubled to 7:1 in 1870 and increased further to 11:1 in 1913.³¹ Countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, particularly the colonized, which were also a part of this process of globalization, were even less fortunate. Indeed, during the same period of rapid international economic integration, some of the most open economies in this phase of globalization -India, China and Indonesia - experienced deindustrialization and underdevelopment. We need to remind ourselves that, in the period from 1870 to 1914, these three countries practised free trade as much as the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, where average tariff levels were close to negligible (3-5%); by contrast, tariff levels in Germany, Japan and France were significantly higher (12-14%), and tariff levels in the United States were very much higher (33%).³² What is more, these three countries were also among the largest recipients of foreign investment.³³ But their globalization did not lead to development. The outcome was similar elsewhere: in Asia, Africa and Latin America. So much so, that between 1860 and 1913 the share of developing countries in world manufacturing output declined from over 1/3 to

under 1/10.³⁴ In these economies, export-oriented production in mines, plantations and cash-crop agriculture created enclaves which were integrated with the world economy in a vertical division of labour. But there were almost no backward linkages. Productivity levels outside the export enclaves stagnated at low levels. They simply created dualistic economic structures where the benefits of globalization accrued mostly to the outside world and in small part to the local elites.

The growing inequalities between and within countries, particularly in the industrial world, were perhaps a significant factor underlying the retreat from globalization after 1914. The following passage, written by John Maynard Keynes in 1919, vividly highlights the benefits of globalization for some people and some countries, but also recognizes how economic and political conflicts associated with the process stopped what had seemed irreversible at the time.

What an extraordinary episode in the economic progress of man that age was which came to an end in August 1914. The greater part of the population, it is true, worked hard and lived at a low standard of comfort, yet were, to all appearances, reasonably contented with this lot. But escape was possible, for any man of capacity or character at all exceeding the average, into the middle and upper classes, for whom life offered, at a low cost and with the least trouble, conveniences, comforts, and amenities beyond the compass of the richest and most powerful monarchs of other ages. The inhabitant of London could order by telephone, sipping his morning tea in bed, the various products of the whole earth, in such quantity as he may see fit and reasonably expect their early delivery upon his doorstep; he could at the same moment and by the same means adventure his wealth in the natural resources and new enterprises of any quarter of the world, and share, without exertion or trouble, in their prospective fruits and advantages; or he could decide to couple the security of his fortunes with the good faith of the townspeople of any substantial municipality in any continent that fancy or information might recommend. He could secure forthwith, if he wished it, cheap and comfortable means of transit to any country or climate without any passport or other formality, could despatch his servants to the neighbouring office of a bank for such supply of the precious metals as might seem convenient, and could then proceed to foreign quarters, without knowledge of their religion, language or customs, bearing coined wealth upon his person, and could consider himself greatly aggrieved and much surprised at least interference. But most important of all, he regarded this state of affairs as normal, certain, and permanent, except in the direction of

further improvement, and any deviation from it as aberrant, scandalous and avoidable. The projects and politics of militarism and imperialism, of racial and cultural rivalries, of monopolies, restrictions and exclusions, which were to play the serpent to this paradise, were little more than amusement of his daily newspaper, and appeared to exercise almost no influence at all on the ordinary course of social and economic life, the internationalization of which was nearly complete in practice³⁵

The process of globalization has led to uneven development, now as much as then. The reality that has unfolded so far clearly belies the expectations of the ideologues.

6. Globalization, development and exclusion

The development experience of the world economy from the early 1970s to the late 1990s, which could be termed the 'age of globalization', provides cause for concern, particularly when it is compared with the period from the late 1940s to the early 1970s, which has been described as the golden age of capitalism. Any such periodization is obviously arbitrary, but it serves an analytical purpose.³⁶

Available evidence suggests that the past 25 years have witnessed a divergence, rather than convergence, in levels of income between countries and between people. Economic inequalities have increased during the last quarter century as the income gap between rich and poor countries, between the rich and the poor within countries, as well as between the rich and the poor in the world's population, has widened,³⁷ and income distribution has worsened.³⁸ The incidence of poverty increased in most countries of Latin America and Sub Saharan Africa during the 1980s and in much of Eastern Europe during the 1990s, Many countries in East Asia, South East Asia and South Asia, which experienced a steady decline in the incidence of poverty, constitute the exception. However, the recent financial meltdown and economic crisis in South East Asia has led to a marked deterioration in the situation. In the developing countries, employment creation in the organized sector continues to lag behind the growth in the labour force, so that an increasing proportion of workers are dependent upon low productivity and casual employment in the informal sector. Unemployment in the industrialized countries has increased substantially since the early 1970s and remained at high levels since then, except in the United States, while there has been almost no increase in the real wages of a significant proportion of the workforce in many industrialized countries. Inequality in terms of wages and incomes has registered an increase almost everywhere in the world. Over the same period, the rate of

growth in the world economy has also registered a discernible slowdown. And the slower growth has been combined with greater instability. It would seem that, in some important respects, the world economy fared better in the golden age than it has done in the age of globalization.

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It is obviously not possible to attribute cause-and-effect simply to the coincidence in time. But it is possible to think of mechanisms through which globalization may have accentuated inequalities. Trade liberalization has led to a growing wage inequality between skilled and unskilled workers not only in industrialized countries but also in developing countries.³⁹ As a consequence of privatization and deregulation, capital has gained at the expense of labour almost everywhere, for profit shares have risen while wage shares have fallen. 40 Structural reforms, which have cut tax rates and brought flexibility to labour markets, have reinforced this trend. The mobility of capital combined with the immobility of labour has changed the nature of the employment relationship and has reduced the bargaining power of trade unions. The object of managing inflation has been transformed into a near-obsession by the sensitivity of international financial markets, so that governments have been forced to adopt deflationary macroeconomic policies that have squeezed both growth and employment. The excess supply of labour has repressed real wages. Financial liberalization, which has meant a rapid expansion of public as well as private debt, has been associated with the emergence of a new rentier class, and the inevitable concentration in the ownership of financial assets has probably contributed to a worsening of income distribution. 41 Global competition has driven large international firms to consolidate market power through mergers and acquisitions, a process which has made market structures more oligopolistic than competitive. The competition for export markets and foreign investment between countries has intensified in what is termed ca race to the bottom', leading to an unequal distribution of gains from trade and investment.

Globalization has indeed created opportunities for some people and some countries that could not have been considered three decades ago. But it has also introduced new risks, if not threats, for many others. It has been associated with a deepening of poverty and an accentuation of inequalities. The distribution of benefits and costs is unequal. There are some winners: more in the industrialized world than in the developing world. There are many losers: numerous both in the industrialized world and in the developing world. It is perhaps necessary to identify, in broad categories, the winners and the

The winners are asset-owners, profit-earners, rentiers, the educated, the mobile and those with professional, managerial or technical skills, whereas asset-less, wage-earners, debtors, the uneducated, the immobile and the semiskilled or unskilled are the losers. If we think of firms, large, international, global, risk-takers and technology-leaders are the winners, whereas small, domestic, local, risk-averse and technology-followers are the losers. If we think of economies, capital-exporters, technology-exporters, net lenders, those with a strong physical and human infrastructure, and those endowed with structural flexibilities are the winners, whereas capital-importers, technologyimporters, net borrowers, those with a weak physical and human infrastructure, and those characterized by structural rigidities are the losers. It should be said that this classification is suggestive rather than definitive, for it paints a broad-brush picture of a more nuanced situation. But it does convey the simultaneous, yet asymmetrical, inclusion and exclusion that characterizes the process of globalization. It is not surprising, then, that the spread of globalization is uneven and limited both among people and across countries. 43

Joan Robinson once said: 'There is only one thing that is worse than being exploited by capitalists. And that is not being exploited by capitalists.' Much the same can be said about markets and globalization, which may not ensure prosperity for everyone but may in fact exclude a significant proportion of people. Markets exclude people as consumers or buyers if they do not have any incomes, or sufficient incomes, which can be translated into purchasing power. Such people are excluded from the consumption of goods and services which are sold in the market. This exclusion is attributable to a lack of entitlements. 44 Markets also exclude people as producers or sellers if they have neither assets nor capabilities; people experience such exclusion if they do not have assets, physical or financial, which can be used (or sold) to yield an income in the form of rent, interest or profits. Even those without assets, however, people can enter the market as sellers, using their labour, if they have some capabilities. Such capabilities that are acquired through education, training or experience are different from natural abilities which are endowed. But the distribution of capabilities may be just as unequal, if not more so. It is these capabilities which can, in turn, yield an income in the form of wages. Hence, people without capabilities, the poor, who cannot find employment, are excluded. In fact even people with capabilities may be excluded from employment if there is no demand for their capabilities in the (labour) market. In the ultimate analysis, such capabilities are defined by the market: that is the problem.

Globalization has introduced a new dimension to the exclusion of people from development. Exclusion is no longer simply about the inability to satisfy basic human needs in terms of food, clothing, shelter, health care and education for large numbers of people. It is much more complicated. For, coupled with globalization, the consumption patterns and lifestyles of the rich have increasingly powerful demonstration effects. People everywhere, even the

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poor and the excluded, are exposed to these ever-expanding frontiers of consumer choice because the electronic media has spread the consumerist message far and wide. This creates both expectations and aspirations. But the simple fact of life is that those who do not have the incomes cannot buy goods and services in the market. When the paradise of consumerism is unattainable, which is the case for common people, frustration or alienation is often created. The reaction of people who experience such exclusion differs. Some seek short cuts to the consumerist paradise through drugs, crime or violence. Some seek refuge in ethnic identities, cultural chauvinism or religious fundamentalism. 45 Such assertion of traditional or indigenous values is often the only thing that poor people can assert, for these values contribute identity and meaning to their lives. Outcomes do not always take these extreme forms, although globalization inevitably tends to erode social stability. 46 Thus, economic integration with the world outside may accentuate social tensions or provoke social fragmentation within countries.

7. The state and development in the context of globalization

At the start of the 21st century, the facts of life in the world economy are clear. The name of the game is globalization, and no country wishes to be excluded from it: even large countries cannot afford to opt out. The choice, then, is between a market-driven, passive, insertion into the world economy and a selective, strategic, integration into the world economy. The sensible choice would be to opt for the latter. But is it possible to contemplate correctives that would make this market-driven process more people-friendly so that the outcome is globalization with a human face? The object of such a design should., be to provide more countries with opportunities to improve their development prospects and more people within these countries with opportunities to improve their living conditions.

Globalization has reduced the autonomy of the nation state in matters economic, if not political, but there remain degrees of freedom which must be exploited in the pursuit of development. The ideology of globalization seeks to harmonize not only policy regimes but also institutions, including the economic role of the state, across the world. This is a mistake, because the role of the state in an economy depends on both level of income and stage of development. The object of any sensible strategy of development in a world of liberalization and globalization should be to create economic space for the pursuit of national interests and development objectives. In this task, there is a strategic role for the nation state, not only in the sphere of domestic economic policies but also in the arena of economic and political interaction with the outside world.47

Consider the national context. First, in countries that are latecomers to industrialization, the state must create the conditions for the development of industrial capitalism. In the earlier stages of industrialization, this means creating a physical infrastructure through government investment, investing in the development of human resources through education and catalysing institutional change, say, through agrarian reform. In the later stages of industrialization, this means using strategic industrial policy for the development of technological and managerial capabilities at a micro level, establishing institutions that would facilitate, regulate and govern the functioning of markets, and evolving strategic interventions interlinked across activities to guide the market in the pursuit of long-term development objectives. It must be emphasized that the benefits of integration with the world economy would accrue only to those countries which have laid these requisite foundations. Indeed, creating the preconditions and using strategic intervention are essential for internalizing (maximizing) the benefits and externalizing (minimizing) the costs of globalization.

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Second, in the search for foreign investment, the state must resist the temptation to provide incentives and concessions. Indeed, wherever possible, the state must bargain with large international firms. Such an approach would not only improve the distribution of gains from economic transactions with transnational firms but also ensure that their activities are conducive to development. The reason for this is simple. Transnational corporations are in the business of profit while governments are in the business of development. For large countries, this means strategic negotiations in the sphere of trade and investment. For small countries, this means a conscious decision to opt out of 'a race to the bottom'. But this can only be done by governments and not by individuals or firms.

Third, the state must ensure a prudent macro management of the economy, particularly in the sphere of government finance, for two reasons. First, it saves governments from being forced into stabilization and adjustment programmes that come with high conditionality which, in turn, reduces degrees of freedom in the pursuit of development objectives. For another, it reduces the vulnerability and problems associated with rapid integration into international financial markets through portfolio investment or capital account convertibility. The bottom line is that such prudence can enable a country to avoid some of the costs of integration through globalization and, at the same time, to obtain some of the benefits by retaining the freedom to create the necessary conditions.

Consider the international context. In a world of unequal partners, it is not surprising that the rules of the game are asymmetrical in terms of construct and inequitable in terms of outcome. The strong have the power to make, and

the authority to implement the rules. Conversely, the weak can neither set nor invoke the rules. The problem, however, takes different forms: there are different rules in different spheres, there are rules for some and not for others, and the agenda for new rules is partisan.

The existing (and prospective) rules of the WTO regime allow few exceptions and provide little flexibility to countries that are latecomers to industrialization. In comparison, there was more room for manoeuvre in the erstwhile GATT, inter alia, because of special and differential treatment for developing countries. The new regime is much stricter in terms of law and its implementation. The rules on trade in the new regime will make the selective protection or strategic promotion of domestic firms vis-a-vis foreign competition much more difficult. The tight system for the protection of intellectual property rights might pre-empt or stifle the development of domestic technological capabilities. The possible multilateral agreement on investment, when it materializes, will almost certainly reduce the possibilities of strategic bargaining with transnational firms. Similarly, commitments on structural reform, an integral part of stabilization and adjustment programmes with the IMF and the World Bank, inevitably prescribe industrial deregulation, privatization, trade liberalization and financial deregulation. Taken together, such rules and conditions are bound to curb the use of industrial policy, technology policy, trade policy and financial policy as strategic forms of intervention to foster industrialization. It must be recognized that such state intervention was crucial for development in the success stories among late industrializers during the second half of the twentieth century.⁴⁸

In the changed international context, nation states in the developing world must endeavour to influence the rules of the game so that the outcome is more 'equitable. It need hardly be said that the nature of the solution depends upon the nature of the problem. Where there are different rules in different contexts, it is necessary to make such rules consistent. Where there are rules for some but not for others, it is necessary to ensure that the rules are uniformly applicable to all. Where the agenda for new rules is partisan, it is imperative to redress the balance in the agenda. However, fair rules are necessary but not sufficient. For a game is not simply about rules; it is also about players. And, if one of the teams or one of the players does not have adequate training and preparation it would simply be crushed by the other. In other words, the rules must be such that newcomers or latecomers to the game - for example, developing countries - are provided with the time and the space to learn so that they are competitive players rather than pushover opponents.

There is a clear need for greater consistency in the rules of the multilateral trading system embodied by the WTO. If developing countries provide access to their markets, this access should be matched with some corresponding

access to technology. If there is almost complete freedom for capital mobility, the draconian restrictions on labour mobility should at least be reduced. Similarly, the rules of the multilateral financial institutions, implicit in the conditionalities of the IMF and the World Bank, applicable only to deficit countries or to borrowing countries, should be reshaped so that the standardized and inflexible package of policies is not imposed on countries irrespective of time and space, particularly where some elements of this package are not consistent with national development objectives in the long term.

It needs to be said that governing globalization is just as important as reducing asymmetries in its rules. The momentum of globalization is such that the power of national governments is being reduced through incursions into hitherto sovereign economic and political space, without a corresponding increase in effective international cooperation or supra-national government which could regulate this market-driven process. Global governance, however, is not so much about world government as it is about institutions and practices combined with rules that facilitate cooperation among sovereign nation states⁴⁹.

Notes

- 1 See, for example, Baster 1972, Seers 1972 and Morris 1979. In recent years, this view has been put forward strongly by the UNDP in its *Human Development Reports*.
- 2 Gf. UNDP 1999, p. 25.
- 3 The evidence in this paragraph is from UNDP 1999.
- 4 For an analysis of contending views on openness and intervention, see Nayyar 1997.
- 5 See, for example, Killick 1984, Cornia et al. 1987, Taylor 1988, Bhaduri 1992, Cooper 1992, Taylor 1993 and Bhaduri and Nayyar 1996.
- 6 SeeStiglitz 1998.
- 7 For a detailed discussion, see Nayyar 1995 and 1997.
- 8 The export-GDP ratios are from UNCTAD, Handbook of International Trade and Development Statistics and UN, Yearbook of National Accounts Statistics, various issues.
- 9 UNCTAD 1994, p. 143.
- 10 UNCTAD 1998, pp. 385, 399.
- 11 For evidence on the growth of international finance, see Nayyar 1995 and 1997. See also UNDP 1999, p. 25.
- 12 Bank for International Settlements, Survey of Foreign Exchange Market Activity, various issues
- 13 The value of world GDP and exports in 1997, reported by the UN, has been converted into an average daily figure for the purpose of comparison. The figure on foreign exchange reserves is from the *IMF Annual Report 1998*.
- 14 See, for example, Sachs and Warner 1995.
- 15 This historical parallel was the theme of my Presidential Address to the Indian Economic Association in December 1995 (Nayyar 1995).
- 16 Cf. Bairoch 1982 and Maddison 1989.
- 17 UNCTAD 1994, p. 130.

18 At 1980 prices, total foreign investment in 1914 was \$347 billion (Maddison 1989).
The actual stock of direct foreign investment in 1980 was \$448 billion (UNCTAD 1994).

19 SeeNayyar 1997.

- 20 In 1913, foreign securities constituted 59% of all securities traded in London. Similarly, in 1908, the corresponding proportion was 53% in Paris. See Morgenstern 1959.
- 21 For a discussion of these underlying factors, see Nayyar 1995.
- 22 For example, the substitution of steam for sails, and of iron for wooden hulls in ships, reduced ocean freight by 2/3 between 1870 and 1900 (Lewis 1977).
- 23 The production of perfectly interchangeable parts, the introduction of the moving assembly line by Ford, and methods of management evolved by Taylor, provided the foundations for this new form of industrial organization. See Oman 1994.
- 24 Cf. Hobsbawm 1987.
- 25 The total foreign investment of \$44 billion was distributed as follows: \$14 billion in Europe, \$10.5 billion in the USA, \$8.5 billion in Latin-America, and \$11 billion in Asia and Africa (UNGTAD, *World Investment Report*, 1994, p. 415).
- 26 See Dunning 1983.
- 27 Cf. Lewis 1978.
- 28 See Tinker 1974 and Lewis 1977.
- 29 The best example is Sachs and Warner 1995.
- 30 See Bairoch and Kozul-Wright 1996.
- 31 Maddison 1995.
- 32 See Maddison 1989 and Bairoch 1982.
- 33 Cf. Maddison 1989.
- 34 Cf. Bairoch 1982.
- 35 Keynes 1919, pp. 9-10.
- 36 The quarter century that followed World War II was a period of unprecedented pros perity, earning the title of the *golden age of capitalism*. See Marglin and Schor 1990 and Maddison 1982. The *age of globalization*, a phrase that has not been used, is suggested by_% the author in order to facilitate comparison.
- 37 For evidence, see UNCTAD 1997, UNDP 1999 and IMF 1997.
- 38 The ratio of the average GNP per capita of the richest quintile of the world's popula tion to that of the poorest quintile rose from 31:1 in 1965 to 60:1 in 1990 (UNCTAD 1997, p. 81) and 74:1 in 1997 (UNDP 1999, p. 3). The ratio of per capita income in the richest country to that in the poorest rose from 35:1 in 1950 to 44:1 in 1973 and 72:1 in 1992 (Maddison 1995 and UNDP 1999).
- 39 See UNCTAD 1997; Wood 1994 and 1997; Stewart 2000.
- 40 Some evidence is reported in UNCTAD 1997. See also Stewart 2000.
- 41 This argument is developed in UNCTAD 1997.
- 42 Cf. Streeten 1996, who draws up a balance sheet of globalization.
- 43 For a discussion, and evidence, on this issue, see Nayvar 2000.
- 44 This term was first used by Sen 1981 in his work on poverty and famines.
- 45 See Streeten 1996, who also cites Benjamin Barber (*Jihad vs Me World*, New York, Random House, 1995) on this issue.
- 46 See Rodrik 1997.
- 47 For a more detailed analysis, see Nayyar 1997 and 2000.
- 48 See Amsden 1989, Wade 1990 and Chang 1996.
- 49 Global governance is analyzed, at some length, in Nayyar 2002.

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