



**The North-South Institute • L'Institut Nord-Sud**

**SOUTHERN WRITING ON REFORM OF THE INTERNATIONAL  
DEVELOPMENT ARCHITECTURE: A REVIEW**

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## Introduction

This paper aims to provide an introduction to southern writing<sup>1</sup> over the last ten years on reform of the international development architecture.<sup>2</sup> It deliberately focuses on material that has not been published in books, and instead draws on a wide range of other sources, including articles published in journals, papers produced by southern research organisations, papers written for workshops or conferences, and press statements released by policy and advocacy organizations.

As an illustration of the breadth of writing that is considered, background work for this review searched over sixty journals, considered material produced by more than forty research institutions, and examined many other electronic sources of information.<sup>3</sup> Despite this range of potential sources, this paper does not constitute a conventional “literature review”, nor a comprehensive representation of southern writing on the international development architecture. Writing on development takes a huge variety of forms, so it is likely that there is important additional material not identified in this review, much of which exists outside the “formal” development discourse that dominates thinking and policy-making in the north.

In addition, space considerations mean that the major focus of this paper is on African writing, with relatively less attention to Asian or Latin American writing. For several reasons, therefore, this paper should be seen as a *starting point* for an even more complete review and analysis of what developing country thinkers, activists, practitioners and others have to say, in written form, on the varied and complex aspects of the architecture. Ideally, this in turn should be further informed by views and ideas that do not appear “on paper” at all, but that exist in the hearts and minds of people in the south who are grappling directly with the everyday realities of the international development architecture, and whose opinions and solutions are too often neglected through a failure to listen and engage.

This paper was guided by two objectives: to identify written material by southern writers on reform of the international development architecture, and to describe the main themes that are addressed. For the latter, three key themes emerged: development financing (in particular ODA/aid), debt and the IFIs. The following section examines writing that addresses each of these themes.

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<sup>1</sup> This review refers to “southern writing”, and to material written by “southern writers”. A fairly broad interpretation of these terms is used. In the main, they include material written by people who are from, and who are still located in countries considered part of the “south”. However this interpretation is not strictly applied, and the review also considers writing by southern writers located in the north, or material written in the south, but which appears in the north (for instance in journals).

<sup>2</sup> The international development architecture is defined, according to DFID, as “the world’s agencies, institutions, and systems for managing the transfer of resources (financial and expertise) to, and development partnerships with, low-income countries (DFID, 2003, “Vision and Options for Change for the International Development Architecture: Discussion Paper”, p (i).

<sup>3</sup> A list of these sources and a bibliography are included in the Annexes to this paper.

## **Theme 1      Development finance**

Southern writing on development finance underlines the basic dilemma faced by poor countries: they need external finance because of poverty, low incomes and inadequate resources for savings and investment. The writing demonstrates that acceptance of this dilemma is clearly reluctant: while external finance provides vital additional resources, it often comes with significant management problems, including unpredictable and volatile flows. At a more profound level, southern writing on these issues is concerned with the problem of long-term aid dependency, the conditionalities attached to official flows, and the effects of these on ownership. In response, there is an emphasis on the potential of domestic resource mobilisation as a means of reducing dependency and reclaiming ownership.

Aryeetey has written extensively on these issues (Aryeetey 2002, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c). He points out (2004b) that discussion of development financing needs are now framed within the MDG discourse and the resources required to achieve them. While external finance has often dominated discussion of Africa's development financing needs, domestic resource mobilisation should receive more attention, in particular in view of Africa's low level of gross domestic savings compared to Southeast Asia and newly industrialized economies. Domestic resource mobilisation, while highly desirable, represents a "hard option" for financing because it requires low-income countries to undertake substantial structural and policy changes if meaningful outcomes are to be achieved. Attracting foreign direct investment and other private capital similarly represent "hard options", whereas in comparison, external financing is a "soft option", because it is unlikely to involve significant change to the economic structures of the developed countries that provide it.

This provides one explanation for why external finance has persisted as a means of financing development, but why enhancing domestic resource mobilisation has proven a seemingly intractable problem in many African countries. Two strategies are suggested for improving domestic resource mobilization: financialisation of household assets and enhancement of micro-finance, through increased linkage to formal institutions (Aryeetey 2004b: 28-34).

Domestic resource mobilisation is also presented as a means of escape from conditionality. Anyamedu (2002) suggests that while "conventional wisdom" dictates that aid and private capital flows constitute the "realistic" sources of development finance in Africa, multilateral and bilateral aid comes with an increasing number of conditionalities that extend both to political as well as to economic arenas. African countries should rely more on their own development initiatives and on models such as NEPAD, should pursue domestic resource mobilisation more urgently, and should consider areas in which collaborative efforts by African states can make a significant difference.

There is a wide range of writing that focuses specifically on problems associated with official development assistance, and on improvements that can be made. This material addresses the respective roles of bilateral and multilateral agencies, the predictability and

volatility of aid flows, transaction costs, the use of pooled funds and budget support, the question of “good policy” and appropriate approaches with “poor performers”, and the cost of external aid. These issues are often addressed through single country-case studies, with findings that are specific to development issues in that country, but that also have wider relevance and applicability.

There is nothing remarkable about the fact that southern writers address these aid-related issues: they are well-known, and have been discussed for many years by donors, developing country governments, researchers and civil society activists. The issues constitute central elements of wider aid effectiveness debates, and appear in important high-level policy statements such as the OECD/DAC “Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness”<sup>4</sup>. What is important, however, is that the southern writing on these issues is overlaid with preoccupations that are similar to those found in the broader material on development finance and domestic resource mobilization. This includes concern regarding aid dependency and the consequences of conditionality, and regarding the need for a system that promotes stronger country ownership.

For instance, in an overview of ODA in Africa, Ali et al suggest that “one proposal for an ideal aid system” would involve breaking the spiral of weak recipient capacity and increasingly intrusive involvement by donors in decision making, and would return authority, control and accountability for spending to the developing country (Ali et al 1999: 524). According to Elbadawi, African countries must commence an “orderly transition” from their current high aid dependence which, under current conditions, may “substantially impair” their export competitiveness and export-oriented development strategies (Elbadawi 1999: 604). Such a transition should consist of a combination of aid and private capital flows, brought about through a mix of improved policy environments, further debt relief beyond the HIPC initiative, and reforms of the aid regime. The latter would involve a move away from “ex ante” policy conditionality to other forms that reinforce ownership, such as “ex poste” conditional lending, and “reciprocal benefits” such as trade and investment partnerships (Elbadawi 1999: 607).

Discussing policy reform, Kasekende et al (1999) find that “ownership of a reform programme is vital to its success”, so that aid should be used to finance rather than “buy” reforms. This is the “major lesson” emerging from an examination of Uganda’s experience with aid, which finds that support for policy reform took up a growing proportion of aid during the period 1987-96, and that investment and real exchange rates were largely driven by official aid flows. However, during the period 1992-96 policy reform continued while aid (as a proportion of GDP) declined, suggesting reform was driven by stronger ownership of the reforms rather than by external aid (Kasekende et al 1999: 617).

Other writing on aid reveals southern views on a wide variety of issues. Although aid is now increasing, its composition and quality remain poor, its volatility undermines economic policies, and it is subject to too much conditionality (Martin et al, 2004). Global funds are viewed with some concern because they target funds to specific sectors

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<sup>4</sup> <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/11/41/34428351.pdf>

or issues, which may undermine ownership. Donors must make greater efforts to pool funds for budget and sector support; to harmonise policies and procedures, and to support government designed and led strategies. In the debate on the link between good policies and aid effectiveness, more attention should be given to the question of what actually constitutes good policy. Calls for good governance and appropriate institutions must recognise the importance of ensuring African leadership (Martin et al, 2004: 3-6).

Regarding the respective roles of multilateral and bilateral funding agencies, greater specialisation by both is urged (Aryeteey 2004). Multilateral funding agencies should focus on supporting the infrastructural base for intra-regional flows of goods and services, and should target a greater proportion of aid on regional projects in electric power and in energy, oil and gas, telecommunications and transport; this will greatly improve the effectiveness of World Bank lending to Africa. Bilateral aid should concentrate on the social sectors. Some African countries could undertake “link agreements”, in which they would enter into “partnerships for development” after increased Development Assistance Committee assistance, with 70% of budgets going to social sectors, and the rest allocated to domestic infrastructure development (Aryeteey 2004: 33-34).

Research on aid allocation and management reflects widely held concerns regarding aid effectiveness and poverty reduction. In Vietnam, aid is distributed disproportionately across regions in relation to the incidence of poverty: donors prefer to allocate aid to urban centres rather than to poorer, more isolated regions. Aid is targeted to institutional structures and the promotion of industrialization at the expense of agriculture and social development; and in general there is an overemphasis on aid that promotes economic growth compared to measures that directly target the poor. Overall, “either poverty reduction is not the primary donor motivation” for aid provision, or there is a serious “failure in aid management” (Le & Winters 2001: 41).

The writing also addresses tied aid, aid volatility, and the question of poor performers. Evidence in Ghana indicates a significant mark up on the cost of tied aid inputs, which translates to a cost to governments, and significantly reduces the concession supposedly included in aid (Osei 2003). Research on aid flows and volatility reinforces the need for donors to provide predictable and stable aid flows. While there may be valid policy reasons for donors to consider aid freezes, there are important developmental consequences. Evidence from Kenya shows that in response to an aid freeze, Treasury undertook stringent fiscal measures, and while there were “statistically insignificant” reductions in recurrent expenditure, development expenditure “drastically” declined (Njeru 2004: 26).

Countries that are “poor performers” should be required to “improve their institutions and policies”, but while this is occurring, donors can still play a role through provision of aid through NGO channels, support for capacity development, and engagement in policy dialogue (Martin et al, 2004: 5). Development cooperation should provide poor performers with incentives for change; accept that risks will be greater in these contexts

than those involved with other partners; and allow for highly flexible approaches (Klingbeibel and Ogbamichael 2004).

## **Theme 2      Debt**

There is a relatively large volume of southern writing on debt. This is partly the result of civil society's extensive work in the area, which often includes the development of sophisticated policy positions on debt issues, and public campaigning in relation to these positions. This, and the more formal writing on debt that is published in journals or produced by research institutes, makes for rich thinking on a wide range of debt issues.

Although many southern civil society organizations have a specific focus on debt issues, neither they nor the written material suggest a "single issue" approach to the subject. Rather they underline that the debt problem in developing countries is a function of complex global interests and power structures, which together affect political and economic relationships between countries in the north and south, including resource flows. Southern debt must therefore be addressed as part of comprehensive responses to development problems, in conjunction with action on other key issues such as trade and aid.

Debt is seen as a serious barrier to development, especially in sub-Saharan Africa. Countries that are obliged to meet debt-servicing requirements do so at the expense of other investments, such as in health, education and infrastructure. There is a strong emphasis on 100 percent debt cancellation, in particular in writing produced by civil society organisations. This writing includes discussion of mechanisms for financing debt relief and cancellation, such as sale or re-valuation of IMF gold (Afrodad [a]). Consistent with the view that debt relief must be part of comprehensive development strategies, it is viewed as a highly effective form of aid, as a potential means of building local capacity and ownership, and as a means of financing achievement of the MDGs (Martin et al 2004: 6).

Many of the arguments for deeper debt relief and debt cancellation are built around criticisms of HIPC. HIPC has failed to provide low-income countries with "a permanent and robust exit" from debt crisis (Afrodad [a]: 1). It allows irresponsible lending by creditors, is based on unrealistic calculations of sustainable debt, involves too many conditions, and has undermined country ownership of PRSPs. Proposals for reform of HIPC emphasize strengthening ownership and reducing conditionality more sharply; and ensuring domestic and private sector debt are included in analyses of debt sustainability. Most important, perhaps, is the recommendation that HIPC should be replaced by a comprehensive framework designed by debtor countries. Developing countries would judge their own long-term debt sustainability, and the framework would include protection against shocks, provide grants rather than loans, and ensure effective debt management (Martin et al 2004: 6-7).

The writing on debt relief and cancellation goes well beyond discussions of HIPC, and also considers a range of other debt-related issues, such as "illegitimate debt" and public

guaranteed debt. Illegitimate debt is addressed in particular by civil society organisations, which argue that it should be viewed differently from other debts and cancelled, with the lenders responsible for their “misconduct” in providing loans (Afrodad [b]).

Debt relief is often seen as a justice issue. Debt is a manifestation of the power imbalance between creditors and debtors, which allows creditors to dominate decision-making processes, and means debtors must struggle for voice and representation (Afrodad [b]: 1). Debt relief schemes such as HIPC have been “designed by donors to safeguard their interests” in the absence of a global governance mechanism to protect the interests of debtor nations and their citizens (Afrodad 2002: 1). In response, there should be a fair and transparent arbitration mechanism that would be independent of the IFIs and other institutions such as the WTO (Afrodad 2002, Social Watch 2005). This could include establishment of an International Arbitration Court to be set up through a Treaty, under the auspices of the UN. This would rule on issues such as odious debt and illegitimate loans, the need for cancellation of bilateral and multilateral debt, disputes on debt mitigation measures, and appropriate criteria for debt relief (Afrodad 2002).

Like the material on development finance, southern writing on debt is also concerned with questions of conditionality and ownership. According to AFRODAD, debt cancellation should not be accompanied by HIPC/PRGF conditionalities because of their effect in undermining autonomy; and debt relief should not be used at negotiating forums (such as at the WTO) to lever concessions from poor countries that they would not otherwise agree to (Afrodad [b] ). PRGF conditionalities are too numerous and overly inflexible. In addition, they come with underlying caveats, and “countries spend too much time trying to please donors by fulfilling these at the expense of engaging in actual poverty reduction activities” (Afrodad [c] : 1).

### **Theme 3      IFI reform**

Southern writing on reform of the international financial institutions includes formal articles by independent observers, commentary and analysis by civil society organisations (in particular in relation to the Asian Development Bank), and an important body of work on governance of the World Bank and IMF, produced through the G24.

In Asia, the written material includes detailed examination of the policies, functions and governance of the Asian Development Bank (ADB). Civil society has taken a leading role in this area and has often been a strident critic. Thus, the ADB has failed to genuinely adopt poverty reduction as an overarching objective, and has instead continued a narrow focus on economic growth (Focus on the Global South 2005: 3). ADB accountability and transparency is assessed in terms of mechanisms and processes for civil society participation and engagement<sup>5</sup>. Focus on the Global South (2005) states there should be a “re-haul” of governance systems and structures at the ADB, so that decision making is more open and broad based, and so that the public, as well as governments, can participate in and influence Bank projects and programmes. An ADB

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<sup>5</sup> As discussed below, this compares with discussions of IMF and World Bank accountability, which generally focus on member country voice and participation.

that is “politically balanced and accountable [and] that is open to new thinking and ideas” could provide an effective counterbalance, or even a total replacement in Asia for the World Bank which “imposes one size fits all policy prescriptions that have proven disastrous to developing countries. Regrettably, the ADB is apparently “institutionally incapable” of becoming such an alternative (Focus, 2005: 10-11). Scrutiny of ADB accountability has also examined its “Inspection Function”, a mechanism established to improve accountability through addressing the concerns of people who may be negatively impacted by projects or operations. Civil society groups continue to question the effectiveness of this mechanism, and the ADB’s genuine commitment to it (Focus, 2005: 85).

Written material on reform of the World Bank and IMF has a particular emphasis on governance issues. This includes consideration of the overall legitimacy of the IMF and World Bank in terms of developing country voice and representation in decision-making, ownership of bank policies and programs, and transparency and accountability. These issues are discussed in the context of the power imbalance that underlies, and determines, how rich and poor nations are able to influence the role and functions of the two institutions.

The G24 addresses these considerations by looking at IMF voting structures and rules, and quota formulas and veto mechanisms, with reference to similar issues for the World Bank. Quotas do not properly reflect the real sizes of economies, the extent to which these economies contribute resources to the IMF, or their standing in global trade and the financial market (Buria 2003b: 7). For the IMF to have legitimacy it must establish appropriate checks and balances, and all members must be able to participate fully in decision-making. This means giving proper consideration to the opinions and interests of developing countries and economies in transition, which its voting structure does not allow (Buria 2003b: 11).

A number of clear governance reform measures are set out, including allowing disenfranchised countries greater voice in policy discussions, reformulating voting power and representation on the Executive Board; and improving the transparency of decision making in the appointment of the Managing Director. Further measures include restructuring the Board to include a “substantial reduction” in the number of votes for Europe with accompanying increased representation for developing countries, and revised quota formulas related to world trade and capital movements. Overall, the reforms would mean that the EU and selected other industrial countries must be prepared to give up some of their power to other members (Buria 2003b 11-17).

Other analysis of the IMF and World Bank suggests the two institutions have diverted from their original mandates, and that in the process they have taken on powers and roles that impact negatively on the development efforts of poor countries, over which the two institutions are able to exert considerable influence (Akyuz 2004). Reform of the IMF would limit its function to “short term, counter cyclical lending for current account purposes”. This means it would have no role in other forms of lending, including capital account financing, and most relevant here, in development finance. This is described as

“radical reform” given the fund’s emphasis on financial bailout operations, and on provision of concessional loans for development (Akyuz 2004: 41). In relation to the World Bank, Akyuz considers whether it should continue to provide concessional loans through IDA, or should move wholly to grant financing. He suggests the IDA window should be completely removed from the Bank, and a “development cooperation endowment” created, located in the UN and managed by a professional secretariat that would be free of the political interference currently practiced by major shareholders. The endowment would provide grants to countries that have hitherto depended on IDA, and would be funded by voluntary contributions from governments and private foundations; and from implementation of innovative forms of development finance (Akyuz 2004: 49-51).

Nahid & Gale discuss gender issues and the IFIs. They call for opportunities to build a “gender-conscious international financial architecture” (Nahid & Gale, 2000: 99). This would include IFI decision-making processes that allow a broader range of developing countries to participate and to be consulted. More women should be recruited into positions of power, and women should be given voice and equal opportunity internally in the IFIs, including in top management positions. Mainstreaming of gender issues within IFIs through use of gender and development approaches (as opposed to a women in development) has been a positive development, but IFIs still need units that concentrate specifically on women and gender issues, and they should provide adequate budgets for gender analysis.

### **Gaps in the writing**

There are several aspects of the development architecture that gain relatively little attention, or that are not addressed at all in the writing identified for this review. There is no mention of the humanitarian system, for instance, even though this is a very significant way in which donors and external institutions intervene in low-income countries. Although there is some discussion of the UN, this does not address the overall UN development system, its implications for low-income countries, or how it can be improved. There is relatively extensive analysis of developing country voice and representation, and of accountability and transparency in relation to the multilateral financial institutions, but no consideration of such issues regarding bilateral agencies. The discussion of ODA does not include technical assistance, despite its poor record and the clear evidence that it undermines aid effectiveness and country ownership. There is relatively limited discussion of emerging aid modalities, such as sector wide approaches and general budgetary support. There is little mention of the role of vertical funds and their implications for low-income countries. Similarly, gender issues are not addressed to any great extent.

### **Observations**

Despite these gaps, the above sections demonstrate that there is nevertheless a wide range of southern writing on different aspects of the international development architecture. This writing has much to say about how the development architecture impacts on low-

income countries, and about how it can be improved, in particular in relation to three important themes of development financing, debt, and IFI reform.

Pervading these themes are four other preoccupations that go beyond specific considerations of the international development architecture, and that address more directly the nature of relations between developed and developing countries. The writing consistently returns to questions of ownership, conditionality and aid dependency, and to the underlying reality of power imbalance between rich and poor nations. The clear emphasis on these issues throws out a challenge to current thinking on reform of the international development architecture. This thinking proposes changes to specific aspects of the architecture, which, if implemented, would almost certainly improve the overall system. But many of the aspects, such as those in relation to development assistance addressed in the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, are of a technical nature. The major preoccupation of the writing examined in this review is with more fundamental issues that require far-reaching solutions and structural change.

### **International versus domestic development architecture?**

This observation should be seen in the context of another important finding of this review. In general, southern writers are not writing specifically about reform of the international development architecture. In fact, the overwhelming majority of development-related writing emanating from the south does not address the international architecture at all. Most writing, for instance, does not concern itself with the conditions under which debt relief should be provided, the transaction costs associated with aid flows, whether project or budgetary support is preferable, or the need for reform of IFI governance structures. Instead, southern writers are concerned with the dilemmas that low income countries *themselves* must address and overcome on a daily basis in order to further their development. Southern writers' interest therefore lies with the implications of national policies and decision-making, with development challenges at the regional, national and local levels, and with the roles of government, other institutions, the private sector, civil society, and other actors at these levels.<sup>6</sup> It is at these levels, which can be termed the “domestic development architecture”, that southern writers consider that change is the most important and urgent. As a result, it is not surprising that the emphasis of southern writing is on reform of the domestic, rather than the international development architecture.

This is not to say that southern writers do not take into account the international and global structures, systems and processes that impact on the domestic architecture. On the contrary, they address national and regional issues quite clearly within the context of broader global and structural factors and policies that affect development. Southern writers are deeply concerned with the impact of the international financial and trading system. When they write about macroeconomic policy, public financial management, exchange rate policy, price control, tax reform, interest rates and stock markets, they do

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<sup>6</sup> Southern writers' interest in the importance of the domestic and regional development architecture is demonstrated by the material on NEPAD. This material is not covered in this review, but there is a sample of references on NEPAD in the bibliography (Annex 1).

so with reference to international finance and markets. Southern writers are also addressing a plethora of other development related issues, such as labor market reform, industry policy, development of the agriculture, transport, energy or telecommunications sectors, regulatory reform, competition policy, the role of the banking sector, and private investment. On trade, writers address, often in great depth, the implications of WTO agreements, and in particular whether and how governments should undertake trade liberalization and trade reform.<sup>7</sup>

It is nevertheless the case that in the writing identified for this review, the emphasis is on analysis of factors within the domestic development architecture, with much less attention to trends in reform of the international development architecture. As suggested above, this is not at all surprising given the pressing need for change within the domestic architecture. It is even less surprising if we accept that it has been northern institutions and commentators that have so far dominated discussions on reform of the international development architecture, with the result that there has been limited space and incentive for southern participation and influence.

## **Conclusion**

As momentum builds for reform of the development architecture, and is taken forward by the countries and institutions that provide development finance, it is increasingly important that this process responds to, and is based on, the views and intellectual capital of those in the south. As indicated earlier, this review represents a starting point for understanding the views of southern writers. It provides insights into important improvements they believe can be made, including in the areas of development financing, debt relief, and IFI reform. It also reveals that southern writers believe that if reform is to genuinely serve the interests of people in the south, it must go beyond “tinkering at the edges”. As well as tackling technical matters associated with the operations of the architecture, it must address change at a fundamental level. This includes change in relation to aid dependency, conditionality, ownership, and the power imbalance between rich and poor countries. This information, in itself, represents a valuable reference point for current discussions on reform of the architecture. A more complete review of southern writing, and in particular one that examines material from Asia and Latin America in greater depth, would allow a more comprehensive representation of southern writing, and would lead to further useful insights.

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<sup>7</sup> There is a very large volume of southern writing on trade. This encompasses the full range of written forms, from academic articles to brief statements that appear on the websites of civil society organizations. For reasons of space, this review does not address this material. It is nevertheless important to acknowledge that for southern writers and thinkers, the fortunes of low-income countries are inextricably linked to their relationship and interaction with the global trading system. This means that any comprehensive discussion of southern writing on the international development architecture must, at some point, include consideration of the material on trade.

## ANNEX 1

### Southern Writing on the International Development Architecture

#### An Initial Bibliography, organized thematically

##### Development Financing (general)

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## ANNEX 2

### List of Journals consulted

#### Africa and Middle East

Africa Development  
Africa Insight  
Africa Quarterly  
Africa Today  
Africa/International African Institute  
African Affairs  
African And Asian Studies  
African Currents  
African Development Review  
African Development Perspectives Yearbook  
African Economic History  
African Journal Of International Affairs  
African Journal Of Political Science  
African Review  
African Security Review  
African Studies  
African Studies Review  
Afrika Zamani  
CODESRIA Bulletin  
Horn Of Africa  
International Journal Of African Historical Studies  
Journal Of African Economies  
Journal Of Contemporary African Studies  
Journal Of Eastern African Research And Development  
Journal Of Modern African Studies  
Journal Of Southern African Studies  
Middle East Technical University Studies in Development  
Northeast African Studies  
Research Review/Institute Of African Studies  
Review Of African Political Economy  
South African Journal Of Economics  
South African Journal Of International Affairs

## **Asia Pacific**

Access Asia Review E-Journal  
Asia Pacific Development Journal (ESCAP)  
Asian Analysis Newsletter  
Asian Development Review (Asian Development Bank)  
Asian Economic Journal  
Asian Economic Papers  
Asian Pacific Economic Literature  
Asian Pacific Economic Papers  
Asian Studies Review  
Asian Survey  
China Information  
Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East  
Contemporary South Asia  
Critical Asian Studies  
Harvard Asia Pacific Review  
IICAS (International Journal Of Contemporary Asian Studies)  
International Journal of Central Asian Studies  
Journal of African and Asian Studies  
Journal of Asian Economics  
Journal of Central Asian Studies  
Journal of South East Asian Studies  
Modern Asian Studies  
NBR Analysis (National Bureau of Asian Research)  
New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies  
Pacific Economic Bulletin  
Pacific Economic Papers  
Pacific Review  
South Asia Graduate Research Journal  
The Bangladesh Development Studies  
The Electronic Journal of ASPAC (Asian Studies on the Pacific Coast)

## **Americas**

Bulletin of Latin American Research  
CEPAL review  
Latin American Perspectives

## **General**

Democracy And Development  
Journal of Environment and Development  
Forum for Development Studies

## ANNEX 3

### List of organisations and institutions searched for written material

#### Africa

African Economic Research Consortium (AERC)  
African Forum and Network on Debt and Development (AFRODAD)  
Botswana Institute for Development Policy Analysis (BIDPA)  
Centre for Policy Analysis - Ghana  
Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA)  
Development Policy Research Unit (University of Cape Town)  
Economic Policy Research Centre (EPRC) - Uganda  
Economic and Social Research Foundation (ESRF) Tanzania  
Institute of Statistical , Social and Economic Research (ISSER) - Ghana  
Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis (KIPPRA) - Kenya  
Macroeconomic and Financial Management Institute of Eastern and Southern Africa (MEFMI)  
National Centre for Economic Management and Administration (NCEMA) - Nigeria  
Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research (NISER)- Nigeria  
South African Trade and Research Network (SATRN) - Botswana  
Southern and Eastern Africa Policy Research Network (SEAPREN)  
The Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit (NEPRU) -  
Trade and Industrial Policy Secretariat (TIPS) - South Africa  
TWN Africa

#### Asia Organisations

Asia Monitor Research Centre  
Asia Pacific Research Network  
Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies  
Cambodia Development Resource Institute  
Central Institute for Economic Management (Vietnam)  
Centre for Budget and Policy Studies (India)  
Centre for Policy Dialogue Bangladesh  
Focus on the Global South  
Institute for Global Justice  
Mongolia Development Research Centre  
South Asia Analysis Group  
Thailand Development Research Institute  
Third World Network Asia

#### Americas

Social Watch (various)  
Centro de Estudios para el Desarrollo Laboral y Agrario