

THIRD WORLD NETWORK – AFRICA
INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNIONS CONFEDERATION – AFRICA

Report of the Consultative Workshop on ‘Employment, Structural Transformation
and Economic Development in Africa’ from 20-22 July, 2015, at Fiesta Royale
Hotel, Accra, GHANA

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Abbreviations

AMV	Africa Mining Vision
ASM	Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining
AU	African Union
BIAT	Boosting Intra-Africa Trade
BIT	Bilateral Investment Treaty
BOP	Balance of Payments
CFTA	Continental Free Trade Area
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
EAC	East African Community
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FTA	Free Trade Area
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IP	Intellectual Property
IS	Import Substitution

ITUC	International Trade Unions Confederation
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MNCs	Multinational Corporations
NEPAD	New Partnership for African Development
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
R&D	Research and Development
ROAPE	Review of African Political Economy
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SDI	Spatial Development Industries
SMEs	Small and Medium-Scale Enterprises
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
ST	Structural Transformation
STEM	Science Technology Engineering and Mathematics
TNCs	Transnational Corporations
TU	Trade Unions
TWN	Third World Network-Africa
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
WTO	World Trade Organization

PART ONE – INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Many African countries started implementing International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank sponsored Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) since the early 1980s to arrest economic decline following the global economic crises of the 1970s. The SAPs were founded on the neo-liberal economic policy prescriptions of the so-called Washington Consensus. Founded on the ideology of the primacy of self-regulating markets, African governments, under the SAP, were forced to implement policies that severely reduced government involvement in the economy and led to heavy reliance on foreign private capital. Among other policies, African governments implemented free-market reforms across all sectors of their economies: monetary policy focused on reducing inflation as much as possible (which in most cases translated single-digit inflation) and liberalizing foreign exchange markets and fiscal policy that sought to achieve balanced budget through drastic reductions in social expenditure and introduction of new taxes and increases

in existing consumption taxes while reducing corporate income taxes. In addition, both product and inputs markets were liberalized through the dissolution of state marketing boards and removal of price controls and subsidies instituted as part of social policy in the post-independence era. International trade was also liberalized with drastic reductions or removal of import and export tariffs and other instruments of trade restrictions that were essential elements of industrial policy in the immediate post-independence era. Financial sector reforms that lead to cessation of state involvement financial markets and some cases, liberalization of the capital account were also implemented.

Three decades of implementation of the SAPs has however failed to either bring structural changes to African economies or address key structural constraints. The SAPs have rather deepened the primary commodity export-dependence that Africa inherited from colonialism and increased vulnerabilities to volatile world primary commodities prices. Moreover, the open trade, investment and financial regimes and policies have had little impact on wealth creation and led to substantial accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few outside the continent. Trade liberalization has exposed indigenous industries to unfair competition from abroad leading to de-industrialization and loss of highly quality manufacturing sector jobs and degradation of domestic productive capacity. Together with extensive retrenchment of public sector workers, this has increased the rate of informalization and joblessness.

In addition, destruction of social safety nets and introduction of user fees for essential social services have culminated in collapse of rural livelihoods, flight from rural desperation into expanding urban squalor and crisis in the provision of health and education services. While a few countries saw temporary economic growth, this was transient and jobless so poverty and inequality have increased.

At the global level, the reform measures that underpinned the SAPs have been blamed for the 2008/2009 global financial and economic crises from which many countries are still recovering. In Africa, the global crises further highlighted the fragility of its economies.

In spite of these failures, neoliberalism still holds sway as the dominant ideology underlying current economic policy in most parts of the world. Ironically, the global crises have given impetus to proponents to reformulate their ideas in the face of obvious contradictions with reality. The World Bank and the IMF continue to wield significant influence on the direction of economic and financial policies around the world but especially among policy makers in Africa.

Indeed, neoliberal policies have rebounded from the crises with even greater power as a tool for multinational profit making and expanded their scope into other areas. For instance, social security funds are being privatized and worker's pension funds have now become a rich and stable source of funding for speculative activity on

financial and currency markets as well as a means for governments to underwrite private sector investment in large infrastructure projects as part of so-called Public-Private Partnerships. At the same time, international capital markets have become a port of call for governments squeezed of legitimate fiscal and other sources of earnings, to raise loans for public expenditure with serious implications for debt sustainability.

Although credible alternative ideology to neoliberalism has always existed, these have suffered from lack of coherence and concreteness in articulation. Moreover, trade union movements that remain the major drive behind these alternatives, have not been adequately mobilized around the concerns and interests of ordinary people (workers, the poor and other important components of domestic constituencies) to challenge to the neo-liberal project.

It is in the light of the above that Third World Network-Africa (TWN-Africa) and the International Trade Unions Confederation – Africa (ITUC-Africa), in collaboration with the Review of African Political Economy (ROAPE), organized a three-day consultative workshop on the theme “Employment, Structural Transformation and Economic Development in Africa” as an initial stage of a multi-phased project to equip the African trade union movement to play a more active role in meeting the challenge of policy alternatives for economic development in Africa.

1.2 Aims and Objectives

The meeting had two aims: 1) to develop a framework for constructing a more concrete alternative economic development policy narrative, building on existing trade union critiques of, and alternative perspectives on, decades of neo-liberal economic policy in Africa and 2) to generate an outline of issues and perspectives which could form the basis of a five-year agenda for policy research and advocacy by ITUC-Africa and the African trade union movement.

The specific objectives of the meeting were:

- Interrogate the specific policy issues implicated in employment creation, structural transformation, and equitable economic development in Africa: what kind of economy? What kind of structure? What kind of jobs and for whom and how do we create and sustain those jobs? How will we be able to distribute what we have? What should come first?
- Set out an outline of issues that need to be deepened for a policy agenda, and possible related research tasks.

- Explore the issues of workers and social mobilization needed to realize this agenda and how to address them.

1.3 Participation

The initial phase meeting, which held in Accra, Ghana from 20th to 22nd July, 2015 was attended by fifty-nine (59) participants from academia, African trade unionists (leaders and intellectuals), representatives of global trade unions movement and from selected countries outside Africa, representatives of the International Labor Organization (ILO), and representatives from civil society allies from Africa and beyond.

1.4 Structure of the meeting

The meeting was divided into ten plenary sessions (excluding the opening and closing sessions) and one group discussion session. The sessions were organized around the following key themes: the case for structural transformation, the African political economy and structural transformation: possible paths and sectoral drivers, policy issues and perspectives in structural transformation and employment creation, **and** politics and struggle in structural transformation and employment creation. For the group discussion sessions, participants were grouped into five along the following issues/thematic areas: 1) industrialization strategy and industrial policy, 2) agrarian policy, 3) macroeconomic, finance and investment policy, 4) employment, livelihoods and social policy, 5) trade unions, workers and political agency. The groups were tasked with coming with specific challenges to structural transformation, policies to address these challenges, and areas of additional research.

1.5 Organization of the report

The rest of this report is organized in three parts. Part II is devoted to the presentations and plenary discussions of the ten plenary sessions of the meeting. Part III present reports of group discussions that will inform the next phase of the project

PART II – PRESENTATIONS AND PLENARY DISCUSSIONS

2.1 DAY ONE: CONTEXT AND THE CASE FOR STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION

2.1.1 Opening session

Welcome Remarks By: Yao Graham and Kwasi Adu-Amankwah

Yao Graham of Third World Network – Africa (TWN-Africa) opened the workshop by welcoming participants. He thanked resource persons for honoring the invitation. He acknowledged the organizers that partnered TWN-Africa to organize the workshop, International Trade Union Confederation – Africa (ITUC-Africa) and the journal, the Review of African Political Economy (ROAPE). He indicated that he was looking forward to fruitful deliberations.

On his part, Kwasi Adu-Amankwah, of the ITUC, in welcoming participants noted the difficult conditions under which Africa has transformed its economies under the current neoliberal agenda. He added that while trade unions (TUs) have in the past strongly voiced their protest against neoliberalism, it was time to go beyond lamentation of the effects of neo-liberal policies to contribute to the policy discussion with the concrete coherent alternative regime for the future. He indicated that ITUC was pleased to collaborate with TWN-Africa and hoped the workshop would strengthen the collaboration among the various groups and individuals for the betterment of the future of the continent.

2.1.2 Session one: The context

Chair: Kwasi Adu Amankwah

Speaker: Jomo Kwame Sundaram: ‘Globalization, Jobless Growth and Poverty in Africa’

Jomo Kwame began his presentation by clarifying what aspects of globalization he would be referring to because globalization means different things to different people. One of the main features of globalization for him has been trade liberalization. For most African countries, trade liberalization has accelerated

export concentration with most depending on two or three commodities (in some cases, only one commodity) for most of their export earnings. Most of Africa's exports are agricultural commodities and mineral resources. Much of this was inherited from colonialism, but in the post-independence era, there has been strong encouragement and coercion from the West and their agencies to focus on specializing in the few commodities for which they supposedly have comparative advantage. Over the last quarter century, Africa's terms of trade have been falling. Minerals have done relatively better, but agricultural commodity prices have seen serious declines. Prices for minerals rose steadily in the half decade before the global financial crisis, but have fallen since then, especially in the last year. Agricultural commodity prices have been falling because of the weak bargaining power of the producers of these commodities. Although prices of manufactured goods have also fallen, relatively speaking, they have not fallen as much as agricultural commodities and minerals. He pointed out that these trends cannot be explained by economic factors alone, as political factors and political economy account have also been important. Producers try to form cartels to gain market power, but big corporations have been more successful in gaining monopoly power to extract rents. Africa's trade patterns have changed in two main ways: 1) Intra-Africa trade has grown, even though it still remains relatively low, and 2) there is more South-South trade, especially with India and China. Such market diversification has been beneficial to producers.

In recent times, there has been a huge increase in the export of minerals due to increases in both prices and quantities. But this has not necessarily translated into improved livelihoods. Some African countries earn little from their mining booms owing to excessive concessions given to foreign mining corporations. In Tanzania, for example, the government has invested heavily in infrastructure to and in mining areas to reduce costs for mining firms while giving them generous tax holidays, thanks to advice from international financial institution.

Very few African countries have benefited greatly from international trade liberalization with the majority worse off. Agricultural trade liberalization has not been good for Africa because of their weak capacities to greatly increase exports. Advanced countries have been subsidizing farmers -- to the tune of 56% of the total value of production in Japan, 33% in the EU and 18% in the USA -- while most African countries do not have the fiscal capacity to do likewise. Although most are supposedly allowable producer -- rather than export -- subsidies, African producers are rarely able to compete with indirectly subsidized exports from such rich OECD countries. In addition, advanced countries provide other allowed subsidies such as heavily subsidized insurance and reinsurance programs to

support their farmers. As a result, Africa has turned from being a net exporter of food in the 1980s to becoming a net importer of food since the 2000s, undermining national food security or what is now called food sovereignty in the process. Trade liberalization has also accelerated de-industrialization in Africa. The share of manufacturing in Africa's GDP has fallen from 22% in the period 1980-1989 to 9% in the period 2000-2006. Meanwhile, African preferential trading arrangements are being eroded by trade liberalization.

He noted that Africa and other developing regions look set to lose further from trade agreements currently being negotiated. For instance, analysis by the World Bank's Kym Anderson shows Africa likely to lose from the so-called Doha "Development" Round being negotiated under the World Trade Organization (WTO).

Another aspect to be concerned about is financial globalization. Financial liberalization and globalization have been characterized by the global elevation of finance over labour. Such privileges have led to deflationary macroeconomic policies that have led to the undermining or elimination of development finance. Contrary to economic orthodoxy, the opening of financial markets has led to capital flows from poor to rich countries rather than the converse, as promised. Net foreign direct investment (FDI) inflows into Africa have been very modest, mostly in mining and plantation activities besides acquisitions of successful local businesses, and more rarely, mergers with them. A growing share of these inflows has been from other developing countries. When all financial flows are taken into account (including debt repayments), Africa's payments now exceed receipts. The debt burden has increased and pledges of additional aid flows from advanced countries remain unfulfilled. With the exception of the United Kingdom, aid flows have otherwise been on the decline. What have really helped Africa are remittances from the increasing numbers of migrant labour. However, this too has dropped with the 2008 financial crisis and its aftermath. In recent times, remittances to some African countries (for example, Somalia) have been blocked by the US, with serious implications for likely famine and starvation if the expected drought gets much worse.

Another key feature of this globalization has been a strong push for the casualization of labour contracts and relations. While such casualization has been a global phenomenon, it has been stronger in Africa. Inequality has increased in most of SSA while a few have become filthy rich, often by filthy means. (During the colonial period, the settler colonies of Southern and East Africa were the most unequal.)

In sum, economic liberalization, involving structural adjustment, trade and financial liberalization, have limited the ability of African governments to undertake sound policies for development. The recent growth in Sub-Saharan Africa (5% or more) was driven by fast growing demand from Asia. However, the world economy seems to now be in a period of secular stagnation. African countries therefore cannot continue to rely on external demand to drive their growth.

Structural transformation is critical for Africa. However, it is important to be clear about what structural transformation should mean for Africa. This is because with the slowdown of the world economy following the global financial crisis, the term structural reform has been widely used to mean rather different things to different people. For the EU, for instance, the notion of structural reform mainly means making labour markets more flexible. This notion views the activities and leaders of labour movements as enemies of reform both within and outside the labour movement.

He concluded his presentation by enumerating the following important issues for consideration over the course of the three-day workshop:

- How to reinstate and improve the African developmental state?
- What role organized labour should play in accelerating African development?
- Appropriate leadership and reform of state-owned enterprises
- Implications of fiscal capacity, policy space and international solidarity

Discussion

The ensuing plenary discussion took up Jomo Kwame's point on the need to clarify and be specific about the Structural Transformation (ST) that Africa needs. It was pointed out that ST has emerged as an oppositional/alternative response to SAPs. Operationally, it requires making fundamental changes to the structure of production in African economies on Africa's terms, rather than those conceived abroad by the West and its agencies. The new phrases like "Africa rising", among others, are just fads unlikely to lead to any structural transformation.

A related issue of why import substitution and export promotion have not worked in Africa was also discussed. It was noted that there is no universal strategy that works. Even though there are commonalities, it is important to look at concrete national situations and specificities. At present, there is a lack of critical discourse on this.

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It is important for Trade Unions (TUs) to use their mass mobilization activities to mobilize the new generation of Africa youth to take up the challenge of critical discourse to develop and promote the appropriate paradigm and policies for the continent's transformation.

Clarification was sought on the characteristics of Africa's recent growth. It was noted that there is heterogeneity in the sources of recent growth in Africa. Some countries have relied on intensive extraction of different kinds of natural resources, while others had used new innovations like the M-Pesa in Kenya.

Jomo Kwame used the example of Saudi Arabia's role in the recent fall of crude oil prices to throw more light on the role of politics in international trade patterns. Although, there are different conspiracy theories about why a major exporter like Saudi Arabia would push for a decline in the oil price, it was suggested that the Saudis had reduced the price of oil to maintain their market share.

2.1.3 Session Two: Thirty Years of Neo-Liberal Economic Policy in Africa: Main Features and Impacts

Chair: Prof Pascal Mihyo

The session began with the chair setting the stage for the discussions with some background comments. He indicated that the reforms in the last three decades have turned the continent into shop keepers who buy and sell what others produce. These reforms have not created jobs, but turned African governments into watchmen for the West and delegating their role of governance to Multinational Corporations (MNCs). The session will therefore take stock of what has happened in the last forty years and review how we can become active members of the debate on policy directions in the future.

Speaker 1: Prof Kodjo Evlo: Evolution of Structural Adjustment Policy in Africa

Professor Evlo began his presentation by highlighting the fact that development policies pursued by Africa governments in the last forty years have not been successful because they have been based on imported paradigms that react to specific situations rather than proactively dealing with the specific problems faced by African economies. As a result, African economies have been outpaced by other economies of the world irrespective of the matrix used.

Tracing the history of economic performance on the continent, he indicated that stagnation in post-independence years has led to falling real income, high rates of inflation, large current account deficits, rising debts, unstable exchange rates and falling share in world GDP and world trade. The poor performance was due to insufficient capital accumulation, poor infrastructure, poor governance, poor market systems, unstable global economic environment, policies inspired by Harrod-Domar with emphasis on capital and Presbich-Singer hypothesis of circular decline in exchange rate. The poor performance led many African leaders to turn to the World Bank and the IMF for support. SAPs were the conditions that came with this support.

The SAPs are conceived with the goal of reducing the borrowing country's fiscal imbalances in the short and medium term in order to adjust the economies and attainment of macroeconomic stability that were seen as essential conditions for long-term growth. The thrust of the strategies were market-oriented reforms. Specific policies included liberalization of trade and financial markets, price controls, subsidised credits, allowing exchange rates to float and removal of internal and external balances.

The results of these policies were mixed at best. Generally, they did not boost growth. Indeed, growth slowed in most countries, employment fell and unemployment rose. Furthermore, it hampered the industrialization started by the Import Substitution (IS) industrialization strategies adopted in the immediate post-independence era, and did not deliver on the promised export-led growth.

Concluding on the SAP and policy debate, Prof Evlo said the SAPs have greatly influenced African growth in a negative way. Africa still needs development strategies that work.

Speaker 2: W Baah-Boateng Shifts in Production and Employment under SAP: Ghana as a Case Study

Dr. Baah-Boateng's presentation focused on Ghana as a case study because he was of the view that putting Africa together as a block will overlook peculiarities. Moreover, he thought Ghana is a useful case because it became a darling of the IMF as a model of success of the SAPs.

He began his presentation by stressing that although the general economic conditions at the start of the SAPs were not good, unemployment was as low as 2%.

His presentation looked at both the aggregate shifts as well as the composition of output and employment. Also, the presentation differentiated the short-term effects of the medium to long-term effects of the SAP.

On aggregate, the presentation showed that in the short-term, there was a strong growth performance immediately following the SAPs but this growth was jobless as employment fell. In the long-term, growth slowed while employment recovered marginally.

Before turning to the underlying shifts in production and employment, Dr. Baah-Boateng noted that to understand the actual transformation in the productive structure, it is important to pay attention to manufacturing rather than the broader group of industry since the latter includes sectors like mining whose growth may simply reflect excessive exploitation of natural resources. Also, manufacturing is a source of high level technology and higher quality job.

With this background, the presentation showed that in terms of the sectoral shifts of production, the contribution of the agriculture sector to growth and GDP fell both in the short-term and long-term. Furthermore, the share of manufacturing increased marginally in the short-term, but fell dramatically over the long-term. He attributed this to unfair competition from subsidized manufactures from advanced countries resulting from unbridled trade liberalization.

Turning to the employment, the presentation showed that the patterns mimic that of production and growth. Broadly, most of the shifts in employment are from agriculture and manufacturing to trading. Moreover, the informal sector expanded because the formal private sector could not expand to absorb those retrenched from the public sector. Also, there has been a slight improvement in high-skilled occupation with implications for income inequality.

In terms of wages, he indicated that although real minimum wages have risen, only an increasingly smaller fraction of the labour force has benefited from this because the public sector and formal private sector has shrunk. For the majority of people in the informal sector, average wages have been unstable. Finally, data shows that the incidence of poverty rose sharply in the short-term and recovered in the long-term. However, the depth of poverty has risen.

Speaker 3: Prof. Adebayo Olukoshi: Politics of Structural Adjustment

Prof. Olukoshi stated that there was nothing inevitable about the adjustment. Relating to current crises in Greece, he indicated that the mode of adjustment depends on internal capacities. The 2008/2009 crisis was a manifestation of the policies, raising deep philosophical issues.

The presentation focused on how the World Bank and IMF became the political actors in policy-making in Africa and how the African state became a shadow of itself. Prof. Olukoshi stressed that it is important to revisit the post-independence and pre-SAP African State. During this period, the state played an important role in the economy because of the absence of a viable private sector. The period has been described as “wasted decades” by the World Bank in spite of the fact that the state was also very active in the economies of post-war Europe at the peak of Keynesian economics.

He added that state involvement extended beyond the economy to include nation building because the divide and rule approach of colonization had destroyed unity in many African countries. In addition, the state sought to ensure equal distribution through the establishment of state-owned banks and post-offices. The key philosophical issues that guided the state role were:

1. Self-reliance: in financing, building industries, expanding agriculture
2. Mobilization through education for individuals and families to escape poverty
3. The economic, social and political integrated policy making, recognizing the economic policy cannot be made in isolation from other aspects. With focus on production capacity, living conditions and social cohesion.

Prof. Olukoshi further pointed out that following the economic crises of the 1970s (which many African governments expected to be short-term), most African governments adopted homegrown policies to address the crises. But when the crises persisted, they turned to the World Bank and the IMF for financial assistance.

The Bank and the Fund made them sign agreements tied to conditions for receiving any support. These conditions and conditionalities became the tools for the Bretton Woods institutions in their clinical and systematic takeover of policy-making on the continent. A new power alliance in which finance ministers replaced ministers of planning as the most powerful ministers on the continent in terms of the direction of policy. As conduits for the Bank and Fund they could veto virtually every policy on grounds of disapproval from Washington DC.

The era of the SAPs saw a movement to phased fragmentation and dismantling of the state, retrenchment, downsizing of social expenditure to reduce deficit and BOP, followed by ambitious privatization, commercialization and liquidation of so-called “distortionary” marketing boards, state-owned commercial banks, development banks that were not consistent with new ideology. There was also the creation of agencies of government outside of existing public system and some existing executive agencies, including revenue authorities were extended to the social sector.

He added that the SAPs also come with the evolution of benign-sounding but inherent deceptive language. In addition to terms like cost recovery, user charge, concepts like the independence of the central bank (that reduced the dual role of price-stability and employment to inflation targeting) and fiscal responsibility bills (removes flexibility in fiscal policy) became commonplace. The idea that there was no alternative was also strongly promoted with arguments that this was the norm around the world, even though these were the policies, the high-performing Asian countries used. There has also been a re-invention of civil society instead of social groups, introduction of good governance, new political economy imbibing public choice models founded on neo-liberal agenda.

Concluding, Prof. Olukushi, argued that the global crises may have given a window to leave the neo-liberal model behind. The situation in the Greek crisis has shown the determination of proponents of liberal agenda to continue with their agenda. He stressed that a piecemeal approach for ending neoliberalism will not be sufficient to break the monopoly of the neoliberal view of the macroeconomic management. It is important to bring central planning to the center of decision-making in Africa. Above all, there has to be rebuilding of an effective and coherent state.

Discussion

The discussion highlighted the need to situate the SAPs in context to be able to think critically about issues and making sure SAPs do not reappear in different forms. This is because even though some current policies do not bear the SAP tag they represent a mere rehash of SAP policies. While acknowledging that SAP is not the way to go, it is important to investigate the issues behind the failure of institutions to inform specific policy alternatives. It was noted that in the 1980s, the labour movement was a strong voice against SAP and came with up well debated positions. It is important to revisit these positions and refine the arguments.

The issue of the characteristics of successful cases of structural transformation came up for discussion. The plenary agreed that fundamental considerations such as whether and what role globalization, financial liberalization will play any role in such transformation should be investigated.

Finally, the role of MNCs in the current crises was highlighted as an issue that needs careful research and analysis to inform our transformation strategy going forward

2.1.4 Session Three: Structural Transformation, Employment and Equitable Development: Issues and Perspectives.

Chair: Kwabena Otoo

Speaker: Praveen Jha: ‘Contested Paradigms, Key Issues and Perspectives’

Praveen began his presentation by locating the changes in the last three to four decades 30-40 in the context of the broader evolution of capitalism. He identified three broad phases of the intertemporal evolution of capitalism. The first phase was the classical Marx era that saw the emergence of the laissez faire market capitalism. This phase saw a massive destruction of society. The beginning of the second phase coincided with the world wars. In this phase, the economy became embedded in society. The third phase started in the early 1970s and began with the crises of capitalism even though society was doing well. This had more to do with the quest of capitalism to be free rather than the failures of society. This phase had three different elements from the two prior phases: 1) the rise of finance/capital as the most important factor of production, 2) the demise of the developmental state and 3) the massive weakening of labour as a class.

Turning to the concept of ST, Praveen identified two key elements of this transformation:

- A rise in the contribution of the non-agricultural sector that is not at the expense of the agricultural sector, and
- A transition from low-productivity to high productivity.

He noted that these two elements were partially realized in the second phase. Indeed, Lewis (1984) noted that Africa had done well in the two decades post-independence as the share of manufacturing in GDP rose from 12/13% in 1970 to around 18% in 1990s. A number of individual countries did well in the period.

Since then a lot of countries have reversed and the share has fallen. This is a phase of failure due to a reconstitution of class power on a global scale in terms of key aspects of MNCs and crises of profitability.

Looking ahead, Praveen posed the question “Is there a hope in the context of the current paradigm?” To this question, he answered that there is hope, but not within the context of the neoliberal paradigm. To buttress this position, he noted that the best countries in terms of growth in the last two decades (India and China) have seen worsening of labour markets and livelihoods amidst a period of jobless growth. For instance, real wages in the best sectors in India have fallen by 15% and there were 185,000 incidents of rural unrest in 2011.

Concluding, he argued that the answer lies in political economy. Trade unions have to collaborate with other social groups, and widen the scope of their own activities within their countries. In particular, he stressed that it was important for TUs to engage with the informal sector, which accounts for the largest fraction of the working population.

Discussant: Dr. Yaw Baah

The discussant focused his discussion on two key issues from the presentation: structures and employment. Starting with the social structure, he indicated that structure you can use is the distinction between poor and non-poor. What social structure do we want? What economic structure can lead us to the social structure? He said that the current paradigm has placed the economic structure first and left the society behind and this has led to the social unrest we have witnessed.

On employment, he argued that it is not just about money, but a means of showing our potential. The SAPs have destroyed both the quality and quantity of jobs leaving most economies a high number of insecure jobs. He added that equitable development was required because at present, only a small fraction of the population live normal human lives (highly educated men in urban areas) while the majority (women, the young and the disabled) live impoverished lives.

Lastly, he raised the issue of data. He noted that most of the data we use come from the World Bank and the IMF. Noting that there are ideological underpinnings to data collection, he advocated the need to improve our own data collection.

Discussion

Starting with the conceptual level, the discussion identified three dimensions of transformation that should be addressed: the systems, people in the systems, structure.

The discussion raised a number of key questions which the alternative paradigm being proposed should find answers to. These include the location of labour within this paradigm, the kind of transformations within agriculture, which will engender linkages with other sectors and the appropriate type of industrialization that will build on the agrarian transformation.

In relation to the question of the location of labour, some were of the view that the labour movement has not been strong in fighting agriculture and land issues. The current conversation on exploitation of resources that lead to environmental degradation takes place between governments and MNCs. TUs have been fatally wounded by SAP: the numbers have shrunk unions have become polarized. However, they remain the most credible representatives of the people.

Another issue that came out during the discussion is whether, given the economic history, there is any potential role of international trade and finance. It was stressed that core finance has to be national because international finance will not be appropriate.

The issue of how to measure progress during this transformation came up. It was widely agreed that quantitative/macroeconomic measures should complement qualitative measures of livelihoods. The latter should include Marx/Sen capabilities, underlying maximization of human potential, access to basic needs and equity issues. In this regard, the need for more research with good scientific data that can be used to define policies was highlighted.

2.2 DAY TWO (a): THE AFRICAN POLITICAL ECONOMY AND STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION: POSSIBLE PATHS AND SECTORAL DRIVERS

2.2.1 Session Four: Primary Commodity Dependence and Underdevelopment

Chair: Naomi Chakanya

Speaker 1: Peter Lawrence: ‘Common Patterns of the African Political Economy and the Challenges of Structural transformation’

Peter began his presentation with quotes on Greece and the United Kingdom to show that the problem of underdevelopment of industrial production is not just an African problem. Even where there is some industrialization, there are “unfair” competitive pressures from cheap imports.

The presentation addressed three key issues:

- What do African countries have in common?
- Why has manufacturing/ industrialization been so slow to develop?
- How was ST meant to happen? Can manufacturing-led structural transformation generate sufficient employment?

Starting with the conceptualization of ST at immediate post-independence, the presentation shows that ST was based on import substitution industrialized starting with agro-processing, followed by last stage consumer goods, and graduating to capital goods based on mineral resources. It also followed the Chinese and Soviet models of maximizing linkages between and within various sectors. These were to be financed by mobilization of domestic savings and encouragement of foreign investment in some sectors.

There were two conceptualizations of the role of the state in this strategy 1) attract FDI with tax and other incentives, or 2) active participation through joint ventures with foreign enterprises. Education played a key role in this strategy by providing training and skills for labour as well as promoting learning by doing. Employment creation was at the crux of this strategy.

Next, the presentation identified the potential main agents of change with this strategy. The key agents are the state (even though questions remain about what type of state), the vanguard allied party of workers organizations, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, an accumulating capitalist class emerging from SMEs. Answers to these important questions were usually deferred to “good governance”.

Turning to Africa’s actual chronological experience with this strategy, Peter noted that there was no careful planning based on linkages but a mere shopping list of projects. Initially, there was a high growth rate of manufacturing, but this growth slowed down after the oil crises of the early 1970s and drought in many countries. Moreover, the IS strategy increased imports of capital goods and generated little exports. The introduction of SAP led to de-industrialization and later, a recovery driven by growth in services. Consequently, Africa is still stuck in the first stage.

Why has there been structural transformation in other developing areas (e.g. Asia) but not in Africa? According to neoliberal orthodoxy, this is due to the adoption of IS industrialization strategies, excessive public ownership and insufficient privatization. Other reasons include the effect of SAP, high cost of doing business, uncompetitive wages and low skills, credit and investment constraints due to weak financial markets and lack of export orientation. This has led to shifts of manufacturing to Asia.

There has recently been a movement towards classic transformation: 1) rapid urbanization, availability of large cheap labour force, continuing rural links is being challenged by dispossession (including land grabbing) FDI in land and mineral extraction but not in manufacturing. But this is different from the classic transformation in terms of 1) technology advances leading to increasing fewer jobs in manufacturing 2) concentration of job creation in new sector especially services and IT and related activities, 3) low demand for consumer goods due to the prevalence of low-wage jobs 4) increasing power of global capital

The new issues for African countries going forward are:

- Can they use the classical path of Structural Transformation?
- How much does it depend on FDI?
- Very few financial corporates now control core capital
- Low wages and reserve of army of migrants
- Delinking.

Drawing on UNIDO's drivers of structural change, Peter identified key messages for the role of the state in this strategy:

- Sustained employment creation requires that industrial policy focus on the structural transformation of the economy
- The state can promote industrial policy as a consumer, financier, producer or a regulator, overseeing close coordination of policies
- Decision-making process is as important for industrial policy as policy content
- "International cooperation of in the areas of labour standards, investment and sustainable economic development targets after 2015 is key to ensure that industrialization generates the much-needed high quality jobs"

The recommendation that industry strategy be founded on 1) the use of domestic rather than foreign natural resource inputs 2) creation of large and small scale supply industries based on local deposits of mineral inputs and 3) active science and technology and research and development policy to adapt imported technologies to local needs

Concluding, he argued that agency question is critical. Also, it is important to decide the appropriate accumulating class (consumers or investors). The developmental state should be working, but be in control of foreign investors. In this view, it can choose between the South Korean model or the Chinese model of a mixture of state socialist and private capitalists. It should also consider new forms of social organization. Finally, the solutions should be Pan-African.

Speaker 2: Yao Graham: 'Mineral dependence, Jobs and transformation'

Yao started his presentation by noting the three levels at which the discussion of mineral and job creation could be had: 1) direct mining sector jobs including artisanal and small-scale mining (ASM) and production for home markets 2) jobs arising from linkages of the mining sector to other sectors of the economy and, 3) economy-wide job creation resulting from revenue generation from mining.

The number and types of jobs depend on types and quantities of mineral as well as public policy. His presentation focused on the first two levels.

He traced the roots of current problems in mining to the colonial era. He pointed out that in pre-colonial time mining was part of an integrated circuit of production, exchange and consumption within states and across regions. In colonial terms, the

mining sector, like other sectors of the economy, was driven by foreign investment and foreign trade so the choice of minerals exploited was dictated by needs and interest of colonialist not local needs. Mining was in the hands of foreign mining corporations and indigenous ASM was discouraged. This structure created the externalized mineral enclave, raw materials commodity dependence with its attendant vulnerability to international price volatility. The immediate post-independence era was characterized by nationalization of mineral resources and mines as ex-colonies implemented policies of global assertiveness.

The presentation then turned to how global economic crises and the SAP led to restructuring of the mineral economy. He noted that since the global economic crises of the late 1970s and early 1980s, commodity prices have been slumping, leading to the circular fall in terms of trade, balance of payments and debts crises. The magnitude of the terms of trade losses is huge: according to the World Bank (2000) “cumulative terms of trade losses in 1970-1997 represented almost 120% of GDP, a massive and persistent drain of purchasing power” and according to UNCTAD (2001) per capita GDP would have been \$478 in 1997 instead the actual level of \$323. There has also been for a new development approach with export-led growth strategy for African Mining and FDI driven mining revival strategy.

The policy regime of the SAP era has a primary objective of maximizing long-term revenue from mining rather than other economic or political objectives such as enhancement of employment or control of resources. To achieve this objective, governments were to focus promoting and regulate private companies who would take the lead in operating, managing and owning mineral enterprises. Following this advice, the period saw the withdrawal of the state from mining with privatization of state-owned mines. The focus of investment policy also shifted to attraction of FDI with the passage of FDI-friendly laws that grant extremely generous incentives such as tax exemptions and low tax rates, foreign procurement, foreign exchange retention, sub-contracting, and removal of employment or local content targets. African countries appear to be in a race to the bottom in their bid to attract FDI. This period was also characterized by hostility to ASM. These reforms triggered expansion of existing mine and new large scale mining in other countries and minerals become the main export for an increasing number of countries.

However, the reforms have had a severe negative impact on job creation. Privatization led to massive layoffs. Moreover, concessions large foreign-owned mines have dispossessed and displaced tens of thousands of rural producers farmers. Displacement of indigenous ASM has led to job losses. In addition to job losses, working conditions in mines have worsened with increased casualization and use of contract labour in mines. Pay differentials between bosses and workers,

and between local and expatriate workers have widened. Most of the benefits of the recent mineral boom were extracted by foreign mining companies.

Going forward, Yao posed the question “Is mineral-based industrialisation an option?” He noted that there is now an official acceptance of need for structural transformation centred on industrialisation. Before proceeding, he identified seven main sequential stages in the mineral value chain: 1) Exploration, 2) Mining, 3) Mineral processing, 4) Smelting and refining 5) Semi-fabrication and 6) Final product manufacture, with each stage using inputs from the previous stage (with the exception of the first stage) and producing output for the next stage (with the exception of last stage which produces output for final use). At present African countries concentrate on the first four stages while advanced countries take up last two stages that contain the most value. The role of mineral based transformation is getting African countries to move to the last two stages, even though there are significant challenges getting into these two stages.

He argued that a resource-led industrialization will require policy changes in several areas. Fiscal policy needs to capture and invest of resource rents in long-term economic, physical and human infrastructure and spatial policy that puts in critical infrastructure, especially transportation and energy to support other economic potential and boost intra-regional trade. In addition, the strategy should target backward linkages to capital goods, consumables, services; knowledge linkages that nurse new technology clusters that are adaptable to other sectors; and forward value-addition into mineral-based products.

He added that the African Mining Vision (2008, 2009) has articulated some of these. But there are challenges, including:

- Lack of deliberate policy thrust of national and/or sub regional level to deepen role of the sector, compel companies to invest in local beneficiation
- Deficit in infrastructure such as roads, rails and energy both within and across borders
- Need for mineral financing models because long off-take agreements often linked to offshore enterprises, limited domestic resources are needed
- Trade and investment rules at the WTO and also EPAs remove import tariffs that are needed for upstream linkages, export taxes for downstream, binding intellectual properties that inhibit technology transfer
- Human and lack of required skills for linkages industries development, limited R&D capacity, weak negotiating capacity to stipulate linkage, capacity, etc. conditions/milestones and capacity to audit the mineral value chain

- Procurement strategies of companies-centralised procurement strategies, economies of scale
- Weak local business sector, limited access to capital, etc.
- Weak constituency for change

Turning to recommendations of what can be done he suggested:

- Regional Integration to (i) exploit resources integrity, (ii) develop larger (common) markets through the African Economic Community, (ii) common investment approaches to race to the bottom
- Build State capacity to (i) enhance state capacity to negotiate contracts to optimise linkages and Competitive & Transparent Concessions of all known resources to achieve “price discovery”, (ii) make rent & linkage optimisation key selection criteria; audit mineral value chain (iii) Reinvest rents into systematic geo-survey (knowledge infrastructure) to increase known mineral asset basket –enhances bargaining position
- Integrate Sector into the broader economy (i) create business environment & institutions (ii) border spatial development (SDIs: Development Corridors), (iii) downstream promotion: judicious use of export tariffs (EPA), enabling environment (physical & knowledge infrastructure); consider royalty rates based on degree of beneficiation (iii) upstream promotion through knowledge infrastructure (HRD & R&D), targeted infant industry import tariffs
- Local content and local wealth creation through (i) indigenisation targets, (ii) require local equity targets (iii) procurement – manpower, inputs (iv) role of a developmental state, including state mining companies, local junior companies

He proposed a research agenda on some of the constraints and learning from the experiences of other and argued that above all, the labour movement should be at the center of discussion for policy change

Discussion

The issue of the nature of the structural transformation needed for African economies came up again. It was stressed that the nature of transformation needed is different from the superficial transformation being discussed by some African leaders as they simply represent a rehash of the neoliberal ideas borrowed from the West. Rather the ST should place a premium on higher value manufacturing, value addition in agriculture and progress in the higher end services rather than just

buying and selling. A related issue was the first steps of this structural transformation. It was noted that in general, this depends on the specific state and issues. For most countries, the important first step is to have an agency in place with the powers to drive the necessary changes. For those with such an agency, perhaps the most important first element is infrastructure. From there on, much depends on the strategy being determined and the logical first step of the strategy.

A question was posed that given capital-intensity in mining, whether it was surprising that growth in the mining sector was not creating sufficient jobs. It was argued that mining needs not be capital intensive and this depends on what the policy-makers seek to promote. ASM is labour intensive but may not be suitable for some other purposes of transformation. For instance, getting into the last two stages of the mineral value chain requires capital-intensive technology that may not create so many jobs. But linkages with other sectors of the economy might lead to the adoption of such technologies in sectors that create more jobs.

At the conceptual level, it was emphasized that contested mainstream issues get buried with the policy discussions in particular success stories of countries that have not followed the prescriptions of the neoliberal agenda. For instance, even in the midst of changes in mainstream economic policy starting in the 1970s with focus on market imperfections (example the work of Akerlof) neoliberal orthodoxy reinvented itself. Sometimes, the World Bank does something different from what they say. Some liberal governments adopt socialist (for instance, like David Cameron's promotion of minimum wage as living wage with policies that supported regular increases in the minimum wage). But it is important not to get deceived by such chameleons. Stretching this issue further to touch on the future of capitalism, it was pointed out that there were subtle forms of recolonization of Africa through adoption of policies made abroad without realization of the implications. It is therefore important for trade unions to take these up through education and mass conscientization of the working masses to enhance the mobilization against capitalism and neoliberalism.

On the prospects of transformation outside of linkages the case of the boom in Chinese mineral consumption came to the fore. It was noted that while this has intensified commodity dependence, it could be turned into a strategy for transformation. There is a difference between Chinese demand for minerals and West demand based on the purpose of the demand. Chinese may demand for raw materials for production which can be used to drive transformation. On the other hand, most of the demand from the West may be for speculative purposes.

The discussion also touched on the issue of the so-called “resource curse”. Resource curse is directly linked to the strategy of the SAP that emphasizes revenue generation from minerals rather than linkages and transformation. The strategies for structural transformation being proposed deals with resource curse.

2.2 DAY TWO (b): POLICY ISSUES AND PERSPECTIVES IN THE STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION AND EMPLOYMENT CREATION

2.2.2 Session Five: Agrarian Policy

Chair: Kingsley Ofei-Nkansah

Speaker1: Sam & Qondsile Moyo: ‘Agriculture and Structural Transformation in SSA: Peasant Path?’

To begin the presentation, it was noted that in spite of recent economic growth, there has been a failed transition from agrarian economy in Africa. Evidence of this failed transition manifest in persistent agrarian crisis in the form of food insecurity and malnutrition, low food crop and livestock productivity, and low labour productivity leading to low wages and family farm income.

The immediate question is “why did agrarian transition fail in Africa when it succeeded elsewhere?” Conventionally, this failure has been attributed to weaknesses of pervasive family farming system that inhibits innovation and scale economies, excessive state intervention, “mis-governance” rent-seeking and corruption. Attempts were therefore made to attract FDI to agriculture (large-scale land acquisitions, etc.)

However, this perspective ignores policy-induced systemic obstacles to agrarian transformation.

The presentation next turned attention to the neoliberal policy on agrarian transformation. A key element of this policy was to focus on export of raw commodity because African countries were deemed not competitive in agro-industrial products and agro-processing. The policy also encouraged countries to limit food grain production and import grains from countries with comparative advantage. Other elements of the policy included removal of existing capital, trade and investment controls, macroeconomic policy regime that reduced public

transfers to agriculture, infant industries, and rural development, removed marketing and price support, input subsidies abandoned and reduced research and extension services, closed down or privatized seed, fertilizers and agro-chemicals production by local industries.

The effects of these policies were to replace social welfare transfers with narrow poverty and livelihoods strategies of limited food and cash transfers, reduction in rural wages and income leading to reduce demand for food and agro-industrial inputs and trade liberalisation and currency devaluations enabled food imports

Although agrarian structure has been changing, peasantry persists. There has been small-scale capitalist farming, shifting resources from peasants to capitalist farmers, growth of private and public plantations. While there has been rural-urban migration, growth of the number of people dependent on peasant farming is based on extensive margins rather than intensive margin.

The presentation also noted that gender inequities have undermined peasant farming. These include customarily and statutorily defined patriarchal relations, women's access to land being dependent on male family members and clan authorities, land markets being inaccessible to women, gender discrimination in decision-making, access to assets, credit and technical support constrains productivity gender division of labour being unequal and reproductive labour that goes unremunerated.

The effect of these policies has been skewed agricultural production patterns. Although there has been growth in food crop production in absolute terms, in per capita terms, there has been a decline. While food crops are declining cash crops are rising. Fertilizer consumption which increased pre-SAP has fallen since with serious implication for productivity and growth. The policies have also led to increased export concentration in Africa. Moreover, there has been an acceleration of quantities of food imports in absolute terms and per capita. Value-addition in agricultural has been falling since the 1980s.

The presentation concluded with a vision for achieving agricultural transformation in Africa. The elements included increased agricultural productivity to increase supply of diverse agricultural raw materials and foods; support demand for farm inputs and implements produced locally; harness and strengthen potentials of peasantry in agric. Production and markets; adopt an appropriate mix of interventionist macro-economic and sectoral policies aimed at promoting integrated and articulated diverse agro-industrial economy; shift trajectory of the

land-extensive family farm production to intensive agro-ecological sustainable land utilization system, prioritizing food sovereignty; subsidize, protect and support agricultural markets and agro-industries; greater proportion of national resources to peasant path of agrarian reform; Enhance regional cooperation for collective food sovereignty

Speaker 2: Jomo Kwame Sundaram: ‘Agrarian Policy Issues and Perspective in Structural Transformation and Employment Creation’.

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Jomo Kwame opened by noting that the 2008 financial crisis has had severe adverse effects on employment. The crisis brought, in its wake, fiscal austerity and reduced employment, underemployment and remittances. All these have increased poverty and hunger. These are likely to continue given what is happening in Europe where fiscal austerity still reigns. It is therefore important for the labour movement to support social protection, unionization and strong organization of agricultural labour because of the numbers, poverty and deprivation. The social impacts of the crises have also been uneven, with women and children being the worst affected. The crisis has also increased inequality because although all incomes were affected by the crises, financial safety net efforts have greatly exceeded social protection expansion in terms of financial resources deployed.

The 2008 financial crises have also had other impacts:

- ⇒ Employment, wages, benefits will all be reduced, the plight of migrant workers will worsen, remittances reduced (with further restrictions on remittances flows) and pension payments lowered.
- ⇒ The crises have worsened inequality as the incomes of most of the richest have rebounded while the conditions of working people have recovered more slowly when they have improved at all.

Turning to social protection, Jomo Kwame argued that when well-designed, social protection enables the poor to overcome poverty, hunger and under-nutrition. Social protection should not just be for consumption, but also for investment in productive capacities that will enhance future incomes. Rather, it should be adequate, to enable social protection not only for consumption, but also for investment in productive capacities. Improving diets will reduce the economic cost of undernutrition. In reality, the reach of social protection systems depends on political attitudes to win electoral support and the political will to reduce poverty.

In recent times, the recent expansion of social protection in Sub-Saharan Africa has mainly involved cash transfers. Thirty-seven African countries currently have unconditional cash transfer programs, almost double the number four years ago.

Concluding with agriculture, Jomo pointed out that poverty is still largely a rural phenomenon. Agricultural development will drive poverty reduction by raising rural incomes, reducing food prices, increasing non-farm opportunities and sustaining economic transformation. Reducing rural poverty mainly involves raising the productivity of the poor, rather the expansion of social protection. He argued that pro-poor investments in agriculture remain the best strategy for reducing poverty. Although farmers are the major source of agricultural investment, formal credit and insurance facilities often discriminate against them.

Discussion

Trade unions should get acquainted with the realities on the ground through research and discussion with various segments of society. This is important to strengthen the state. Persistent challenges in agricultural policy have their roots in the neoliberal agenda which keeps surfacing in different ways.

The issue of financing for social protection came up for discussion. The question is particularly relevant given the weak fiscal capacities of many African countries. The labour movement has a significant role to play by promoting discussions on strengthening social protection and fiscal policy among a broad range of organizations and opinion-makers.

The important role of land tenure and ownership was a crucial point of discussion. At present, land is mostly owned by big corporations, tribal lords and governments. The state has become a conduit for transferring land from peasants to corporations. Land for productive purposes should be considered seriously. Contracting arrangements involving big firms are leading to corporate takeovers of agricultural production. The retreat of the state has diminished the capacity of African peasants and farmers to respond. The neoliberal conception of property rights based on private ownership is inappropriate for the structural transformation needed. We should be thinking about different ownership arrangements conducive to the transformation we have in mind

Another important issue is the disappearance of rural development studies and labour studies from our universities. Agrarian studies have been killed by the neoliberal agenda. How can we put rural studies and labour studies back on the

research agenda? Social organizations can play a crucial role in rural development including capital accumulation.

The discussions also touched on the effects of climate change. It was acknowledged that many things we just do not know. New studies are coming out revealing things that we did not know. The task of adaptation to climate change is important. It is also crucial to have a unified view in order to participate more effectively in negotiations.

African economies have been transforming, but probably not in the desired way. The slack in manufacturing growth of has been compensated by other industries and sectors, which include utilities and construction, that are increasingly owned by foreign capital.

Finally, African countries have to determine their agriculture and industrial policies address, as well as issues of land reform, financing peasant farmers, and technology change.

2.2.3 Session six: Industrial Policy

Chair: Yao Graham

Speaker Trywell Kalusopa: ‘The Quest for Industrialization as A key driver of Transformation: An Illusion or Reality?’

The presentation focused on three areas: 1) conceptualization of historical and current structural formations and rigidities in the context of industrial policy 2) What are the current emerging policies on industrialization in Africa and whether it is the right path 3) How trade unions should react in this power contestations

On the first issue, Trywell explained that the concept of social transformation in Africa is a radical departure from its deep historical structural rigidities to a more holistic status with an emphasis on economics, social and political cohesion. The industrial policy sought as part of this social transformation should

- 1) Be straddled in holistic development paradigm
- 2) A paradigm that does not shrink employment, increase inequality, ignores and undermines cultural identities or squanders resources needed

He identified three major players within this conception that shape our societies: 1) the people and their grassroots organization that should be the key agents of change 2) the state which should rule in the interests of those who control it and 3) the global actors including the World Bank, IMF, WTO, G8 and TNCs, who have strong influence over African states

Tracing the evolution of industrial policy, the presentation identified four phases. The first phase was the 1950s/1960s, where the focus was on state-led development through import substitution. In the second phase (1970s/1980s), the strategy of the first stage was criticized as being inefficient and distortionary and replaced with the SAPs. The third phase began in the mid-1990s and saw a re-evaluation of the role of the state following the active roles the state the success stories of East Asian economies. The current phase has seen the emergence regional (COMESA, EAC, SADC etc.) as well as national industrialization policies founded on the neoliberal agenda.

Trade unions across the continent have always contested the current development paradigm and advocated the inclusion of other development imperatives. In some regions (e.g. SADC), they have promoted advocacy and social dialogue with the appropriate structures. TUs have also formed strategic alliances with other civil society and faith-based organizations, informal sector groups. Finally, TUs have formed/joined continental and international unions to deal with supply chains and outsourcing. Going forward, he suggested that trade unions build their capacities to be able to provide alternative policy based on science and technology. While continuing to contest the current paradigm, they should isolate and explore the specific channels through which developmental states could enhance ST. Also, TUs should identify key forms and operations of key institutional relationships that are likely to be key to the success of developmental states.

Turning to issue of financing, he suggested a reprioritization of expenditures to make efficient use of available resources, improving domestic resource mobilization through a just tax system, foreign aid with an exit strategy and debt financing with sound debt management practices.

Detailing the key features of an effective industrial policy space, he enumerated the following: vision setting, capable leadership with developmentalist ideology; relative state autonomy, especially in formulating and implementing policy; state institutional capacity, notably a strong and competent bureaucracy; effective national development planning; coordination of economic activities and resources; support for a national entrepreneurial class; peace, political stability, rule of law

and predictability in government business; a subordinate or consensus mechanisms of labour/civil society state

He concluded with suggestions for possible areas of further research including additional empirical work on the relative roles of private sector and MNCs in industrial policy, emerging issues in regional industrial policy in the context of regional integration and national policy, the link between industrial policy and state fragility and a review of trade union responses to industrial policies.

Discussion

The discussions focused on the need to improve science education for effective R&D that will help adapt existing technologies/innovations in the African context.

The discussion also touched on the difference between IP and policies of industrialization is important. Globalization has restricted the policy space for IP. Examples of success stories only recently joined the WTO so changing trade regimes is important. But there are new emerging powers even within this context. But there are significant challenges. It is important to consider the role global trade and shifts for IP and thus, IP should be situated in the global trading environment.

No ideology differentiation among leaders and political leaders, important for us to cultivate class consciousness among trade unions. Need to think about how to link activities of TUs to the broader society.

The discussion also highlighted the need to link this presentation/discussion of what is happening at the AU level where the African Mining Vision is being discussed as in Yao's presentation.

2.2.4 Session Seven: Social Policy

Chair: A. Ndieye

Speaker: Dzodzi Tsikata: 'Social Policy, Employment, Structural Transformation and Equitable Development'

The session began with the chair giving a background on the impact of neoliberal reforms on social policy. He indicated that the SAPs destroyed social systems embedded in African societies and the continent has not restored the systems. Education and health systems have been severely hampered. There has also been a casualization of workers across various sectors of public policy.

Prof. Tsikata set out four questions that will guide the presentation:

- 1) What role should social policy play in employment creation, structural transformation and equitable development?
- 2) What kind of social policy is needed?
- 3) Under what conditions will social policy be effective?
- 4) What role for state and civil society?

Prof. Tsikata explained in clear terms the meaning of social policy. She indicated that social policy involves collective interventions to directly affect social welfare, social institutions and social relations. It is concerned with the redistributive effects of economic policy, the protection of people from the vagaries of the market and the changing circumstances of age, the enhancement of the productive potential of members of society, and the reconciliation of the burden of reproduction with that to other social tasks.

The three main aspects of social policy are 1) quality of life (as measured by health status, work family balance, education and skills, environmental quality, personal and social security among others); 2) material living conditions (income, wealth, jobs and earnings, and housing) and, 3) sustainability (preservation of resources over time).

She added that social policy was a crucial part of the social transformation because it (i) guides social development, (ii) creates conditions for economic development, and (iii) glues society together to ensure social cohesion. Social transformation is not an inevitable consequence of economic growth and requires active policies and interventions to be realized.

Giving a historical perspective on social protections, she indicated that in colonial times social policy was a very paternalistic welfare system with the mission of civilizing and focused on education, health, hygiene and sexually transmitted diseases. Social policy was the domain of social welfare departments with broad concerns reproduction of rural producers. In the early post-independence era where the developmental state took center stage, social contract between the state and the populace formed the basis for social integration. This era was characterized by strong links between economic and social policies, broad-based policies in education, health and formal employment backed in some cases by legislation and social security laws for formal sector workers with state pensions for some workers.

The advent of SAPs beginning in the 1990s saw the separation of social policy from economic policy and the relegation of the former as market-based social policy instruments gained prominence. Economic policies did not have employment as a goal. Indeed, governments stopped collecting employment statistics and other social indicator statistics. Emphasis moved from broad-based social safety nets to the narrower concept of social protection. During this period, the elite in society opted out of remaining social programs and sought privatized social services abroad.

The current social policy is still founded on neoliberal agenda which replaced social policy with social protection. This social protection policy centers on poverty rather than inequality and social cohesion. It no longer universal but targets the poor, and is essentially fragmented into single-issue policy measures with popular instruments like cash transfers, health insurance, microfinance, school feeding and capping of school fees. Moreover, work has become separated from employment. The main criticism of the policy is that it is a narrower version of the broader social policy which considers the wider range of issues from production, reproduction, redistribution and cohesion. The focus on social protection also creates a disconnection between economic and social policy. Though it is touted as being affordable the benefits are meager when measured against the scale of the problems being faced by poor people. Its non-universal focus also has the potential to create resentment among the middle classes while humiliating and stigmatising the poor. Finally, there is an overemphasis of the MDGs, which do not pay attention to employment or inequality.

The AU has developed its own social protection framework which contains some inherent contradictions. Although it adopts the broader definition of social policy (it underlines the centrality of the state and society to the development agenda), it is situated within the neoliberal agenda (it seeks to complement Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers and NEPAD).

Prof. Tsikata outlined the keys elements of a transformational social policy. Among other things, she indicated that such a policy should

- Consider economic and social policy complementary
- Recognize that both macroeconomic and sectoral policy shifts from the current paradigm are needed to ensure social policy can be effective.
- Be multiple functional, encompassing production, reproduction, protection, redistribution, social cohesion and nation building (Adesina, 2012)
- Be universalist and not single-issue based or targeted at vulnerable groups

- Recognize the important role for the state from setting parameters to financing

The key parameters for such a social policy should touch on the demographic characteristics of the population, education and skills needs of the population, health and nutrition, quality of life and material conditions of the population. Sound social policies should also take into account the structure of the economy. It should recognize that agrarian incomes are subject to wide variations and non-agrarian jobs are largely informal and precarious, therefore prioritize the problems of agriculture and their implications for livelihood. Such policy should be built on the importance of social solidarity in African societies that include numerous traditional mechanisms to deal with economic uncertainty.

Finally, on the issue of financing for such a social policy, it was stressed that the erroneous idea that social policy is a luxury to be afforded only when there is sufficient economic growth or high enough per capita income should be done away with. Well-designed taxation policies should use personal income and corporate taxes can provide sound financial basis for such policies. Moreover, it should be recognized that the provision of basic social security is an investment in development and not only reduces poverty and expand the domestic market, it is also an investment in human capital as it leads to a healthier, better educated and productive workforce.

Concluding on the role of trade unions in this social transformation, she indicated the need for leadership in the rethinking and reconstruction of social policy at both the national and pan African levels. Understanding and addressing situation of labour in the agrarian and urban informal economy is a key part of the strategy for renewing the link between employment and social policy.

Discussion

During the discussion the plenary shared Prof. Tsikata' view on the need for a broader socioeconomic development rather than separate economic policy from social policy and political development.

There was an extensive discussion of how to finance social policy on the continent. It was noted that we have had similar plans and visions that had a broad based representation but nothing came of that. There was a concern that achieving this transformation in the context of largely donor-funded budgets will be difficult. It was suggested that other means/sources of financing outside of taxation should be

explored. An integrated approach which includes self-financing was considered an option because it has economic capacity for self-financing. As highlighted by the presentation, social policy should also be seen as an investment not as charity.

The gender dimension of poverty was raised as a key issue. An issue was raised that the presentation did not highlight the fact that poverty has a “feminine face”. In response, Prof. Tsikata indicated that it was deliberate rather than optional. She argued that an excessive focus on gendered poverty ignores the multifaceted nature of poverty. As she had stressed during the presentation, a sound social policy requires a broader vision that addresses all aspects of social transformation not just social protection.

Three areas for further research were identified: 1) informal social protection systems 2) investigation of the uses of social security funds 3) Social protection in the informal sector like informal business associations.

Session 8: Finance and Macroeconomic Policy

Chair: Gyekye Tanoh

Speaker 1 Butch Manuel Montes: ‘Finance and Macroeconomic Policy’

Montes started his presentation on the real impact of financial liberalization on the state of the economy and financial flows. He presented data that showed that financial liberalization has not increased financial flows to developing countries. Indeed, when all flows are considered Africa has become a net investor in developed countries in recent times. However, the liberalization has increased volatility of such flows because of the dominance of portfolio flows. Generally, these financial flows have a negative impact on the real economy.

The fundamental conception of relationship between finance and investment in the neoliberal framework is incorrect. The wrong notion has it that finance translates into real investment. The correct way of thinking about investment is that, institutions conceptualize a new project together over the long term and mobilizes the finance for this investment. The conceptualization takes into account the institutional factors for this investment (state enterprises versus private sector). Policy space is a crucial element of capital accumulation for organizing this investment. This policy space has been restricted by international treaty obligations (WTO, FTAs, BITs) and policy conditionality.

Capital controls are the essential tools for preventing the negative real effect of these de-stabilizing financial flows. Even the IMF has in recent times dropped its dogged stance on capital account liberalization, although it views capital controls as the last resort. Capital controls are needed for periods of Balance of Payments and debt crises. But even in normal times and they are essential tools for macroeconomic policy (countercyclical policy impossible under open capital accounts). They are also used to promote capital accumulation. With open capital account, resident savers/investors require higher interest rates as compensation for exchange rate and project risk. Also, liberalized capital account exposes domestic financial sector subject to vagaries of global payments system.

The presentation also touched on the issue of illicit financial flows. There has been an increase in illicit flow by individuals, but mostly corporations, abetted by separate entity principle, tax incentives, competition through reduced regulation, taxes, fees, transfer pricing, and arms-length principle. Within the extractive sector, double invoicing for instance, has been used for this purpose.

Speaker 2 Kwabena Otoo: Macroeconomics

The key macroeconomic issues are GDP growth, reduce inflation to keep in single digit via the monetary interest rate tools, budget balance, achieve BOP balance, stabilize exchange rate. However, the key issue of employment has completely disappeared from macroeconomic targets.

The main features of the neoliberal agenda are monetary tightening, fiscal discipline, reduced deficits, monetary policy, boost tax collection through consumption taxes. Although central banks in the West have a dual mandate of price stability and maximizing employment, inflation targeting has become the single mantra of African central banks.

Discussion

The discussion highlighted the fact that policies of the monetarist revolution work for only small class of people, but not for majority of the people. These persist because of the politics and economics. It is important to reform banking laws to remove the singular focus on inflation targeting. The dual mandate of full employment and inflation should be reinstated. Related to this, rise of the issue of international bonds is likely to lead to further debt crises and governments should be urged to focus more on domestic resource mobilization.

Much of the current paradigm behind macroeconomics is discredited. But this framework is still in force because of lies in the deeper political economy driven

by the dominance of finance capital. The crux of the matter is not availability of alternatives, but the ability to challenge the current paradigm. Trade unions lack of position and political leadership has a reflection on the evolution of the treatment and use of finances of the economy and worker (use of public pensions). Trade unions have become weakened to the extent of not reacting to issues directly in their domain such as use of pension funds.

Financial inclusion of the poor in order to transform the lives of the poor, but there is a problem with the provision of finance to the poor currently through microfinance and rural and community banks. We have to go back to government provision of finance to the poor. Given the critical role that pension can play in long-term financing as a predictable source of domestic financing, trade unions have a unique strength to provide change in the debate about finance.

2.3 DAY 3: POLITICS AND STRUGGLE IN STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION AND EMPLOYMENT CREATION

2.3.1 Session 9: The State and Structural Transformation in Africa

Chair: S. Patel

Speakers: Prof. Pascal Mihyo, Kouglo Lawson and Moddy Guiro

This session was mandated to tackle three main issues

- 1) What economic issues/aspects/challenges of structural transformation needs to be and/or can be addressed by the state
- 2) What policy/institutional capacities, resources, and orientations should the state have so far as the addressing those challenges are concerned?
- 3) How should the State engage with citizens in the process?

The session started with background from the chair. She indicated that there has been some structural transformation in the immediate post-independence era before the emergence of the neoliberal agenda in the 1980s, characterized by emergence finance, withdrawal of the state from social policy which has left employment and unions vulnerable. In the past 20 years there has been the emergence of liberal democracy, multiparty elections but little by way of social democracy

Speaker 1: Kouglo Lawson Body

Body started his presentation with a clarification of the meaning of structural transformation. He indicated that means a change in structures and methods that can trigger genuine development.

He then went on to address issues that session was tasked to focus on:

Issue 1: In the current situation, the challenges are enormous but there is also enormous potential. Two pressing issues that need urgent attention from the state are to address inadequate infrastructure and build institutions that prevent political conflict.

Issue 2: The state must act to ensure that objectives like social justice, reduction in poverty and inequality are achieved. The state should also consider its relationships with regional and sub-regional as well as international organizations

Issue 3: An effective and responsible state should be founded on social values and with solid institutions capable of mobilizing resources.

Concluding on the role of TUs in achieving these objectives, he suggested that they should engage with the state with well-researched and coherent strategic alternative policies. They should also analyze and interrogate visions and plans to ensure they contain the key elements of ST and should closely monitor the implementation to achieve ST. In addition, TUs should expand strategic alliances to other social groups in society.

Speaker 2: Pascal Mihyo

Prof. Mihyo's presentation highlighted 10 actions for ST and for the research program

1. Identify institutions of state needed for the ST (the key ones are executive, legislature, judiciary) defense, and security, as well as informal ones. Interrogate current conceptions of developmental state, ensuring that they are developmental in the true sense.
2. Examine and review constitutions and institutional frameworks under which these organs of state are constituted and operate; who put them into place, to whom do they account and how they can be removed
3. Strengthening accountability vertically (between state, citizens and civil organizations) and horizontally with multiple systems of accountability, separation of powers and interests.

4. Deconstruct the representative democracy model we have inherited. Look for ways of combating tyranny of minority and of majority
5. Create transformational leadership structure and tackle the issue of commercialization of politics. We need structures that create servant leaders and prevent leaders from becoming rulers.
6. Use transformative leaders for transformational conditions and situation, dismantle patriarchy together with inhibitions of matriarchy, creating incentives that enable everyone to thrive, cushioning conditions, create information and statistics and avoid use of selective statistics
7. Development of youth support systems through reforming educational systems to train people to be innovative and solve problems not manage them. Creation of supporting family systems to develop, nurture and guide the youth and ensuring the youth grow in a transformative environment at community level, and guide and prepare them for responsible adulthood
8. Building of transformative culture, reverse cultural decadence and not borrowing blindly from foreign cultures
9. Revival and re-armament of institutional starting with AU that pass and bypass its own policies, ensuring balance between formal and informal systems
10. Revive social movement, push the state to review the system of collective bargaining

Speaker 3: Moddy Guiro

Guiro's presentation argued that the people should be the centre of ST. He also pointed out that while the economic structure should emphasize industrial production and transformation of agriculture (including development of cottage industries), the ST should also address other social issues such as access to health and equity.

In terms of specific challenges to ST that should be addressed he argued to increase production and productivity, the state should remove the numerous constraints to production. The state must break away from the liberal paradigm and adopt policies that are more inclusive and take into consideration our social context. To achieve this, the state should be rebuilt on strong institutions based on sound democratic principles. In relation to this, the state should pursue behavioral change among citizens to encourage consumption of locally produced goods and services.

All these require resources and the state may need to focus on mobilizing additional revenue from natural resources and MNCs in especially in the areas of

telecommunication and other services. Also, there should be reforms targeted at the lifestyle of members of government in order to cut profligate spending.

On the role TUs, Guiro agreed with the suggestion of Body. He argued that TUs need strong well-informed leaders who can form strategic partnerships. They should unite among various social groups. The TUs should also start paying attention to pensions and suggested a possible future event focusing on management of pensions.

Discussion

The role of regional/sub-regional organizations in the ST came up of discussion. It was noted that the network to international organizations and powerful supranational states are taking away policy space because of obligations they imposed on states. Some have also become a conduit for planting ideas of foreign entities that plant ideas that filter to the local level. It is therefore important to decentralize and for clear delineation of issues that should be handled at the various levels (regional/sub-regional, national, community). Agencies like the ITUC should take up research to understand how these mechanisms affect the transformation agenda.

Related to the above, some were of the view that the current African state is an oppressor of its people but weak in the international arena. The state has become too personalized by some leaders to appropriate resources for personal benefit. There is therefore the need to build the capacity of the state and build a strong bureaucracy. TUs are also becoming too personalized and this needs to be corrected before they can help rebuild the state. The TUs need to do a self-assessment of their performance and move away from being a reactive entity to being proactive and make recommendations to the state. Finally, TUs should broaden the scope of collective bargaining to seek involvement in the initial stages of formulation of policies.

It was also suggested that the state strengthens its domestic resource mobilization drive through improved taxation. However, TUs and civil society should be actively involved in this resource mobilization.

Lastly, it was suggested that states take the issue of energy very seriously. Indigenous solutions to the energy problems are needed because there is too much universalism. We can learn from others but they must be contextualized. TUs should play an active role in the discussion of the energy policy/strategy and energy alternative.

2.3.2 Session Ten

Chair: G. Broohm-Saizonou

The chair provided some background to the session. She indicated that session nine allowed us conceptualize our definition of the state, the need to destroy patriarchy and matriarchy that inhibits effective working of the state and the need to find and build relations with social partners and to carefully examine relations with the supranational organizations. We may need to make Marxist theory a central element of the role of the state in the transformation we want. We need structural transformation within the trade union to facilitate the ST we are proposing.

Speaker 1: Akua Britwum: ‘Gender, Class and Structural Transformation’

Prof. Britwum defined gender as a set of social structure and practice dominated by men. Such male dominance cannot be explained by biological and personal characteristics that women do not have. Gender regimes are structured around household production, paid work and violence against women. Gender issues had not always been considered an essential element of development. It was not until at some point in the 1970s that questions about gender became a key element of the process of development.

The presentation next turned to gender and production of class in Africa. Prof. Britwum indicated that during the precolonial era of surplus production and exploitation of surplus production, women were productive agents and intricacies were more nuanced than under capitalism. During the colonial period, there was subordination of labor to capital in production and domestic reproduction became a base for capitalist labour. The immediate post-colonial period did not see any break from capitalist production even under IS industrialization. During the SAP era, society survived on the back of women’s survival skills in the wake of the attack on state as the main economic player. This resulted in internal and local problems and the collapse of political leadership and credibility. The economic decline that followed the reforms and the loss of male formal sector jobs intensified the household’s reliance on women’s incomes.

Turning to the current system, she indicated that there is stratification in the labour market along gender lines. Women are mainly located in the services sector, urban, informal sales and commercial sectors and rural agriculture (subsistence food crop, food processing and sale). This reflects both the socially defined roles and the effects of the recent reforms.

She argued that reproduction is an important pillar of feminist gender analysis. It highlights importance of women's reproductive burdens, time and resource deficits and the ensuing gender inequalities which are critical to understanding labour market segmentation, occupational segregation and gendered poverty. Family/household is an economic unit for production, reproduction and consumption. Women bear unequal burden for housework and this is rationalized by male 'breadwinner' capitalist system. In addition to productive work outside the household, women bear the responsibility for reproduction that provides labour for owners of capital and frees male household members for productive work and leisure for which women are not compensated.

Turning to the issue of labour union and the gender questions, she enumerated specific issues that trade union leadership should address. These include stereotypes in the leadership, conceptual confusions about gender, patriarchal nature of unions, structures that do not mainstream women issues, autonomy vs integration, connection between women workers' needs and union policy. She suggested that TU leaders should understand their role in maintaining patriarchy and union should come up with structures that break patriarchal norms and standards. Unions also need a research agenda for gender transformation. Finally, it is important to bring care, subsistence and informal economy into the political economy of production, sexuality and its commercialization.

Speaker 2: Kessie Moodley: 'Political Mobilization, Alliance Building and the Trade Union Movement'

According to Moodley, political mobilization and alliances building should be situated into what trade unions seek to achieve. He argued that there are contradictions in the work of trade unions. That there has been three decades of neoliberal agenda partially reflects inadequacies in the functioning of trade unions. Workers have not shown a great appreciation of the issues under discussion but this is crucial for effective political mobilization.

He noted that it is important for TU leaders to have a clear appreciation of complexities of the neoliberal agenda. This will dictate the strategies employed for political mobilization. Do we perceive neoliberalism as class warfare? Do we view it as wrong policies being implemented that needs to be changed? If it is the latter, various levels of actors should be convinced in different ways. But we have to

recognize that it is not policies or power alone, but a whole system from financing of parties and elections to who we elect?

The next questions are who and how do we mobilize and what are we mobilizing for? And what does the current political system imply for the mobilization strategy? The levels of mobilization are an important issue. TUs need to extend mobilization drives beyond members to non-member social movements. The mobilization should include organizing, educating the masses and forming strategic alliances with those in power as well as the broad range of society (the working class, the unemployed and the broader community). TUs should also broaden their engagement with the key actors. The first group for engagement is the workers since they suffer worst effects of neoliberalism. Also, they should target the negotiating institutions that appear to be co-opting the union leadership. The final groups are the various institutions of industrializations and tripartite institutions.

Concluding on areas for possible research he enumerated the following areas:

1. Nature and forms of responses to neoliberalism in the work place? Are workers sufficiently informed about neoliberalism? What are some lessons to be drawn from this?
2. Work participation and workplace democracy? How do TUs change the agenda at the workplace governance?
3. Education for members.
4. Collective bargaining: critical look at effect of this bargaining on the conditions of workers
5. Legislation, are there national laws that can be brought to bear or challenge neoliberalism.

Discussion

It was also pointed out during the discussions that that the cultural dimensions of the gender relations are important and should not be ignored. This includes the role of ethnicity in social relations and how this affects women.

In terms of incorporating women in union activities, it was suggested that there is a lot on paper that need to be translated into practice. Alliances should be extended to academic units to expand range of studies on issues of direct relevance to unions. Gender issues should be mainstreamed into the activities of unions rather treating them as side issues. There is the need for a deep analysis of the structure of how trade unions are organized. TUs should take up the issue of violence against women.

An alternative of thinking about the gender locations in labor market way is to see if there are constraints that make women get stuck in certain locations. These could include discrimination in labour market against women on the basis of maternity.

In terms of TU activities, they should not be limited to organizing salaried workers but workers in general. It is important to formalize the informal economy and recognize domestic production and seek the household as a production unit as suggested by Prof. Britwum. This means make we make the informal economy an integral part of the unions not just as associate members.

PART III: TOWARDS AN AGENDA FOR RESEARCH AND ADVOCACY

Moderators: Tetteh Hormeku and Hilma Mote

3.1 Introduction

For the last session, the workshop was divided into five groups based on the following issues/thematic areas: 1) industrialization strategy and industrial policy, 2) agrarian policy, 3) macroeconomic, finance and investment policy, 4) employment, livelihoods and social policy, 5) trade unions, workers and political agency.

Groups 1 to 4 were tasked with making deliberations on these thematic areas to come up with specific suggestions and recommendations for answering four specific questions:

- What are the systemic challenges that need to be addressed in order for African countries to transform their economies from primary commodity export dependency?

- In the specific area/sector given above, what policies or types of policies are needed to address these systemic issues?
- What issues need further understanding for the purposes of a research and advocacy agenda?
- How do existing gender relations shape the systemic challenges identified?

The last group (on trade unions, workers and political agency) was tasked with the recommendations for answers to the following questions

- What should trade unions do to influence development policy?
- How effective have they been in influencing development policy? What factors account for the effectiveness or otherwise?
- What areas of trade union work should be strengthened for better effectiveness?

After two hours of deliberations, the groups came up with the following reports

3.2.1 Industrialization Strategy and Industrial Policy

Context

There is a recognition that there is the need for transformation in industrial development in Africa but often cast in line with the global value chains. However, for effective industrial development there is the need for clear thinking on building local and regional value chains not only as import substitutions type but maintain strong linkages with all sectors of the economy.

There is the need for 1) industrial and agriculture linkages that deals with production, marketing and finance; 2) particular insertion into the global markets that supports Africa's industrialization and 3) diversification from primary commodity dependence that benefits the continent.

Hence there is the need the following:

- 1) Development of local SME enterprises
- 2) Strengthening the role of the state
- 3) Research and development
- 4) Building of effective and strong institutions
- 5) Formalising the informal sector with state guarantees for SMEs in using government procurement and trade policy
- 6) Development of energy as industrial input that helps in the incubation of entrepreneurs

- 7) Development of world class infrastructure to improve trade within countries and within the continent

What kinds of policies are needed?

- 1) Education/training in STEM e.g. steel and iron but attention should be paid to international price parity especially in South Africa
- 2) Finance policy that supports local enterprises development (industrial development) with start-up capital and addresses issues of women in the informal sector and their weak representation in business associations, petty commodity trading-domestic resource mobilization and pensions
- 3) Trade policy that supports industrial development and promotes trade in the regions
- 4) Energy policy that supports industrial development-Industrial zones for incubation of enterprise development, a possible common regional policy that supports industrial policy but pay attention to energy
- 5) Policy for government procurement for particular affirmative action-women enterprises
- 6) Raising productivity raises the need for Capital goods

Areas for research and development

- 1) Local and regional value chains and its impacts on regional integration
- 2) Direction of the energy policy in Africa: what is the direction, dimensions to global commitments in the area of services?
- 3) Creation of a database of the community of scholars that are interested in the industrial development in Africa
- 4) Petty commodity/SMEs, what is the trend, what are the potential, what are they into?
- 5) How do we break the enclave and what kind of state is needed to break the enclave?
- 6) Jobs, climate change and industrial development?
- 7) Comparative studies on late industrialisation
- 8) Institutional reforms-the roles regional institutions are playing and what is required for retooling
- 9) Taking advantage of the existing spaces at the regional and continental levels
 - a. e.g. Africa Mining Vision (AMV) Process , Boosting Intra Africa Trade (BIAT), Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA)
- 10) The role of the diaspora skills for industrial development
- 11) OECD guidelines

3.2.2 Agrarian Policy

Challenges	Policies needed	Research/Advocacy
Contractionary and deflationary macroeconomic policies that depress demand for agriculture produce, increase interest rates and limits financing for agriculture	Macroeconomic policies that stimulate aggregate demand in the economy	Mobilise existing analytical capacities on the continent; Build capacity to investigate these issues further
International Trade Regime that inhibits transformation of agriculture and promote export of raw materials and foods through dumping and subsidies in advanced countries	African nations need to de-link and adopt trade policies that promote domestic production by protecting themselves	
Weak land tenure system and support to small holder farmers	Legal reforms to enhance investment into small holders farmers and enhance access to land, especially by women	
Absence of public support to improve investment by famers in land fertility, irrigation, seeds, energy, storage facilities and extension services	New policies to strengthen support to investment in agriculture in these areas, including to promote agriculture productivity and enhancing linkages with agro industries, backward and forward linkages	
Poor mobilisation of societies around appropriate policy reforms	Trade unions should focus on agriculture and mobilise masses in rural and urban areas and across various sector; they should also expand their alliance building	
Institutionalised extraction of surpluses from producers; MNCS appropriating huge	Re-configuration of agriculture markets through various forms of support	

surpluses, middle-men merchants appropriating higher margins in the process; Foreign contract farming and dominant agri-business)	including strengthening domestic actors like small and medium scale farmers; agricultural marketing and services; trade protection	
Underdeveloped agro-industries reflecting weak link between agriculture and manufacturing (as seen in limited agro processing and manufacture of input and backward and forward linkages)	Protection of markets for industries; investment incentives for domestic producers	
Gender question: How existing gender relations shape the systemic challenges	Policies that encourage discriminatory practices and unequal gender relations (e.g. access to finance to invest in agriculture by women, education, extension services, absence of support to child-scare undermined	

3.2.3 Macroeconomic, Finance and Investment Policy

The challenges identified are:

- 1) Monetary policy that focuses solely on inflation targeting with no attention to employment, undermines fiscal policy, reduces aggregate demand and creates unfavorable borrowing conditions for domestic firms through high interest rate
- 2) Fiscal policy that grants too many concessions to foreign mining companies and other large corporations, and fails to tax appropriately
- 3) Weak enforcement of tax laws
- 4) Excessive discretion in the conduct of monetary policy
- 5) Investment policy that exclusively focuses on foreign investment to the detriment of local investment
- 6) Over liberalization of capital accounts
- 7) Dominance of global finance capital that saddles countries with huge debt

- 8) Gender bias that limits women's access to finance forcing women to seek high interest loans from Microfinance institutions

The recommend polices are

- 1) Tax reforms that removes unnecessary concession for MNCs
- 2) Reduce discretion in the conduct of monetary policy and the focus on inflation
- 3) Reform monetary policy making process to replace inflation targeting with growth targeting
- 4) Pass new investment laws that give more incentives for domestic investment

The following areas of Research:

- 1) Understanding the optimal level of inflation
- 2) Analysis of political economy constraints to ST
- 3) Devolution of power from the Centre

3.2.4 Employment, livelihoods and social policy

The challenges identified are

- 1) Current global architecture that constraint policy space
- 2) The footloose nature of global finance capital and urgent need to regulate the movement of funds.
- 3) Illicit financial flows
- 4) Reduced policy space due to multitude of international obligations
- 5) Concentration of women in the informal sector
- 6) Absence of the social protection
- 7) Weak capacity of the state and lack of political will in governments to undertake

The proposed policies for addressing these challenges include:

- 1) Renegotiation of contracts with foreign companies
- 2) Political will to do the right thing
- 3) State policies that generate employment from export of primary products,
- 4) Building agro-processing industrials to agricultural products and generate additional employment
- 5) Address mismatch education/training and needs of industry
- 6) Regulate the movements of international capital
- 7) Social policy must address interventions and address other non-state actors

The areas of research suggested are

- 1) Creation of a well thought-out research agency
- 2) Research to examine the impact of government policies on employment creation

3.2.5 Trade unions, workers and political agency

What should trade unions do to influence development policy?

Development policy making takes place at four levels: local level, national level, regional level and continental level and TU should seek to influence policy at all these levels.

The specific suggestions are:

1. Broaden the definitions of work and worker; Implications in in terms of broadening our constituencies; and expand the field of action
2. Mobilization and organization would be more massive, more inclusive, more comprehensive, etc...
3. We need to reframe the issues; language used; the issues covered (more and new issues concerning work and workers).
4. This has implications in the area of research – new topics, new sources of data/information
5. Need to deepen existing alliances and building new ones (academia, research institutes, civil society organizations, local authorities (traditional governments), students, women's organizations, human rights organizations, environmental organizations, etc).
6. Sharpen advocacy, connecting with the streets – the so-called common man/woman on the streets
7. Extend work to seriously look at social security issues, issues which affect workers more directly.

How effective have trade unions been in influencing development policy?

What factors account for their effectiveness or otherwise?

The broad consensus of the group was that TUs have not been effective. Some the reasons for this are

1. Loss of consciousness of what unions must do and their reason for doing these
2. Loss of independent consciousness; loss ideology; fragmentation of the labour movement/lack of unity
3. Influence of neo-liberalism on how TUs think, speak and act
4. Informalization of work and workplaces

5. Reorganization of the capitalist production – more fragmented; more individualized; more dispersed and so on

To improve effectiveness, TU need to be more creative, proactive, adaptive and innovative. They should adopt new forms of engagement and organization (mobile tech) and free themselves from dominant political ideology (neoliberalism)

What areas of trade union work should be strengthened for better effectiveness?

TUs work focus on the following education, organization, negotiation, research, communication, campaigns, advocacy, administration, leadership training and production of cadres.

The specific areas that need strengthening are

1. Research and education
2. Use research to train cadres and raise their consciousness
3. Resource mobilization – harness what we have; mobilize more by building alliances that will add/bring more resources to the table
4. Adopt new ways of organization (technology)
5. Specialized area of training and research in which we lacks capacity
6. Build capacity for gender-based analysis in research and engagement

Floor discussion

In the floor discussion that followed the presentation of the reports, a few issues were highlight. It was stressed that as the presentation of Prof. Tsikata shows, the term social protection is the neoliberal redesign of social policy so TU should focus on crafting a broader social policy with social protection situated in it. Pursuing a broader social policy will help TUs with challenge of membership mobilization.

Also, it was highlighted that the issue of pensions as a source of mobilization for investment featured prominently in the discussions at the meeting and it is important to pursue additional research in this area.

In addition, it was noted that TUs should be heavily involved in dealing MNCs but helping countries deal with the signing of binding unbalanced agreements with these MNCs.

Finally, the need for additional investment in data collection and research was also highlighted.

Going forward, the moderators indicated that when the full report is ready, a team of four will work through the report for further reflection and submit that together with the report in terms of follow-up from the deliberations.

3.3 Closing session: Yao Graham, Akwasi Adu-Amankwah, Peter Lawrence

Peter lauded the collegiality between TU representative and academics at this meeting and noted that linking academic research with TUs to practical work, resources and needs is very important. He added that it is important for TUs to move out to organize people who are not into work and form a wider social movement. He indicated that a number of articles written by Africans during the 40th anniversary of the ROAPE are directly related to the issues discussed at this meeting and encouraged participants to take a look at some of them.

Adu-Amankwah, on his part, expressed gratitude to supporting institutions, including ILO, for sharing their ideas at the meeting. He indicated that the ITUC-Africa will not undertake the research but would help develop research capacities of national unions and hoped the meeting would strengthen budding relations.

On the need for labour to organize more broadly, he indicated labour has not fully exhausted possibilities even within the formal sector. He said there was a challenge with the use of formal sector resources to organize in the informal sector and the unions needed financial support in this regard.

TUs will continue their engagement with development policy. He encouraged other groups to reach out to the unions during their activities.

Yao Graham on his part said the meeting should be seen as a good first step for bringing a wide range of groups together to share ideas and dreams. He said TWN-Africa has always cherished the relationship with the TUs and they remain a prominent and strategic partner for achieving cherished social and economic goals. He expressed his appreciation to ROAPE for their involvement in this workshop and welcomed future collaborations with all representative groups. Finally, he said there is a smaller committee from the meeting with a narrow task of taking specific issues raised to move the agenda forward.

APPENDIX A: LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

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APPENDIX B: PROGRAMME

INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION CONFEDERATION-AFRICA and THIRD WORLD NETWORK AFRICA
in Collaboration With REVIEW OF AFRICAN POLITICAL ECONOMY (ROAPE)

**Consultative Workshop on Employment, Structural Transformation and Economic Development in Africa
20-22 July, 2015, Fiesta Royale Hotel, Accra, GHANA**

PROGRAMME

		Time	Chairs/Speakers
Day1. 20/7	Welcome	09.00 -- 09.15	Yao Graham/K. Adu- Amankwah
Session 1	SETTING THE CONTEXT Globalisation, Jobless Growth and Poverty Africa	09.30 -- 10.30	Chair: Kwasi Adu- Amankwah, Sec-Gen, ITUC-Africa Jomo Kwame Sundaram, Asst Director-General, FAO
	COFFEE BREAK	10.30 -- 10.45	
	INTRODUCING THE PROGRAMME •Programme Logic and Expectations •Participant Introduction and Expectations	10.45 – 11.00	Hilma Mote and Tetteh Hormeku
	PART ONE: THE CASE FOR STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION		

Session 2	Thirty Years of Neo-Liberal Economic Policy in Africa: Main Features and Impacts (a) Evolution of Structural Adjustment Policy (b) Shifts in Production and Employment Patterns Under SAPs (c) Politics of Structural Adjustment	11.00 -- 13.00	Chair: Pascal Mihyo (a) Kodjo Evlo (b) William Baah-Boateng (c) Prof. Abebayo Olukoshi
	LUNCH	13.00 -- 14.00	
Session 3	Structural Transformation, Employment and Equitable Development: Issues and Perspectives: •Contested Paradigms, Key Issues and Perspectives	14.30 -- 16.30	Chair: Kwabena Otoo (a) Praveen Jha (b) Discussant: Yaw Baah
Day2. 21/78	PART TWO: THE AFRICAN POLITICAL ECONOMY AND STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION: POSSIBLE PATHS AND SECTORAL DRIVERS		
Session 4	Primary Commodity Dependence and Underdevelopment: •Common Patterns of the African Political Economy and the Challenge of Structural Transformation •Mineral dependence , Jobs and Transformation	08.30 -- 10.30	Chair: Naomi Chakanya (a) Peter Lawrence (b) Yao Graham
	COFFEE	10.30 -- 10.45	

	PART THREE: POLICY ISSUES AND PERSPECTIVES IN STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION AND EMPLOYMENT CREATION		
Session 5	(a) Agrarian Policy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agriculture and Structural Transformation In SSA: Peasant Path? • Issues and Perspectives in Structural Transformation and Employment Creation 	11.00 – 12.30	Chair: Kingsley Ofei-Nkansah •Sam & Qino Moyo •Jomo Kwame
Session 6	(b) Industrial Policy: The Quest for Industrialization as A key driver of Transformation: An Illusion or Reality	12.45 – 13.45	Chair: Yao Graham (b) Trywell Kalusopa
	LUNCH	14.00 – 15.00	
Session 7	(c) Social Policy: Employment, Structural Transformation and Equitable Development	15.30 – 16-30	Chair: A. Ndieye (c) Dzodzi Tsikata
Session 8	(d) Finance and Macro Economic Policy: Finance and Macroeconomic Policy (e) Macroeconomics	16.45 – 18.00	Chair: Gyekye Tanoh (d) Butch Montes (e) Kwabena Otoo
Day3. 22/7	PART FOUR: POLITICS AND STRUGGLE IN STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION AND EMPLOYMENT CREATION		

Session 9	The state and structural transformation in Africa	09.00 – 10.30	Chair: S. Patel •Prof Pascal Mihyo •Kouglo Lawson •Moddy Guiro
	COFFEE	10.35- 10.50	
Session 10	(a)Gender, Class and Social Relations and Structural Transformation (b) Political Mobilisation, Alliance Building and the Trade Union Movement	11.00 – 13.00	Chair: G. Broohm-Saizonou (a) Akua Britwum (b) Kessie Moodley
	LUNCH	13.30 – 14.00	
Session 11	Towards an Agenda for Research and Advocacy (a) Group Discussions (i) Research Issues and Challenges (ii) Advocacy Issues and Challenges (b) Plenary Summation: Elements of a Research and Advocacy Agenda	a) 1400- 1600 b) 1615 - 1700	Moderated by Hilma Mote; Tetteh Hormeku
Closing Session	Follow-Up Possibilities CLOSING	1700 - 1730	Peter Lawrence, Yao Graham, K Adu-Amankwa

