

# 3 Understanding the role and potential of the peripheral region

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## 3.1 Introduction

Globalisation, a rapidly changing economic landscape, innovation resulting in leaps in communication and technology, and the 4th Industrial Revolution (4IR) describe a transforming world, where change happens fast, and if you do not keep up – you are left behind. The impact of rapid and continuous changes across the globe is significant for regions such as the SADC, which is already experiencing lagging growth and is unable to reach its potential. The persistent and growing inequality in the social, economic, and spatial environment worldwide is more visible than ever and increasing every day.

Regional economic integration on the African continent, especially between regional blocs, has been the focus of economic and spatial planning for decades. However, the vertical linkages to Western economies have been hindered by their colonial and neo-colonial history, political ideologies, and localised challenges of connectivity (William et al., 1997; Page 2000). Integration within and between African states is often described as feeble (Aniche, 2009) due to weak ties among these countries, which are often focused on primary products while their Western counterparts focus on manufactured goods and the tertiary and quaternary sectors. The weak horizontal integration among these countries leads to further marginalisation within the world system and poor intra-African trade (Ake, 1981). The focus of economic development continues to be on the vertical and external interaction with the developed world, increasing the negative effects of a poorly integrated region (Aniche et al., 2009) and not reaping the benefits of regional economic integration.

Taking a historical view, various development theories and approaches are visible during the 20th century as part of describing the development and growth (or lack thereof) of the African continent, and subsequently the SADC region. Since the end of WWII, the term ‘developing world’ is often used to describe the global ‘South’, consisting of much of Latin America, Eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa, and characterised by social inequalities and poverty as opposed to the ‘developed world’. Sachs et al. (2010) coined the period after WWII as the ‘birth of the development period’ and a worldwide focus on the ‘underdeveloped’ world was central. The focus on the Global

South shifted to that of accelerated development and modernisation through industrial development and trade throughout the 1950s. The United Nations established three distinct decades of development after WWII, initially with a focus on integrated economic and social welfare with the key concept of improved quality of life (1960–1970). This period was later noted as a failure by the then World Bank President, McNamara, describing this shift towards economic growth alongside social development as an obstacle to growth. During this phase, a focus was visible on the classical economic theories of the developed world, implicating a focus on modernisation and national development strategies to establish national growth (Potter, 2012). The focus at the time was still largely on dependency theory (refer to Section 3.2.3).

Within the Global South, and specifically the African continent, however, a revolution in liberated states, capitalist ideals, and communist rhetoric were more apparent. The decade thereafter (1970–1980) focused efforts on an ‘International Development Strategy’ (Sachs & McArthur, 2005). During this time, there is a visible shift towards self-reliance and the basic needs approach. The decade thereafter, the 1980s, was pertinent in a South-South approach towards economic activity, including Bilateral Investment Treaties (BITs), Bilateral Trade Agreements (BTAs), and Bilateral Investment Promotion and Protection Agreements (BIPPAs). These agreements focused on establishing favourable conditions in terms of tax incentives and profitability in an approach to increase Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) among member states of regional blocs, i.e., SADC. This development phase was characterised by a focus on capacity building, large-scale infrastructure interventions, and a neo-liberalist approach, as well as a more inclusive bottom-up developmental focus (Binns et al., 2012).

Worldwide, a subsequent second phase of more evolved and integrated approaches is visible from the 1990s, attempting an alternative approach towards more localised and self-reliant success (Binns et al., 2012). This was, however, not the case for most of the African continent, still buckling under developmental and societal issues unique to the developing world. From this, it is evident that literature on African development is often focused on foreign aid and its effects and benefits on the continent, lacking an inward focus on inter-regional trade and beneficiation (Andrews, 2009). A further focus is on the difficulties experienced regarding structural and integration policies.

A new developmental focus was globally instigated in 2000 with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) with a three-pronged encompassing approach to economic, social, and environmental views. The initial eight development goals were updated in 2015 to the now 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Once again, the marginalised countries are lagging in achieving these goals due to various inherent characteristics and self-reinforcing triggers (refer to Section 3.2.4).

This chapter introduces the SADC as a planning region, but a unique one, as it is also a peripheral region with vast untapped resources and opportunities. The focus is furthermore on generalised regional policy initiatives, as

planning instruments, on furthering the development of the region in a cohesive manner, which will be explored in more detail in the final chapter of this book. The subsequent sections will focus on establishing reasons for lagging and sluggish development within the SADC, which could be ascribed to its position as a peripheral and marginalised region in the world.

### 3.2 Understanding peripheral regions

#### 3.2.1 *A peripheral View*

Friedmann (1967) established that the spatial system in its entirety is made up of two main regions, i.e., the core regions and the peripheral regions. The core has a dominance over the periphery with more intense development and growth visible in the core ascribed to earlier innovations within the core (Muniz et al., 2011). Friedmann (1966) established that this spatial system from a planning region viewpoint can be further divided. Five types of planning regions are commonly accepted: (i) core regions; (ii) upward transitional regions; (iii) resource-frontier regions; (iv) downward transitional regions; and (v) specialist problem regions (Friedmann, 1966; Kuklinski, 1970; Stilwell, 1972). Friedmann argues that the first two regions (core region and upward transitional regions) combined are regarded as the 'core' of a country, whereas the latter three regions (resource-frontier; downward transitional regions, and specialist problem regions) are deemed the 'peripheral regions' of said country. Friedmann (1966) is supported by the United Nations (1967) in their identification of typical problematic regions, i.e., underdeveloped regions in which different barriers hamper the regions from participating in development; depressed regions referring to regions that developed during the first industrial revolution, but experienced economic and social depression due to declining industries; with the third type of over congested regions referring to areas where growth has surpassed the capacity for development. Other causes for lagging or depressed regions (Van Duijn, 1979) are identified as being policy mistakes, exogenous disturbances, over-investment, the decline in the quality of the economic structure, lack of technological improvement, exhaustion of raw materials and energy sources, rising labour costs, and socialisation of demands (Capello & Nijkamp, 2009: 96; Richardson et al., 2011: 41–47) (also refer to Section 3.2.4).

Classical economist Krugman (1991) ascribes this relationship between the core and periphery as resultant of the interaction of economies of scale, market size, and transport costs – in simple terms, establishing firms where transport cost is minimised, and demand is maximised (Weber, 1929). Whereas the neo-classical theorists focus on the endogenous factors impacting the regional distribution of industries (Kaldor, 1970), including the historical development of knowledge and skills, specialisation, knowledge transfer through communication etc., Myint (1958) refers to a vent-for-surplus theory to explain the patterns of trade, especially within underdeveloped countries. The theory explains that existing surplus goods and the discovery

of new minerals stimulate trade from the resource-rich regions (most often underdeveloped) to the developed core regions. This trade acts as a 'vent' for surplus products with subsequent foreign investment and immigrant labour, furthering international trade.

### *3.2.2 A systems view*

The world systems theory, or paradigm as some refer to it, was first highlighted by Wallerstein (1976), establishing a classification of the relationships between the developed and developing world. Each country or region is accordingly categorised as either a core, semi-periphery, or peripheral player in the global economic system (Coetzee, 2001). Wallerstein (1976) describes the world system as

a social system, one that has boundaries, structures, member groups, rules of legitimation and coherence. Its life is made up of conflicting forces which hold it together by tension and tear it apart as each group seeks eternally to remould it to its advantage.

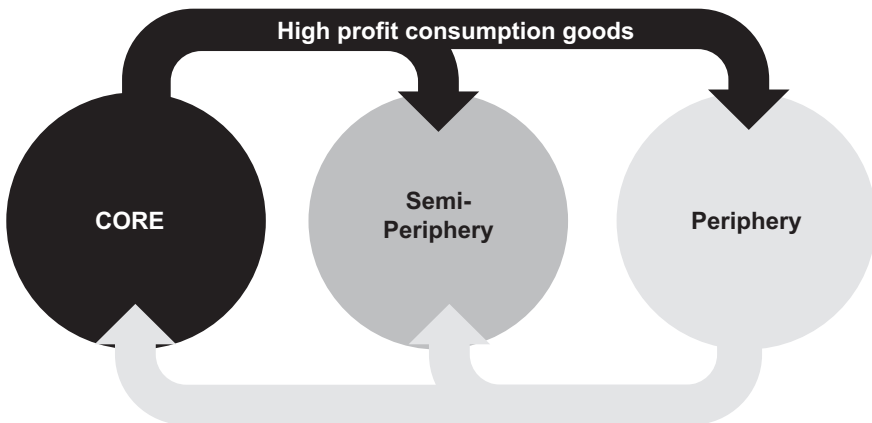
This dynamic world system is often utilised to describe the relationship between world regions or nations, as well as to establish a unit of social and political analysis (Aniche & Ukaegbu, 2016). This division is often referred to as a tri-modal structure (Wallerstein, 2004), which explains how the global capitalist system impacts continuing inequality due to varying levels of industrialisation in developing countries (Goldstein & Pevehouse, 2008; Ukaegbu, 2011). Each of the categories is associated with a level of development and interaction as well as a focus on how labour division is experienced on an inter-regional and transnational basis. For instance, countries within the core are found to exhibit a higher-skilled labour force focused on higher-order goods and services and capital-intensive production, resulting from their capitalist approaches in the 16th century (Wallerstein, 1974). During this time, the West established its economic advantages and essentially unequally controlled the world economy through a focus on an industrialist approach (Wallerstein, 1974; Chase-Dunn, 1983; Arrighi, 1989; Moore, 2003). The core utilises its dominance to obtain cheap labour and raw materials from the periphery, utilising it in production, and selling products back to the semi-periphery and periphery. The nations found in the core exhibit a high quality of life, high levels of education, vigorous economic growth, and superior infrastructure (Coetzee, 2001).

Opposingly, the semi-periphery is focused and labour-intensive, with basic skills labour and primary or extractive industry in general. It exhibits characteristics of both the core and periphery and is exploited by the core, while simultaneously exploiting the periphery. The semi-periphery exhibits stronger ties with the core, being able to manufacture and sell to the core regions while simultaneously being dependent on their raw materials, as

well as trading with the periphery (Coetzee, 2001). This is even more true for the peripheral regions in this classification, which continuously reinforces the dominance of the core over the semi-peripheral and peripheral nations. The periphery is characterised by low levels of industrialisation, a hampering social environment with low standards of living, poor education, and a lack of health facilities. Furthermore, the strong dependence on non-skilled labour in the primary sector and natural resources is evident. This lack of diversification, lack of infrastructure, and dependence on singular sources invokes a continuous state of underdevelopment (Yates, 2012). Scholars agree that this system is dynamic, and countries could change their classification based on internal shifts in connectivity, policy, and inter-regional and international trade (Dos Santos, 1970; Chase-Dunn & Grimes, 1995).

### 3.2.3 *A dependency view*

A dependency view on less-developed nations is a multi-faceted concept not only focused on development but also on economics and politics. It postulates that the developed world continuously and actively pursues this state of dominance over less-developed countries through various policies and initiatives (Tanyanyiwa & Hakuna, 2014). The developed world is dependent on the developing world for its cheap labour, natural resources, and as a market for its products. Dependency theorists argue that this dependency of peripheral (poor) countries on core countries is not solely because they are unintegrated but rather *how* they are integrated into the larger world system. Nordlund (2018), notes that the core-periphery association is often negative, focused on a dominance versus dependency relationship, which is not necessarily always to the detriment of the peripheral region. Figure 3.1 illustrates



*Figure 3.1* Core-periphery interdependence

*Source:* Adapted from Smith (2013).

this continued dependency between the three types of nations, whereas the periphery (often poor) countries provide cheap labour and raw materials to the semi-periphery and core countries. These countries in turn provide high-profit consumption goods to each other as well as to the periphery. Garza (2006) maintains that some first-world nations ‘actively, perpetuate a state of dependency through various policies and initiatives’. Other protagonists of this theory uphold that the solution for this continued dependency lies within reduced linkage to core countries and establishing stronger ties through South-South cooperation (i.e., regional integration) in import-substitution and enhanced industrialisation (also refer to Chapters 10 and 11).

The SADC, as with many other developing and peripheral regions, however, receives funding support from various international organisations and funding partners, such as the European Union (EU), African Development Bank (ADB), and AU, to support development, programmes, and operations (Tanyanyiwa & Hakuna, 2014). This cycle of dependency continues as the periphery remains dependent on the core due to an inability to establish endogenous growth.

#### *3.2.4 Attributes associated with peripheral and dependent regions*

The arguments for underdevelopment in peripheral or lagging regions are multiple as attested by Collier et al. (1997) in their focus on Africa (Binns et al., 2012) and the various ‘**development traps**’ identified and its origins ascribed to colonialism (Collier, 1997; Harrison, 2004). The **resource trap** links to the dependency view, stating that the ‘resource curse’ of cheap natural resources and labour led to a ‘flawed integration’ of the resource-rich regions with the developed nations (Gordon & Gordon, 2007). A second trap is identified as a ‘**conflict trap**’ resulting from the resource trap after the independence of these underdeveloped nations. The conflict trap refers to the poor transition from a colony to an independent state, characterised by a weak government that benefitted from highly profitable natural resources, now in a position to directly benefit and exploit its position (Gordon & Gordon, 2007). This in turn establishes nations that are not motivated to explore other avenues of income generation and new development initiatives (Gordon & Gordon, 2007). Nkrumah (1965) upholds that this has led to a new, more subtle form of colonialism, i.e., new colonialism, describing a state that is independent in theory but still falls victim to sovereignty from an international role-player (Bond, 2006). The tensions between nations on transboundary resource conflict often run high, especially in land-locked countries (Collier, 1997) (a more detailed discussion is found in Chapter 8).

The grouping of the world system into centres and peripheries based on their geographical locality also impacts the relationship between these nations. This **marginality** (Kahveci et al., 2008) keeps marginal/peripheral nations off the centre, in effect excluding the periphery from activities originating and developing at the centre. Marginality in itself means ‘at the edge

(fringe/border),’ and it could be applicable across disciplines. Marginality and marginal regions have been the focus of studies since the early 1990s, with Leimgruber (1994) attempting the first definition thereof. An exact definition remains elusive, and research focuses more on the characteristics of such regions. As established by Ruddle and Rondinelli (1983), these characteristics include geographical remoteness (on any spatial scale), ecological fragility, dispersed and heterogenous populations, lack or low levels of physical and social infrastructure, poor access to towns and cities, economic backwardness, low productivity, and isolation of the masses on their political future. Gatzweiler et al. (2011) add extreme poverty to this definition as seen from a complex-adaptive system perspective, emphasising the ecological, social, political, and spatial dimensions of marginality. Pelc (2017) argues that the spatial distribution and spatial consequences of such regions should be the focus in addressing territorial marginality and adds that the kind of marginality should be determined depending on the spatial scale, i.e., global, continental, local etc.

Regional **lock-in** as detrimental to adaptability is a notion established within the economic geography. The metaphor for lock-in highlights the (often negative) tendency of an economy to get caught in a self-reinforcing spiral of uneven development and overfocus on specialisation subject to rigidity and inflexibility (Martin & Sunley, 2006). David (2005) argues that this ‘trap’ is experienced in economies where technology and industry become ‘stuck’ on a specific path, unable to transition into a new growth trajectory (refer to Section 3.3). Martin and Sunley (2006), however, reason that evolution is possible from a point of lock-in and that the connotation does not always have to be negative. Accordingly, a positive lock-in is possible when ‘local industrial dynamism’ is reinforced in such a manner that an increase in positive local externalities such as increasing returns and economic performance is experienced. This local inward-looking development reinforces local regional development and over time (often over decades) stimulates development from external economies. Martin and Sunley (2006) attest that this positive lock-in could, however, turn into a negative lock-in if the region does not welcome external influences (adaptability) such as new ideas, practices, and inter-relatedness (Grabher, 1993). David (2005) upholds that a region or economic system can only escape this negative lock-in or trap through an external shock or force; this is a much-debated argument, as various authors highlight that it depends on the type of external shock (Martin & Sunley, 2006), type of region (Thelen, 1999), type of self-reinforcement (Arthur, 1994), and the timing thereof (Setterfield, 2001). Grabher (1993) established that various types of lock-in could be experienced, which reminds one of the ‘development traps’ highlighted earlier in this section. The most recognised lock-in linking to the preceding discussion is that of functional lock-in, focused on the hierarchical dependence between economic entities. Cognitive lock-in is experienced when there exists a closed-off relationship and an



unwillingness to accept change and innovation. Lastly, the concept of political lock-in is encountered when the institutional regime does not welcome economic restructuring and uses its political agenda to hamper outside interferences. In this instance, the diversification and establishment of new firms are not supported by the powers that be, leading to a lack of dynamic growth in innovation, undiversified human skills, and hesitance in risk-taking (Schubert & Sooryamoorthy, 2010). These areas may be characterised by intense local social networks, a high degree of self-reliance among its population, and low levels of extra-local links. As a result, the level of entrepreneurship and innovation in peripheral regions is often much lower than in urban regions (Rodríguez-Pose, 1999). Table 3.1 highlights some of the more generic attributes associated with peripheral regions.

The next section will establish the concept of resilience and, more specifically, focus on regional resilience as an approach to strengthen and prepare regions for the unfamiliar. This section will speak specifically to the peripheral region and its vulnerability to exogenous and endogenous shocks and the measures available to address these shocks.

### **3.3 Regional resilience**

The resilience concept received prominence in the regional policy debate after the 2008 global economic crisis, which led to cities and regions across the world facing a further increase in urbanisation (Turok, 2014). At the time, resilience was regarded as a concept mainly focused on settlement or local level, with less of a regional focus, but has become more prominent through scholarly focus and from an array of angles. Porter and Davoudi (2012: 330) remark that furthering the resilience concept in spatial planning offers ‘concepts and methods for breaking planning out of its obsession with order, certainty and stasis’, which will in the discourse of this section become more perceptible and evident. Resilience theory was initially viewed as an equilibrium state to which a return must be made after a shock or disturbance. This theory has since evolved into the school of non-equilibrium resilience. Non-equilibrium resilience establishes two views, i.e., one of the multiple states of equilibrium to which a system must return after a shock to be regarded as resilient (Ahern, 2011; Desouza & Flanery, 2013) and, secondly, establishing systems as unable to return to the initial state of equilibrium and evolving along a new path towards resilience (Lhomme, et al., 2013; Lu & Stead, 2013). In support, Barat-Salguiero and Erkip (2014: 109) and Klein et al. (2003: 38) affirm that due to the vibrant and intricate character of urban systems, the return of any system to its pre-disturbance state is decidedly disputed (Friedmann, 2011).

Grabher (1993) established that both adaptability and adaptation of a region will have a substantial impact on the region’s ability to follow a new growth path after disturbances (Godschalk, 2003; Pickett et al., 2004;



*Table 3.1* Attributes of peripheral regions and associated implications

|                      | <i>Attributes of peripheral regions</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | <i>Implications</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Economic environment | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mostly small (often family-owned) firms</li> <li>• A large share of firms in the primary sector</li> <li>• Limited export and research and development (R&amp;D) technology orientation</li> <li>• Missing specialisation and (vertical) integration</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Low levels of productivity within the firm</li> <li>• High dependence on the public sector transfer payments in the primary sector</li> <li>• Less focus on growth</li> <li>• Potential for entrepreneurship in primary and secondary sectors</li> </ul> |
| Physical environment | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ecosystem goods and services are highly valued</li> <li>• Intensive use of natural resources as production factors (i.e., land, water, landscape, etc.)</li> </ul>                                                                                              | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• High exposure to natural risks, such as climate change</li> <li>• Increasing conflicts about the use of natural resources</li> <li>• Potential for eco-entrepreneurship</li> </ul>                                                                       |
| Social environment   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dense networks with mutual social control; fear of social exclusion if projects fail</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Missing 'strength of weak ties'</li> <li>• High-risk aversion is common</li> <li>• May impact entrepreneurial dynamics negatively</li> </ul>                                                                                                             |
| Human capital        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Low formal qualification (tertiary education)</li> <li>• High levels of out-migration (brain drain)</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Low labour productivity and limited innovation potential</li> <li>• Low labour participation</li> <li>• Tertiary or management experience is lacking, which may impact entrepreneurship</li> </ul>                                                       |
| Settlement structure | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Low residential density</li> <li>• No or small urban zones (small towns)</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                             | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Missing agglomeration economies</li> <li>• Limited exchange of creative human capital</li> <li>• Entrepreneurs cannot benefit from agglomeration economies</li> </ul>                                                                                    |
| Accessibility        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bad connection to basic infrastructure (train, roads, ICT)</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                           | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relatively high costs for information and transportation</li> <li>• Entrepreneurs must account for higher costs</li> </ul>                                                                                                                               |
| Distance             | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cognitive and organisational distance</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• High transaction costs in the implementation of new products and processes</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                    |

*Source:* Mayer and Baumgartner, 2014.

Ahern, 2011; Leichenko, 2011; Brugman, 2012; Desouza & Flanery, 2013). According to Grabher (1993: 265),

adaptation leads to an increasing specialisation of resources and a pronounced preference for innovations that reproduce existing structures. And while the system optimises the 'fit' into its environment, it loses its adaptability. Adaptability crucially depends on the availability of unspecific and uncommitted capacities that can be put to a variety of unforeseeable uses: redundancy.

The adaptability and adaptation-based approaches bring into account and attempt to explain the geographical unevenness of resilience or a non-equilibrium approach (Ahern, 2011; Desouza & Flanery, 2013; Lhomme et al., 2013; Lu & Stead, 2013). This approach resonates with the theory of new economic geography as it addresses conceptual, theoretical, analytical, and political influences on regional resilience (Pike et al., 2010).

The notions of adaptability and adaptation are noted across the literature (Grabher, 1993; Grabher & Stark, 1997; Pike et al., 2010), all conferring that if these two notions can coincide and complement each other (Miller et al., 2010; Pike et al., 2010), a truly resilient system is possible. Such a system is recognised as one of uninterrupted growth, both by means of adaptation on its existing growth path and through adaptability towards a new growth direction to resist future shocks (De Weijer, 2013; Turok, 2014) resulting in a 'dynamic stability'.

The peripheral region is even more sensitive to shocks, generally perceived as being less resilient due to its inherent characteristics (Martin & Sunley, 2006). This links back to the characteristics discussed in the previous section. The dependence on single-sector development leaves the peripheral region vulnerable to globalisation and competition (Virkkala & Niemi, 2006). The remoteness (unintegrated character) of the peripheral region, its lack of ties with external markets, and a focus on extractive and other primary industries add even more pressure on these regions' adaptability. The lack of innovation and subsequent low levels of entrepreneurship and research and development (R&D) (Dale, 2002; Tödtling & Tripl, 2005) are a further result of most firms being owned by international roleplayers (Lindkvist & Antelo, 2007). It is noted that international firms do not focus as much on value capture, extracting surpluses from the peripheral countries and limiting opportunities for renewal and advancement (Steen & Underthun, 2011) as would typically be the case in more advanced countries (Martin, 2012). It is argued that the adaptive capacity within these peripheral regions does exist (Carlsson et al., 2014) but that the impact of external networks remains crucial to assist in extracting and nourishing the inherent capacity (Lagendijk & Lorentzen, 2007). Fitjar and Rodrique-Pose (2011) caution against the assumption that peripheral regions are inherently less resilient; this is based on the premise of stronger cognitive and organisational proximity of local networks, supported by 'soft institutional arrangements' (Carlsson et al., 2014) and the involvement of various other actors (Aarsæther & Nyseth, 2007).

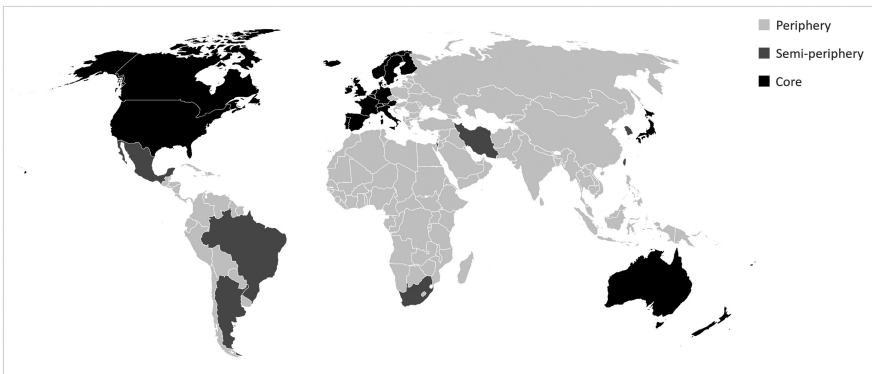
Carlsson et al. (2014) uphold that the specific approach of regional resilience and its components add value to understanding the dynamics of and within regions (Hassink, 2010). This is supported by new manners in which a region can be assessed regarding its response to change and addressing the way places respond to and cope with either the slow-burn processes or shocks experienced (Pike et al., 2010). Coe et al. (2004) established that a peripheral region's integration into broader value chains and production networks determines its response to, and recovery from, shocks and slow-burn processes. They are supported by Martin (2012) in the assessment of responses of different regions to financial shocks such as deindustrialisation and the 2008 financial crisis. It was established that regions will respond differently depending on the availability of resources (MacKinnon & Derickson, 2013).

The next section will turn the focus on the SADC as a peripheral region in the world and frame the SADC as a region with immense potential but lacking follow-through in establishing a more integrated and resilient unit.

### 3.4 The SADC as a peripheral region

The systems view (refer to Section 3.2.2) establishes the West as the core, while the member states of the SADC can be found as both within the semi-periphery (South Africa) and the periphery (other SADC members). The implication of this systems view or tri-modal structure is a continuous inequality in industrialisation between the West and the less industrialised SADC, and a continuous inequality among member states based on their individual systems status (Aniche et al., 2009).

The Competitive Industrial Performance (CIP) Index benchmarks the ability of countries to produce and export manufactured goods competitively. Table 3.2 captures the competitive performance of each of the 16 SADC



*Figure 3.2 SADC in terms of the systems view*

*Source:* Adapted from Chase-Dunn, Kawannn, and Brewer (2000) and Babones (2005)

Table 3.2 Competitive Industrial Performance (CIP) Index for SADC countries

| SADC country                 | Country classification | Rank<br>(total 154) | Dev. stage                    | Score | Manufacturing export<br>structure<br>(largest sector) | Industrialisation<br>Intensity Index (rank<br>of 154 countries) |
|------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| Angola                       | Least developed        | 127                 | Middle-income industrialising | 0.005 | 82.6% resource-based                                  | 143                                                             |
| Botswana                     | Developing economy     | 84                  | Middle-income industrialising | 0.019 | 95.7% resource-based                                  | 96                                                              |
| Comoros                      | No data available      | No data available   |                               |       |                                                       |                                                                 |
| Democratic Republic of Congo | Developing economy     | 125                 | Middle-income industrialising | 0.006 | 50.6% resource-based                                  | 142                                                             |
| Eswatini                     | Developing economy     | 86                  | Middle-income industrial      | 0.019 | 67.8% resource-based                                  | 49                                                              |
| Lesotho                      | No data available      | No data available   |                               |       |                                                       |                                                                 |
| Madagascar                   | Least developed        | 137                 | Low-income                    | 0.003 | 48.2% resource-based<br>48%                           | 141                                                             |
| Malawi                       | Least developed        | 142                 | Low-income                    | 0.003 | low-tech<br>61.8% resource-based                      | 103                                                             |
| Mauritius                    | Emerging industrial    | 92                  | Middle-income industrial      | 0.014 | 49.7%                                                 | 121                                                             |
| Mozambique                   | Developing economy     | 135                 | Low-income                    | 0.004 | low-tech<br>77.2% resource-based                      | 126                                                             |
| Namibia                      | Developing economy     | 103                 | Middle-income industrialising | 0.011 | 97.5% resource-based                                  | 118                                                             |
| Seychelles                   | No data available      | No data available   |                               |       |                                                       |                                                                 |
| South Africa                 | Emerging industrial    | 49                  | Middle-income industrial      | 0.052 | 46.3% resource-based                                  | 71                                                              |
| United Republic of Tanzania  | Least developed        | 129                 | Middle-income industrialising | 0.005 | 54.5% resource-based                                  | 129                                                             |
| Zambia                       | Least developed        | 126                 | Low-income                    | 0.006 | 63.3% resource-based                                  | 127                                                             |
| Zimbabwe                     | Developing economy     | 116                 | Middle-income industrialising | 0.008 | 85.5% resource-based                                  | 124                                                             |

Source: UNIDO, 2023.

countries and economies included in the 2020 CIP Index of 154 countries. Firstly, the countries are ranked in terms of their CIP Index, followed by a ‘Development Stage’ as determined by UNIDO (2020) based on the country in question’s industrialisation efforts in terms of manufacturing exports. The CIP Index, (UNIDO, 2020) is representative of the worldwide manufacturing sector recovering from a macro environment that has been shaken by economic (2008) and political insecurity and reduced trust in the benefits of globalisation. The average world score (CIP) is established as 0.062. Across countries, changes in industrial competitiveness are indicative of new leaderships, potentials, and pitfalls as the world sees a renewed role for manufacturing – particularly, manufacturing driven by the innovation and technology race of Industry 4.0 – as key to securing inclusive and sustainable development (UNIDO, 2020).

The column ‘Manufacturing export structure’ presents an overview of the country’s manufacturing sector’s export structure based on a technology intensity classification. Exports are classified as resource-based, low-, medium- and high-tech manufacturers, in each instance, only the largest export sector is indicated. The structure is shown as a percentage of the country’s accumulated manufacturing exports.

The table confirms the SADC countries in general as middle-income countries with an excessive focus on resource-based manufacturing exports, which will be further explored in Chapters 10 and 11. All SADC countries, except for South Africa (49), Botswana (84), Eswatini (86), and Mauritius (92), are ranked in the bottom third of the 154 countries regarding their CIP Index. Eswatini (49), South Africa (71), and Botswana (96) exhibit an Industrialisation Intensity Index below 100, indicative of a focused approach to industrial development. This table serves as background and basis for further chapters regarding the resource dependency of the study area (refer to Chapters 10 and 11). Accordingly, for purposes of this chapter, SADC is characterised as peripheral, and the peripheral characteristics of the SADC countries are confirmed. South Africa and Mauritius are classified as ‘emerging industrial’ countries, followed by the ‘developed economies’ of Botswana, DRC, Eswatini, Mozambique, Namibia, and Zimbabwe. The ‘least developed countries’ include the remaining five SADC countries, i.e., Angola, Madagascar, Malawi, Tanzania, and Zambia.

The subsequent section will focus on potential mechanisms available to address the question of the established peripherality of the SADC considering the regional resilience approach.

### **3.5 Addressing peripherality – de-locking mechanisms towards dynamic stability**

Leading back to the resilience focus, the concept of regional resilience has been established as having its roots in the economic (and industrial) sectoral composition and growth of a region; in the dynamic interactions along

networks (physical or abstract) within the region; and finally, in the institutions found and their reactions to change. This resonates with the policy approaches identified by Davies and Michie (2011), with the addition of the governance focus. Turok (2014: 753) supports this with the observation that all countries in the world have similar urban agendas, based on the three dimensions of change, i.e., economic progress, spatial integration, and responsive government. The dimensions of change directly correspond to the types of lock-in experienced by regions and could be regarded as an approach to prevent lock-in or stagnation. Lock-in (also refer to Section 3.2.4) and a locality's reaction thereto are pertinent in understanding the resilience of a region and its adaptation and adaptability capabilities. Various types of lock-in are identified, i.e., functional, political, and cognitive, and describe a region which becomes reliant on previous growth paths due to the ossification of institutional outlooks, relationships, and configurations, which inhibits adaptability (refer to Section 3.2.4). Lock-ins are often found to overlap and are self-reinforcing, rendering the region vulnerable to shocks and slow-burn processes. Martin and Sunley (2006) identify various 'de-locking' mechanisms to provide a basis to move from a state of adaptation and adaptability, which includes diversification of the economic structure, arranging technological advances, introducing and entrenching external resources, and generating innovation by economic agents. This suggests that settlements can enhance their adaptability if strategies and policies are in place to prevent lock-in (refer to Section 3.4).

### *3.5.1 Regional policy as a de-locking mechanism*

The need for a policy approach to enhance regional planning was identified by Kuklinski (1970). He determined that the need for regional policy exists firstly as a stimulus to address issues of the socio-economic structure (Carlsson et al., 2014) in lagging/problem regions, and secondly, as an indirect stimulus. This indirect stimulus is focused on the national level of policy and planning to address the integrated sectors making up the national, regional, and local levels. Developing countries are highlighted as more prone to problems because of irregular spatial development and the impact that the geographical area has on enlarging disparities (Johnson et al., 1986; Armstrong & Taylor, 2000). Glasson (1985) and Friedmann and Weaver (1979) established that there are two spatial levels of regional policy, i.e., an inter-regional level focus and an intra-regional focus. Inter-regional policy and planning focus on regional goals in the local region, which is often supported by an infrastructure focus. Intra-regional policy and planning are, in turn, focused on national goals and initiatives, as well as between countries, cutting across various sectoral differences in a holistic approach (Richardson, 1987), often referred to as a horizontal slice between sectoral planning initiatives.

The focus of regional policy has experienced a global shift from exogenous to endogenous (OECD, 2006; Ward & Brown, 2009). Endogenous policy

focus is most often promoted through a bottom-up approach in the peripheral region, whereby the decentralised government is expected to identify and initiate local regional development projects for which funding can be made available by donor countries. The OECD (2006) notes that there is a definite shift from single-sector policies (i.e., rural or agricultural focus) to a multi-sector focus to investments and subsidies under a regional competitiveness drive. This in turn requires more localised initiatives of capacity building and skills development to support said projects. Spatial policies and spatial policy objectives are more explicit in their goals, such as specific growth centres or sectoral development being promoted (Richardson, 1987; European Commission, 1997). Three main groups or **policy fields** and foci are identified by the European Policies Research Centre (Davies & Michie, 2011) as resorting outside the narrow definition of regional policy, referring to (i) the inherent potential for development, (ii) a focus on accessibility and openness, and (iii) the provision of local services. The inherent potential focus is on the natural resources and includes initiatives focused on the human and social capital of the region in question. As highlighted earlier, the peripheral regions are often overly dependent on their natural resources, and this dependence is exploited by a select few in charge of decision-making. The social capital of peripheral regions is often included in this approach to regional policymaking, with a focus on retaining and attracting the younger generations to the region. A second approach to policymaking is largely focused on human interactions and connectivity regarding broadband infrastructure. This policy focus aims to address issues of accessibility and links with other people and firms outside of the region, albeit a capital-intensive policy approach most often focused on improving transport routes and access to broadband networks. The third policy intervention which is often visible within peripheral regions is that of service provision, both in commercial and public services. Similar to the connectivity focus, this type of policy is often impeded by the availability of resources and local funding.

Lall (2011) proposes that regional policy should aim towards reconciliation between unbalanced growth, and inclusive development should be the target of regional policy. He claims that economic integration could provide a solution and that spatial integration should be pursued, rather than a singular policy of spatial targeting. The World Bank (2008) identified several instruments, i.e., institutions, infrastructure, and interventions, to fulfil the goal of spatial integration. The ‘institution’ focused policies are highlighted as being universal and spatially blind (not locality-bound); this often includes regulations concentrating on social services, international trade, and labour. Naturally, policies related to the infrastructure (railways, communication corridors, roads) focus are place-bound. The World Bank (2018) establishes that the ‘interventions’ policy instrument will be spatially specific in a targeted manner focused on programmes that promote preferential trade access, fiscal incentives, and trade agreements. The World Bank realistically notes that not all regions deal with the same issues, and therefore additional instruments are identified based on the scale of the regional problem. Table 3.3



Table 3.3 A rule of thumb for calibrating the policy response

| <i>Policy priorities for economic integration</i> |                                                                          |                                             |                                                    |                                                 |
|---------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Complexity of challenge</i>                    | <i>Place type<br/>L (local);<br/>N (national);<br/>I (international)</i> | <i>Institutions<br/>Spatially<br/>blind</i> | <i>Infrastructure<br/>Spatially<br/>connective</i> | <i>Interventions<br/>Spatially<br/>targeted</i> |
| <i>One-dimensional problem</i>                    | L – Areas of incipient urbanisation                                      | ✓                                           |                                                    |                                                 |
|                                                   | N – Nations with sparse lagging regions                                  |                                             |                                                    |                                                 |
|                                                   | I – Regions close to world markets                                       |                                             |                                                    |                                                 |
| <i>Two-dimensional challenge</i>                  | L – Areas of intermediate urbanisation                                   | ✓                                           | ✓                                                  |                                                 |
|                                                   | N – Nations with dense lagging regions                                   |                                             |                                                    |                                                 |
|                                                   | I – Regions distant from world markets                                   |                                             |                                                    |                                                 |
| <i>Three-dimensional predicament</i>              | L – Areas of advanced urbanisation that have within-city divisions       | ✓                                           | ✓                                                  | ✓                                               |
|                                                   | N – Nations with dense lagging areas and domestic divisions              |                                             |                                                    |                                                 |
|                                                   | I – Regions distant from world markets with small economies              |                                             |                                                    |                                                 |

Source: World Bank (2008: 202)

stipulates that for a one-dimensional problem, there should be a single policy instrument (in this case spatially blind institutions) to address the problem. However, as soon as a problem becomes a two-dimensional challenge or a three-dimensional predicament, the policy approach and instruments will change accordingly, with the severest case calling for all three policy priorities to be addressed by the various associated instruments.

The peripheral region would typically require a three-pronged approach of institutional, infrastructure, and spatial intervention. The instruments to be utilised for reaching policy goals will naturally differ depending on the spatial scale as illustrated above (Kuklinksi, 1970). He concurs that the goals of short-term and long-term (resilience) economic growth are typically supported through different programmes. Typically, targeted investment in the stronger core will yield quick results, but a longer-term focus on resilience will require a focus on breaking barriers (also refer to Lall, 2011 on spatial integration) on an inter-regional scale. Martin (1979) noted that investment in infrastructure

alone (DPA – direct productive activity) does not significantly impact the long-term productivity and welfare of the local population. Subsequently, he proposed a dual investment focus in support of the local population by means of social overhead capital (SOC) and supportive policy directed at building local entrepreneurship in a ‘people development paradigm’. Various other scholars point to the importance of building on the ‘institutional collective action’ (ICA) approach through formal and cooperation agreements, facilitating the movement of goods, joint infrastructure supply, and strengthening local communities (Andrew, 2009; Feiock & Scholz, 2009). The ICA approach states the focus of participatory regions’ local governments to establish regional benefits by operating beyond their limits (political boundaries). This reinforces the work of Krugman establishing the important role that regional governance and regional relations can play in establishing a more attractive and economically competitive region (Feiock, 2007, 2009).

Aiginger et al. (2012), in their discussion on policy options for the development of peripheral regions and countries of Europe, identify several success factors that are crucial for regional development and ‘catch-up’ of peripheral regions. Firstly, such strategy or policy should build on the inherent potential and strengths of the region and be championed by a committed role-player/government. The practical component of knowledge transfer is envisaged to be guided by developmental agencies and knowledgeable partners. A definite shift towards the secondary (manufacturing) and tertiary (value-added services) should be supported through sectoral policies that demand structural change and are focused on local strengths. The catch-up focus of the periphery should furthermore be strengthened with a commitment to secondary and tertiary education, coupled with employment in industries focused on high-technology manufacturing. This will be enhanced by a pertinent focus on local investment, attracting FDI and increasing regional trade. Lastly, the commitment and support from the national sphere of government for investment funding and a clear national vision are significant in a successful catch-up strategy. Table 3.4 highlights the various policy approaches identified for European peripheral regions as a best-practice example.

Aiginger et al. (2012) uphold that these measures increase economic welfare in most leading countries, could potentially create positive spillovers for peripheral countries in the EU, and could potentially be useful in providing a foundation for peripheral countries in the SADC. The final section of this chapter will synthesise regional policy and how this tool could inform approaches to regional resilience in the SADC countries as peripheral regions in the world.

Detailed discussion and pertinent proposals can be found in Chapter 12.

### 3.6 Conclusion

The preceding discussion established the SADC as a largely peripheral region in the global context, with South Africa as a semi-peripheral region. The

Table 3.4 Best-practice policy approaches in peripheral regions

| <i>Policy approach</i>              | <i>Discussion</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Main driver                         | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A national strategy based on a pertinent vision supported by all levels of government</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| National policy and state support   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Particularly important for peripheral regions lacking endogenous resources to counter declining trends by initiating new activities</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Support region-wide policies        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Support and monitoring of the higher tier unit of government (i.e., the European Commission)</li> <li>• Better targeting of existing funds</li> <li>• Coordination between funds and policies</li> <li>• Increasing the level of support</li> <li>• Providing fiscal transfers as automatic stabilisers of shocks</li> <li>• Reducing disequilibrium including income distribution</li> <li>• Supporting monetary policy</li> <li>• Improving knowledge transfer</li> <li>• Reducing tax evasion</li> </ul> |
| Support: Spillovers from the centre | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Policies should also consider the interaction between the centre (i.e., the leading countries) and the periphery of the monetary union since the empirical evidence shows that catch-up works best when spillovers from the centre facilitate adjustment in the periphery</li> <li>• Aligning wages with productivity growth</li> <li>• Increasing consumption by reducing income spreads</li> <li>• Going for excellence in energy saving and sustainability</li> </ul>                                    |
| Defining competitive advantages     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Making use of globalisation, location, and ports</li> <li>• Centre of alternative energy</li> <li>• Upgrading tourism</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Changing structures                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reforming education, promoting innovation, and regulation</li> <li>• Improving the employment impact of expenditure and tax</li> <li>• Shift taxation and boost tax compliance</li> <li>• Role of youth in a new reform alliance</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Rebuilding the production base      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Boosting productivity is the priority</li> <li>• An industrial policy is needed</li> <li>• Entry and creation of firms</li> <li>• Attracting FDI and embedding it into an industrial strategy</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |

Source: Adapted from Aiginger et al. (2012) and (Carlsson et al., 2014)

SADC is regarded as a region largely dependent on its primary sector and natural resources, with a strong dependence on exogenous impetus to participate in the global economy. This dependency intensifies the region's marginal position and hampers regional resilience. It was established that peripheral regions are more sensitive to economic and other shocks, which in turn heightens their vulnerability to regional lock-in. The concept of resilience established that regions with a positive outlook and approach to adaptability could utilise this openness to innovation in a positive manner through local industrial dynamism. This approach could add immense value in establishing the SADC as a truly resilient region where the crucial juncture between adaptation and adaptability is reached.

This chapter established regional policy for the SADC as a potential de-locking mechanism, focused on a three-pronged approach between infrastructure development, institutional buy-in and support, and spatially targeted interventions. It is upheld that suitable regional policy will assist in breaking barriers on the inter-regional scale and establish the SADC as an inward-focused region, with an openness to exogenous assistance.

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