

CAHIERdeRECHERCHE N° 11

Institut de Recherche en Management et Pays Emergents du Groupe ESC PAU

The Groupe ESCPAU Institute for Research in Management and Emerging Countries

janvier **2009**



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Outsourcing as a mode of organizational learning

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Abstract

Purpose - The purpose of this paper is to explore the extent to which outsourcing can be regarded as a mode of increasing organization learning through the internalization of new routines.

Design/methodology/approach - The paper features six case studies of firms that have outsourced parts, or all of their information technology (IT) activities.

Findings - When a firm outsources an IT activity (that has been performed in-house), it needs to develop an ability to specify to its supplier(s), and articulate its IT requirements in explicit terms. A firm's effort to externalize knowledge that was internal to an external supplier implies that a great deal of relatively tacit knowledge has to be converted into explicit knowledge, so that suppliers are able to understand the firm's business specificity. In this very process of externalizing knowledge and interacting with suppliers and other market players, the firm develops new rules, routines and procedures relating to how to manage the outsourced IT activity, which over time will be internalized.

Originality/value - The paper is of value in linking outsourcing and organizational learning.

Keywords Outsourcing, Learning organizations

Paper type Case study

1. Introduction

The notion of a firm as a coherently-bounded entity has conventionally meant that a firm is the source of learning and of new knowledge. However, a new perception is taking shape: new knowledge can be generated from both internal and external sources (Prahalad and Hamel, 1990; Leonard-Barton, 1995; Prahalad and Ramaswamy, 2004; Santoro *et al.*, 2007). Researchers have described external learning from partners in terms of increase in a firm's stock of knowledge (Leonard-Barton, 1995; Nonaka and Takeuchi, 1995), of access to and generation of breakthrough ideas (Rosenkopf and Nerkar, 2001; Powell *et al.*, 1996), of innovation speed (Kessler and Chakrabarti, 1996) and of strategic flexibility (Grant, 1996). Researchers have emphasized the significance of links among organizations as opportunities for inter-organizational learning (Levitt and March, 1988, Powell *et al.*, 1996). An example of inter-organizational ties that constitutes opportunities for learning is the outsourcing relationship. An outsourcing relationship exposes the involved organizations to the exchange of information that they would not have had on their own – information that leads to learning new knowledge. As noted by Santoro *et al.* (2007), while external learning is a very broad topic encompassing a wide variety of learning processes and sources, most prior research has largely focused on learning from lead users (e.g. von Hippel, 1988), partnerships (e.g. Kale *et al.*, 2000), less attention has been paid to learning from suppliers within the context of service industry. Furthermore, as noted by Dyck *et al.* (2005), although there has been much theorizing about learning from external sources, there is actually very little *empirical* evidence to support the concepts and models that have been proposed (Huber, 1991; Argote *et al.*, 2003). Finally, in spite of the emphasis on learning from external sources, there is no model conceptualising how this learning actually takes place.

The present paper investigates inter-organizational learning within the context of outsourcing of information technology (IT) services. Its aim is to tentatively suggest a framework of how that learning takes place. Theoretically, it uses Nonaka's (1994) knowledge-creation theory and elements of the organisational learning theory. In this context, the dynamics of IT outsourcing is regarded as a two-fold process: one of externalization of firm-specific knowledge and one of internalization through the acquisition of new organizational routines. When a firm outsources an activity, its role shifts from that of a performer to that of a purchaser of that activity in the form of services. This transformation requires efforts to codify, formulate and specify in writing one's needs and requests, to probe and scrutinize those needs, to evaluate the worth, merit and contribution to the firm's overall performance of each and every service to be purchased. The transfer of explicit information and knowledge between firms and their suppliers leads to learning new routines of how to manage IT. Gradually, such new ways of managing IT are petrified into rules, routines, strategies, standard operating procedures, which by dint of habit and exercise, become internalized as tacit aspects of knowledge. Externalization and internalization of knowledge are in a dialectic relationship, each configures the other. As an illustration of this framework, the paper draws on case study material gleaned from six firms that have outsourced/externalized all, or parts of their IT activities.

Although not new, IT outsourcing emerged in the 1990s as a significant device for restructuring organizations. Today, a company such as Microsoft outsources almost everything – from the manufacturing of its computer software to the distribution of its software products – and only focusing on the area of competitive advantage: the writing of software code (Useem and Harder, 2000). In the reasoning of most industry observers, the market for IT outsourcing represents 30 per cent of total IT budgets (Lacity and Willcocks, 2001).

Both the academic literature and business press have initially focused on the motives behind outsourcing from a cost-reduction perspective. Cost reduction results from the use of market as a co-ordination mechanism, as it leads to lower manufacturing costs and reduced investment in plant equipment (Bettis *et al.*, 1992; Quinn, 1992). By outsourcing non-core activities, firms are presumed to increase managerial attention and resource allocation to those tasks that they do best (Hagel, 2002; Quinn, 1992; Gilley and Rasheed, 2000; Lado and Wilson, 1994). This initial focus on cost reduction advantages (Lacity and Willcocks, 1998) has rapidly shifted towards an emphasis on strategic purposes such as

focus on core competencies (Quinn, 1992; Dess *et al.*, 1995; Slaughter and Ang, 1996; Ang and Straub, 1998; Diromualdo and Gurbaxani, 1998), and access to suppliers' technology and technical skills (Slaughter and Ang, 1996; Ang and Straub, 1998), which are valuable, rare, hard to imitate and replace (Barney, 1991; Grant, 1996).

It follows from this that firms' boundaries are regarded as the outcome of firms' superior advantage over the market, to nurture, co-ordinate and integrate a set of specific knowledge and skills (Demsetz, 1991). Outsourcing a certain task can thus be considered efficient as long as the firm is able to preserve and develop its architectural knowledge (Henderson and Clark, 1990). Although the outsourcing literature has not overlooked the learning potentials associated with outsourcing, it tends to frame outsourcing in terms of a one-way "access" to the supplier's fund of specialized expertise (Lacity and Willcocks, 1998; Dess *et al.*, 1995). Most importantly, it did not recognize the significance of externalization in the process of learning.

The paper proceeds in the following way. First, Nonaka's (1994) model of knowledge creation is outlined and reframed in the context of outsourcing. Second, ideas from the learning organizational learning theory (drawing on Cohen and Bacdayan, 1994; Powell, Koput and Smith-Doerr, 1996; Walsh and Ungson, 1991) are integrated. Next is outlined the research design, which consists of six case studies of firms that have outsourced parts or all of their IT activities. The findings are then presented and discussed. Finally, conclusions and implications of the present study for the study of learning from external sources are drawn.

A note of caution is in order. It is not the primary aim of this study to make an evaluation of the success or failure of the practice of outsourcing. Nor does it imply that learning is necessarily a guarantee for commercial success. One can also learn to do the wrong things. The focus is mainly on how the learning process takes place.

2. Learning from external sources

In the context of strategic alliances, Child (2001, pp. 659-60) suggests that knowledge transferred among partners can be classified into different levels of intrinsic composition and scope of organizational application: *technical, systematic and strategic*. The technical level involves the acquisition of new, specific techniques, such as those for quality measurement, for systemic market research or for personnel selection. Child (2001) regards this learning as associated with single-loop learning. By contrast, the systemic level pertains to double-loop learning and is associated with the reframing of roles and relationships, and of organizational systems and procedures. Finally, the strategic level of knowledge is concerned with senior managers' mindsets as these relate to the criteria for organizational success. The strategic level of knowledge entails reflexive cognitive processes that are likely to generate new insights. To be noted, these three levels of knowledge may be obtained even when collaborations are established for other reasons than learning; in such cases learning emerges as a desirable by-product (Inkpen, 1998).

2.1 - Inter-organizational knowledge-creation

Although the inter-organizational literature enlightens us on the forms of knowledge that may ensue (deliberately or undeliberately) from a given collaboration, it does not provide us with a conceptualization of how learning emerges. Hence, this paper adopts ideas from Nonaka's (1994) theory of knowledge-creation and the learning organizational theory to empirically examine the interplay of outsourcing/externalization and internalization/ learning (and their underlying phases) as a result of a intensive knowledge flows between organizations.

Following Polanyi (1967), Nonaka (1994) posits that knowledge consists of two forms: explicit and tacit. On this basis, he suggests that "knowledge creation centers on the building of both tacit and explicit knowledge and, more importantly, on the interchange between these aspects of knowledge through internalization and externalization" (p. 20). He suggests four knowledge transitions among individuals and groups in organizations: tacit-to-explicit (externalization), tacit-to-tacit (socialization), explicit-to-explicit (combination) and explicit-to-tacit (internalization) (Nonaka, 1994; Nonaka *et al.*, 2001).

2.2 Externalization

Externalization involves a mode of conversion of tacit-to-explicit knowledge. The conversion process of tacit knowledge is determined by the relative articulability of knowledge (Winter 1987; Bresman *et al.*, 1999). In a similar way, Zander and Kogut (1995) characterize tacit knowledge in terms of its relative *codifiability*. Tacitness is thus defined in terms of how difficult it is to articulate and codify a given domain of knowledge. In the case of outsourcing, we assume that organizations perform different functional activities, and specific functional knowledge is developed and integrated around these activities (Minbaeva and Michailova 2004). And when these functions are outsourced and instead purchased from suppliers, customer organizations are hard put to externalize that tacit knowledge. Knowledge that was previously unavailable to immediate conscience has to become explicit. As Szulanski puts it, because "intrafirm exchanges of knowledge are embedded in an organizational context" (Szulanski, 1996, p. 31), "a transfer of knowledge, especially when the knowledge transferred has a tacit component, may require numerous individual exchanges" (Szulanski, 1996, p. 32). Bresman *et al.* (1999) showed that interpersonal communication, such as visits and meetings, were significant facilitators of knowledge transfer. Gupta and Govindarajan (2000) considered not only the existence of communication channels but also the richness of communication links, captured as informality, openness and density of communication. It follows from this that the conversion of tacit knowledge into explicit knowledge is triggered off by successive rounds of meaningful "dialogue" (Nonaka, 1994, p. 7), and through the use of metaphors and analogies. Through dialogue, intuitive insights and hidden and tacit aspects of knowledge become verbalized, made more explicit and shared by members of a group (Nonaka, 1994). However, tacit knowledge may also be externalized through documentation, such as when it is codified into words and figures. Codifying tacit knowledge amounts to mapping it onto appropriate sign systems that will represent it (Boisot, 1987; Boisot *et al.*, 1997) and function as a surrogate for it. This mode is facilitated by such prompters as coordination of team members and the exchange of documented, existing knowledge. Through iterative processes of trial and error, concepts are articulated and developed until they emerge in a concrete form. Hence, the explicit knowledge that has been created during externalization is combined with existing explicit knowledge. This form of knowledge requires the use of social processes to combine different bodies of expertise and knowledge held by different individuals, such as the exchange of documents and facts, either face-to-face or through other communication media such as telephone conversations.

2.3 - Internalization

As members with new explicit knowledge of how things work become more and more involved, and as they develop their experience of these new skills they begin to master their tasks (Dyck *et al.*, 2005). Repetition results in embedding the innovation in the workers' personal routines. Participants in a field of action share explicit knowledge that is gradually translated, through interaction and trial-and-error processes, into different aspects of tacit knowledge. Through experiences and cycles of socialization, codification and combination (Nonaka 1994), individuals internalize new knowledge in the form of shared mental models or technical know-how. Subsequently, this form of knowledge becomes part of individuals' tacit knowledge. As noted by Nonaka (1994), internalization is associated with the more traditional organizational learning theories, in the sense that knowledge conversion is regarded as a spiral, where the interaction between tacit and explicit knowledge is amplified across the four modes. Starting from the individual level, it expands as it moves through groups, departments, organizations and inter-organizational contexts.

2.4 - The acquisition of rules and routines

One of the questions that Nonaka (1994) does not explicitly address is how knowledge created in an organization is captured and petrified in an organization. Hence, we have to turn to another strand of research within organizational learning that addresses this question more specifically. The literature in this area suggests that organizations learn through the development of new routines (Blackler, 1993; Cohen and Bacdayan, 1994; Powell *et al.*, 1996; Walsh and Ungson, 1991). Routines transcend the cognitive limitations of individuals. Routines take on a life of their own, above and beyond those of their members. Routines include rules, procedures, strategies, technologies and cultures that are geared to change a firm's behavior. They constitute the organizational knowledge base and when they change that knowledge base changes in step with the organizational experience history. Examples of routines are performance-monitoring routines for evaluating effectiveness and self-appraisal activities and re-examining governing values and practices. The aim of routines is to establish new frames of reference (Huber, 1991). Evaluation efforts of effectiveness render operational performance both visible and accountable. They facilitate the development of shared understanding of performance. Another type of routine through which organizations may increase their learning is comparison and measurement against the standard of other internal as well as external units. The practice of comparison is widely used in the strategic literature, where it goes under the name of benchmarking (Cook, 1995; Watson, 1993; Zairi, 1996). Benchmarking can be defined as the use of customers and departments as the basis for comparison, intra- as well as inter-organizationally.

2.5 - Summary

The two primary processes of knowledge creation – externalization and internalization (and freezing of knowledge into rules and routines) constitute a configuration that lies at the basis of organizational learning. Crucial features of externalization are codification, documentation and dialogue, which involve the development of new metaphors, analogies, concepts and measurement devices. Measurement gives rise to, and is constituted by comparison and benchmarking. Once insights become explicit, exercised and taken for granted, they congeal into organizational rules, routines and procedures. Such routines, rules and procedures involve different knowledge levels, as suggested by Child (2001), namely, technical, systemic and strategic. This conceptualization, captured in Figure 1, is used to frame the presentation and analysis of the findings of the present study.

3. Methodology

As mentioned above, the target of the analysis involves empirical material based on multiple case study methodology, seeking to investigate IT outsourcing's learning effects in the different settings (relating to both the private and the public sectors).

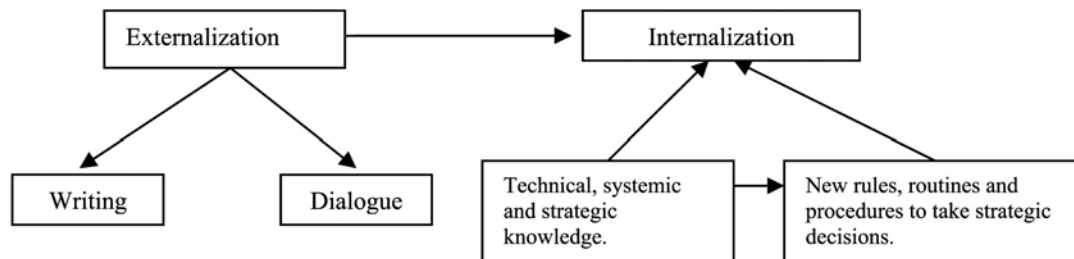


Figure 1. : Theoretical framework: organizational learning as externalization and internalization

Yin (1994) defines case study as “an empirical inquiry that addresses a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not distinct and where ‘how’ or ‘why’ and ‘what’ questions are the focus of the research”. Case study is a suitable research strategy in cases where the area under investigation is under-researched. Furthermore, learning and knowledge focused studies do not readily lend themselves to quantitative analyses and measurements. How to measure and capture (organizational) learning poses a challenge for researchers, since these strategic resources are of an intangible nature, such as changes in rules, routines and procedures. When the subject is of an intangible nature such as knowledge and learning, the aim of qualitative study is to “elicit a set of tangible indicators” (Locket and Thompson, 2001).

3.1 - Data generation

In keeping with the case study approach, the present study uses secondary and primary material. Whereas the secondary material consists of internal policy guidelines, protocols, internal strategic analyses, consultants' reports, newspapers and various publications. The primary material is gleaned from a non-directive interviewing technique, as this allows interviewees to tell their stories in their own “words” and categories. The aim was not to intervene too much in the informants' experience and to influence their ways of expressing themselves. The interviews mainly focused on the following issues: how is the relation between the firms and their suppliers structured and what routines for the flows of information were set in place? What are top managers' attitudes and involvement in IT before and after outsourcing? How were end users' and senior management's IT competence and ability to manage IT before and after outsourcing? How have routines of assessing and procuring IT needs changed? What new routines saw the light? Did senior managers' decision-making processes concerning IT issues change after outsourcing? Did they feel more confident and in control of their IT needs?

The primary material is based on 46 semi-structured interviews. All interviews were taped, transcribed and then translated from Swedish into English. The participants consist of various levels and departments: IT co-ordinators, end-users, heads of product/sales, marketing, administration departments, senior managers and CEO's and deputy CEO's. The informants were chosen on the basis of two criteria: that they were working at the firms before outsourcing and that they were, during the present study,

involved in managing the outsourcing relation. This is to ensure that they experienced the change from managing IT in-house to managing it from a distance via suppliers. The investigation took place between 1994 and 1998, that is, around two to four years after the implementation of outsourcing – a time scale considered sufficient to observe how outsourcing affected firms' knowledge of how to manage IT.

The empirical foci include the following sites all of which are located in Sweden: the financial industry including retail banking, Bank AB, (fictive name), an insurance company Insure AB (also fictive) and a financial institution, finance AB (fictive name); the retail industry, represented by Kooperativa Förbundet (KF); the oil industry, exemplified by British Petroleum (BP), and finally; public utilities, represented by Stockholm City (SC). Swedish financial institutions have been coy with the practice of IT outsourcing, compared to their counterparts in the USA and UK. The three cases from the financial sector were the first financial institutions in Sweden to have opted for some form of IT outsourcing. Table I summarizes the various types of IT outsourcing adopted by the organizations under consideration.

Participating firms	Suppliers	Type of outsourcing
Finance, financial industry, (credit institution)	Dafa (or SEMA)	Computer operation (including on-line traffic)
Bank AB, Financial industry	Responsor	Computer operation (including on-line traffic)
Insure AB, financial industry (Live and non-live insurer)	ID-Gruppen, Responsor	Computer operation (including on-line traffic) + Help desk + workplace equipment and installation + network
British Petroleum (BP), oil industry	Dafa	Computer operation (including on-line traffic)
KF, retailer	EDS	Total outsourcing
Stockholm City Hall (SC), Public administration	WM-Data	Total outsourcing

Note: EDS – Electronic Data Systems

Table I. : Participant firms, their suppliers and the IT services outsourced

Overall, informants differ as to whether IT is strategic or not. KF and SC have opted for total IT outsourcing; the assumption is that, although IT is strategic, it is not necessary to keep it in-house. By contrast, because BP; Finance, Bank and Insure view IT as central to the financial world, they adopted a more cautious approach. Finance, Bank and BP have outsourced computer operation activities only, Insure AB has, over and above these, outsourced network, help desk and work place installation. Whereas the firms which opted for partial outsourcing were pursuing cost reduction and focus on their core business, KF and SC wanted also to gain a better understanding of the interplay of IT and their business.

3.2 - Data analysis

The data analysis process was informed by what Miles and Huberman (1994) refer to as “analytic induction”. Analytic induction technique implies that data collection and analysis are conducted simultaneously, each informing the other. This technique allows the researcher to guide further data collection based on ongoing findings. Furthermore, in line with Eisenhardt (1989) and Yin (1994), the first phase of the analysis of the empirical data was conducted by continually transcribing and reading the interview transcripts. At this stage of content analysis, the goal was to understand the respondents' experience and to identify themes, categories, relationships and patterns. Whereas the statements of respondents represent (scattered) parts, the conceptual framework seeks to represent the whole (Klein and Myers 1999).

In the second phase, the identified issues were compared across respondents and cases. Although the conceptual framework, which is a general one, informed such searches for key issues and their categorization, other issues (which are more specific to the context of outsourcing) emerged as the analysis went on. These themes were integrated as a conceptual framework for understanding outsourcing (Figure 2). Each of these themes is described in more detail below, along with illustrating and supporting evidence from the interviews. As illustrations of the key issues, quotations from the interview material are provided, constituting what Miles and Huberman (1994) refer to as “vignettes”, involving ample descriptions of the theoretical concepts.

4. Discussions

Figure 2 displays the results obtained through a juxtaposition of the theoretical framework and data. They are clustered around the two major flows of knowledge between outsourcers and suppliers, including various phases of socialization and dialoguing. Under the category of externalization are grouped concepts that are generated as a result of firms’ efforts to specify in a more formal way their IT needs, both in writing (relying on documentation, comparison and measurement), and interactively (through face-to-face meetings with their suppliers, industry analysts and consultants).

Under the theme of internalization are listed concepts designating increased ability by the firms to measure and control IT costs (columns 1 and 2, Figure 2). The third category named organizational learning (column 3, Figure 2) lists a number of routines, rules and procedures that have emerged as a result of firms’ learning through the practice of outsourcing. These are discussed in more details in the next section.

4.1 - Externalization

The present section aims to show that outsourcing involves a process of externalization of firm-specific knowledge – knowledge that is related to managing IT – and its articulation into an explicit language, or a code. For their interface with their suppliers, the firms under consideration formed cross-functional teams (consisting of IT specialists, end-users, marketers, controllers etc) headed by a senior manager possessing general management skills and called an IT co-ordinator. Upon the decision to outsource, their task began with the transfer of a large amount of documentation to the supplier, including program specifications and information related to projects in progress, application development areas, inventory of software and hardware, operating policies for the data center, database, help desk etc. Furthermore, externalization of firm-specific knowledge is a requirement if suppliers are to appropriately understand their clients’ specific IT needs. Exchange of written material is often augmented by dialogue and face-to-face interactions between firms, suppliers and other market players.

KF’s IT co-ordinator says “A serious supplier would tell his customers that it is OK to provide you with IT services, but you have to be able to formulate and know what you want us to do for you”. It is not possible to expect that suppliers know all the requirements of the different firms they serve. One example is Dafa, BP’s IT supplier, which at the beginning could not see the difference between batch work and on-line traffic. It did not know that the oil industry is a very batch-based business due to the large amount of card transactions. It was the task of BP to define and make explicit the contextual features of its business to Dafa. Another example is that of KF which had chosen EDS as its supplier, despite the fact that EDS did not have (at that time, 1993) enough experience in the retail business.

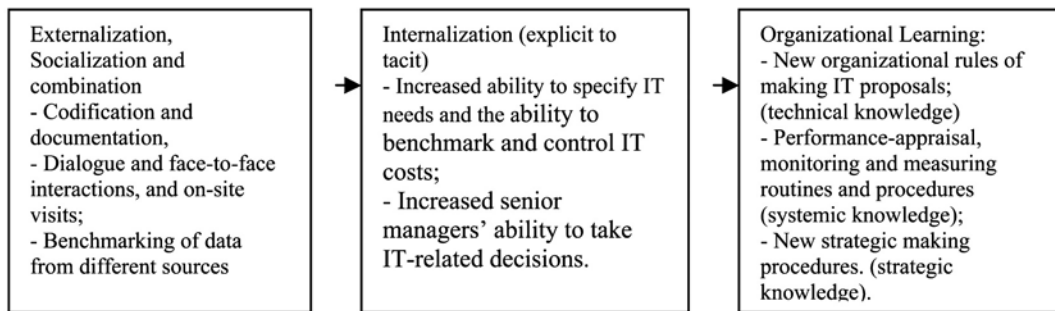


Figure 2. : A framework of learning from external sources

Externalization and articulation of tacit insights are necessary because external suppliers are not aware of the intricacies of the firms' businesses and the technological support they require. In this context, it is necessary for firms that opt for outsourcing to learn to define and articulate their IT needs and requests in accurate and formal ways. Furthermore, because outsourcing turns "internal" IT costs into "real" costs – since suppliers are not sister departments – firms "have adopted a more critical approach to costs, and stricter control over what they do and buy" (Finance). They are forced to write down their requests in detail and to specify the requirements and amendments they want to bring to their systems: "There were many complaints in the beginning, because people were not used to doing this kind of thing" (Finance). Writing was not a prevalent mode of interaction between a firm and its internal IT department/subsidiary: "prior to outsourcing, documentation was poor because people did not like documenting things when writing codes or amending systems. "Documentation" occurred largely in the heads of those who developed the systems. In this way, we were dependent upon these people. But, now that we have outsourced parts of our IT department, we have to make ourselves clear and to be more precise in our dealings with our suppliers, among other things, by documenting all our interactions with them" (Finance).

Assessing what BP has achieved through outsourcing, an informant says "What we have accomplished through outsourcing is the fact that we have become forced to know about what we need from IT. Before we just received what the IT department had to offer, today we have to be active in describing in writing what we want. . . why and what improvements are expected in measurable terms from IT requests, such as in terms of saving in manhours, or in increased profits". Indeed, interactions between firms and their suppliers became framed in measurable entities.

Along the same lines, a KF IT co-ordinator notes that ". . . before outsourcing, one could have things done quite easily and seemingly for nothing. By contrast, today we have to know and describe in detail what we need and justify the envisaged investment". Finally, SC's IT co-ordinator explains that "It was kind of a tradition that end-users did not have to know anything about their IT needs and requirements. IT departments supplied what they thought was suitable for them. IT staff were supposed to know what was needed, planned what to do, developed programs and systems and implemented changes as they thought fit. In principle, they said to the civil servants who were going to use those machines and programs: we have brought you this device and this is how it works; the City Council has decided that you use it because it would enhance your efficiency. In that way, end-users have always had bad knowledge as IT requesters. With outsourcing, this is changing, for any IT proposal has to be conceived from the end-user's perspective".

To sum up this section, outsourcing has meant externalizing aspects of firm-specific knowledge. Outsourcing now engages the attention of end-users and executives more pressingly, forcing them to become involved in codifying, formulating, specifying in writing and measuring their IT requirements. As noted above, IT suppliers are not supposed to know the particularities of the businesses underlying all the firms they serve, therefore, it is the task of outsourcing firms to develop more accurate "requesters" knowledge.

4.1.1 - Socialization and dialogue.

Nonaka (1994) suggests that dialogue is a crucial mode of exchanging tacit knowledge. Dialogue helps individuals develop new concepts, rule out misunderstandings and redress mistakes. Outsourcing has given rise to numerous encounters not only with suppliers but also with other market players. As confessed by an executive at Finance: “we have to admit that we did not carry out the task of outsourcing by ourselves, even though we actively took part in the process. Consultants and trend analysts contributed invaluable information concerning our decisions to outsource, what to outsource, choices of suppliers, the writing of contracts, defining the levels of costs”. Likewise, BP had to rely on the help of consultants: “whereas we have noticed that a large number of our IT members have been dismissed, there has been an increase in the number of consultants. Although consultants specialized in outsourcing contributed a great deal to our understanding of outsourcing, dismissing permanent staff and recruiting consultants on a temporary basis did not go down very well with many IT members”. Repeated on-site visits by suppliers to the firms were designed to exchange explicit information. Not only do the firms have weekly meetings with their suppliers, but they also meet often with competing suppliers: “Although we rely on our supplier we commission experts who know the market well in order to help us assess our IT needs and make sure that we are paying reasonable prices. Two years into the contract we have managed to keep in touch with competing suppliers, who would often come to us offering alternative solutions and cost estimates. In that way, we are kept informed of what is going on in the market and of how we can best satisfy our IT needs”.

To sum up, externalization and socialization are made possible through two modes of articulation: writing and dialoguing. Whereas the former is a linguistic exercise geared towards developing new concepts, categories and measurement techniques, the latter is a social process during which explicit information is exchanged and new solutions are reached.

4.1.2 - Benchmarking

Prior to outsourcing, IT was regarded as an ambiguous, undifferentiated commodity (Willcocks *et al.*, 1995). With outsourcing a more critical attitude towards IT emerged, turning this previously indistinguishable IT area into discrete categories that are amenable to comparison and benchmarking intra- and inter-organizationally. Whereas in the past each department made its own IT purchases, with outsourcing, departments, in the pursuit of cost-efficiency, were forced to coordinate their IT purchases.

It has become possible (notably for end-users and senior managers) to make a distinction between “network management”, “helpdesk”, “cash management” and so on. At Finance, the view is that “before outsourcing, the contribution of any one system was obscure; we were not able to see the different components of the IT infrastructure and their benefits separately. Everything was called IT”. An executive at KF says

“Outsourcing has improved the prospects for accountability and control by enhancing the visibility of the different sub-areas of IT; and that is by forcing end-users (and also executives) to learn to distinguish between computer operations services, maintenance services, systems developments, and so on. Today, each area is discrete, having its own basis for setting and calculating prices”. Because each sub-area has become discrete, it is possible to benchmark its costs and quality against those of competitors and industry standards. The trend analyst Compass is in close contact with the firms to provide them with statistics relating to prices and costs of IT services in different industries.

4.2 - Internalization

Nonaka's (1994) mode of internalization has to do with embodying explicit knowledge into tacit knowledge. As noted above, outsourcing has given rise to increased documentation and face-to-face interchanges between the firms and their suppliers and other market players. Mundane though the practices of writing and documenting may seem, they play an important role in learning and the formation of new knowledge. Writing has enhanced firms' critical sense and logical thinking. In the reasoning of informants, writing enabled them to scrutinize and probe critically what they purchase from their suppliers. Such efforts at understanding IT have in turn led firms to come to terms with what IT consists of and what each of these areas means in terms of costs and business implications. End-users are now able to describe and specify their IT needs and requirements more clearly than before. They have become aware of the extent to which and why certain IT areas impact their businesses more than others and to respond to them more effectively.

4.2.1 - Increased ability to name, scrutinize and assess the value of IT.

To the extent that benchmarks can be collected from different sources far and near and be easily transported into the boardroom, IT issues became vivid subjects of debates at board level. Benchmarks provided top managers with a language that enabled them to ask relevant questions concerning how to manage IT. In this way, senior managers have become interested in IT "as a set of codified forms presented in economic terms which they can manipulate and control" (Finance). The form of knowledge developed is related to an increased naming ability, involving finer categorization of IT areas, of specifying them more precisely, measuring them and adopting a more critical, questioning stance towards the value of IT. A senior executive at KF adds that "the process of understanding the significance of IT for our business has just started with outsourcing and will continue for a long time to come".

Documentation, interactions with external players and combination of data from different sources have led to the internalization of new skills, such as increased critical ability and an increased degree of rationalization. Because firms that outsource their IT activities need to justify the purchase of their IT services in writing, they are now forced to justify them on more "rational" grounds, becoming increasingly prompt to re-examine and question their IT needs and performance (Figure 2, middle column).

4.2.2 - Increased senior managers' ability to make IT-related decisions.

Most significant is the effect of combining facts from different sources (benchmarking) on senior executives' attitude towards IT. Prior to outsourcing, they felt they were held hostage by their IT heads and threatened by the technological jargon used to speak about technology. As mentioned above, with outsourcing, IT activities were turned into an economic terminology, which is comprehensible to senior executives. Benchmarks also provided top managers with information that helped them enhance decision-making procedures and their control of IT costs. Consequently, senior managers and end-users (who were in the past passive recipients of IT directives) have become empowered since the area of IT activities is transformed into a form of knowledge, which is very much in keeping with their disposition as businessmen, marveling in purchasing, selling, negotiating contracts, selecting suppliers, collaborating, partnering, calculating etc. Furthermore, through outsourcing, IT activities are turned into services; services are unlike the "IT chores performed by the high priests of technology" (SC); purchasing services is cognitively convenient to senior managers and executives. No wonder that, much to their surprise, senior managers have discovered that through outsourcing IT – an area that proved difficult to manage during the last decade or so – they have come to develop knowledge that allows them to name it and take decisions about it. Says an IT head gleefully: "IT outsourcing has implied that senior managers have regained their power over the IT function" (KF). This is because the three-dimensional organizational IT activities that

were carried out in-house have now been converted into a codified body of knowledge, which is more related to general management and business knowledge. The previously threatening IT jargon has also been translated into distinct categories to which economic values can be attached.

To sum up, IT outsourcing has implied a disambiguation of the relationships between firms and their IT suppliers. This distinct relation between the provider and the purchaser of IT has enabled firms to gain a deeper understanding of what IT consists of, leading to increased formalization of procedures concerning the handling of IT requests, such as (written) documentation, co-ordination of firm-wide IT requests, their assessment and evaluation.

4.3 - Emergence of new rules, routines and procedures

The right column in Figure 2 shows the various practices of externalization that are translated into organizational rules, routines and procedures. Although organizations learn through the learning of individuals, organizational learning becomes embedded in organizational memory, in rules, routines and procedures (Blackler, 1993; Cohen and Bacdayan, 1994; Powell *et al.*, 1996; Walsh and Ungson, 1991).

4.3.1 - Performance-monitoring routines.

Accordingly, an evidence of learning is the emergence of new rules and routines of managing IT needs. In the process of externalizing tacit knowledge, the firms have adopted performance-appraisal and monitoring routines in order to continuously evaluate the effectiveness of the supplier's IT activities. Benchmarking and measuring routines also became an important "toolbox" for the IT co-ordinators, helping them to ensure that their suppliers are not overcharging them. In the push to track their suppliers' performance and quality, firms have developed new routines for measuring such things as response time to computer problems, system downtime, the cost of the supplier's services and so on. They have also developed other measurements for the activities related to helpdesk (cost per helpdesk response), application development (number of programs bugs), desktop computer support, network downtime and average number of complaints by employees. These routines have emerged in the wake of the externalization processes.

4.3.2 - New operating procedures and rules.

Over and above performance-appraisal monitoring, measuring and benchmarking routines, some of the firms under consideration have managed to adopt new operating procedures. The process of procuring IT services has become formalized, proceeding according to specific rules and regulations. Proposals for IT requests have to be submitted in writing to the IT coordinator, with clear justification of their business implications. IT requests are to stem from the end-users' needs; technological solutions are to be dictated by the business needs.

A significant change in work procedures is the integration of programmers, product developers and marketers. Prior to outsourcing, each group led its own life, but as a result of outsourcing, they were often brought together to work side by side. Another rule is that major decisions concerning IT investments are to be decided on by board members, given that these are now able to name the different IT services, to attach prices to them and "to ask the "right" questions" (KF). Such new decision-making procedures are an indication that top management's knowledge relating to managing

IT has improved (Figure 2, column 3). For some of the firms under consideration, learning was a by-product (Inkpen 1998), where knowledge generated has varied across the firms. With reference to Child's (2001) three levels of knowledge – technical, systemic and strategic – most of what BP, Finance and Bank have learned involves technical procedures of how to order, specify, measure and assess IT needs. Insure's learning, in contradiction, is related to systemic knowledge implying the questioning of their (security) practices (for instance). Finally, SC and KF are the ones that have benefited most from outsourcing, as this has entailed a strategic rethink of the role of IT.

Nelson and Winter (1982) argue that:

. . . routinization of activity in an organization constitutes the most important form of storage of the organizations' specific operational knowledge (p. 99).

5. Concluding remarks and implications

The paper has argued that IT outsourcing implies the externalization of IT activities – activities which are learned over a number of years, often through learning by doing, and are thus fairly tacit and not fully documented in an organization. When these activities are outsourced the firms become forced to codify and transform the knowledge underlying those activities into explicitly communicable specifications. The firms' dealings with their suppliers would lead to intense (face-to-face, telephone and document based) interactions and exchanges of information from different sources. From the present perspective, externalization would subsequently result in internalization of knowledge, or organizational learning, which takes the form of organizational rules, routines and procedures, becoming part and parcel of firms' corporate memory.

The process of knowledge creation in the context of outsourcing has been investigated through the lenses of the concepts of externalization and of organizational learning. Given the significance of externalization a number of issues are raised. The study indicates that learning presupposes externalizing what is already assumed to be known (prior knowledge). Although theorists have stressed the crucial role prior knowledge plays in the process of learning, they have not dealt adequately with the significance of externalization. For instance, one of the tenets underlying absorptive capacity (Cohen and Levinthal, 1990) is the assumption that the more similar the knowledge to be acquired to one's prior knowledge, the easier it is to absorb that knowledge. The issue that the past persists into the present is commonly captured in the expression of "path-dependency" (March, 1972). In the cases under consideration, learning was not constrained neither by path-dependence nor through an associative process as the theory of absorptive capacity assumes. The common knowledge used in the past cannot represent the novelties required (Carlile and Reberich, 2003) as a result of outsourcing. Novel learning, or path-generation, grows out exchange of information that does not necessarily stem from the experience of the firm (in these cases purchasing IT services in contrast to producing them). Purchasing IT services require new skills in deal making, contract monitoring, trust making and relationship management. Because IT services are not anymore produced in-house, a set of new practices and ways scrutinizing, evaluating, benchmarking and appraising IT activities is required. Documenting, listing and tabulating are practices (and activities) that are not akin to the cognitive operations required to in-house production and management of IT activities. Therefore, these cannot be associated with prior knowledge.

Previous research assumes that learning from external sources is a function of access to new knowledge and capabilities (Cohen and Levinthal, 1990). Powell *et al.* (1996), for instance, view inter-organizational learning as a social construction process where knowledge is created in a social, community context. Their approach builds on von Hippel's (1988) view that trading of know-how requires long relationship between partners, and on Cohen and Levinthal's (1990) absorptive capacity, whose central idea, as

already touched upon, is that the ability to evaluate and exploit external knowledge is a function of internal prior related knowledge. For Powell *et al.* (1996, p. 4) “internal capability and external collaborations are complementary. Internal capability is indispensable in evaluating ideas or skills developed externally, while collaboration with outside parties provides access to new resources that cannot be generated internally”. For them learning from external sources is “both a function of access to knowledge and possession of capabilities for utilizing and building on such knowledge” (Powell *et al.*, 1996).

The present study seems to indicate that one way of learning as a result of links with suppliers is by articulating in explicit forms their internal knowledge, critically reflect upon it and juxtapose it with that of external sources. This juxta-positioning of internal and external fosters new knowledge.

The possession of internal capabilities for evaluating and eventually exploiting external knowledge tends to convey the idea that such capabilities pre-exist firms’ engagement with the process of evaluating external knowledge. Evaluation is only possible when the knowledge-seeking firm’s externalized and objectified knowledge is confronted with external knowledge. The process of learning is a dynamic interaction between the learner’s knowledge made explicit and the targeted knowledge.

In contrast to individuals, organizations cannot learn or access external learning in the tacit mode. It would seem that only when organizational knowledge (in contrast to individual knowledge again) is articulated in an organization-wide code does it become available to organizational members and only then can it be questioned, assessed, inscribed in quantitative terms and compared to that of others – all of which constitute an opportunity for identifying gaps and deficiencies and for correcting them by infusing external learning inputs.

Finally, it is to be stressed that the present study does not entertain ambition to obtain absolutely generalizable conclusions concerning outsourcing and learning, its intent is to gain insights, credible guidelines, which may be tested and extended to other settings by further research.

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Some characteristics of the fair trade coffee customer*

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** This paper was presented at the Clute Institute for Academic Research 'International Business & Economics Research' Conference (September 29 – October 2, 2008, Las Vegas, USA). Best Paper Award.*

Biography

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The authors would like to thank Leonardo Becchetti, Florence de Ferran and R. Llopis-Goig for their kindness.

Abstract

Few European quantitative studies are available concerning the behavior of ethical consumers. Most of the studies regarding Fair Trade (FT) coffee purchases stick to the consumer perceptions and values. Based on 118,252 French transactions made between 2005 and 2007, we study the impact of personality traits, product characteristics and types of promotions on FT coffee purchases.

Regarding French FT market (third market in the world) and the importance of FT coffee within this market (almost 50% of all sales), the understanding of the French FT coffee consumer helps identify some features of the European FT consumer. In this paper, we examine the link between FT coffee purchases and personal characteristics and the timing of purchase.

Our results demonstrate that the gender and the age are not related to FT coffee purchases. The promotions have no specific impact on FT coffee. On the contrary, the FT coffee purchases have a specific seasonality and grow with the educational level and the standard of life.

Key words:

Fair trade, coffee, consumer, France, retail, quantitative analysis

Introduction

Fair Trade

For two decades, Fair trade was the core business of specialty retailers, social organizations and other cause-conscious consumers. The products were available in very small quantities from a handful of countries. Sales growth was modest and the market remained tiny. In a study published in 2003, D. Giovannucci, a specialist of Fair Trade coffee, wrote that “fair trade coffee [might] have hit a glass ceiling, unable to grow beyond its affinity with a more socially conscious but relatively limited market” (2003). For him, more promotion and distribution in mainstream channels (supermarkets) could rapidly change this situation. But it had “not yet materialized” by that time.

Few years later, things materialized. In 2007, global Fair Trade (now referred as FT) retail value surpassed €2.3b (FLO, 2007). In a European study jointly carried out by the main international Fair Trade Associations, J.-M. Krier has illustrated this dramatic change in Fair Trade. Sales outlets through supermarkets have increased by 32% in 5 years (Krier, 2006) making the annual aggregate net retail value for FT products sold in Europe now exceeding €660m in comparison with €260m five years ago (2006). The average annual increase has been about 20% per year. About the 79,000 points of sales throughout Europe 55,000 are supermarkets, i.e. almost 70%. The USA and UK consumers dominated the FT certified product market with more than €700m retail value each. It is no more a “niche market” for socially-aware and middle-class Northern consumers. Not only has FT thus become one of the fastest growing markets in the world, but also Europe has become the biggest market for FT products with an estimated 60 to 70% of all global sales (2006).

Fair Trade Coffee

Coffee is the world's second most important export commodity for the developing countries after crude oil (European Coffee Federation, 2006a). As all agricultural products, climatic conditions and natural disasters have a strong impact on supply. Furthermore, production only reacts to demand with significant delays as it takes three to four years before a new plantation is in full production (ECF, 2006a). Conversely, demand is stable with a global annual increase of 1 to 2% in recent decades. Hence a structurally imbalanced market is leading to recurring problems (ECF, 2006a).

FT has contributed to structurally and dramatically change the coffee world. When FT products appeared in the 1970s, coffee was the first product imported from cooperatives of small farmers in Latin America. More than 30 years later, Fair Trade Coffee generates between 25 to 50% of turnover of all Northern Fair Trade Organizations (EFTA, 2006a). Among the many food products concerned by FT, coffee still continues to be the dominant product worldwide in terms of income and in terms of certification. Besides the crisis of overproduction in 2001-2003 and the emergence of major low cost producers (Brazil and Vietnam), the striking development of demand for FT coffees has forced the coffee actors to develop products for ethical consumption. Nowadays, coffee markets growth potential in Western Europe is limited to FT coffee while traditional coffee growth remains weak. Indeed, FT coffee market shares have dramatically risen: between 1999 and 2004 they increased by 375% in the five European major markets (UK, Switzerland, Austria, Denmark, and Ireland). In 2004, FT coffee market share reached 20% in UK and 6% in Switzerland (Krier, 2005).

Fair Trade Coffee in France

If public awareness reflects the maturity of the FT market, France FT market can be said mature (IPSOS, 2005, 2006). In comparison with 2000 when 9% of the French public said that they knew about FT (Krier, 2005), this figure skyrocketed, reaching 79% in March 2006 (Max Havelaar, 2006b). Max Havelaar France is the main player of the attribution of FT labels in this sector (Conseil de la Concurrence, 2006). Considering sales and FT market share, we can observe a crossed evolution in France. On the one hand, within FT products, FT coffee market share has decreased: it represented 58%

of FT retail value in 2004 (Palma Torres, 2006) but it only represented 46% in 2006 (Max Havelaar, 2006b). On the other hand, more and more FT coffee is sold. In 2004, the FT coffee retail value was €40.6m (58% of €70m for certified products) whereas it was €76.36m in 2006 (46% of €166m for certified products (Max Havelaar, 2006b)). This crossed evolution reflects the boom in Fair Trade retail value: more and more certified products are sold and if coffee remains the first FT commodity, new products (cotton and tea) have joined the market.

French FT coffee market may not have the maturity of UK market (20% of market share). Moreover, France may only be the sixth global market as regards coffee consumption (Xerfi, 2007)¹. Nevertheless French FT coffee is interesting for many reasons. Firstly, it is the leading FT market in continental Europe (FLO, 2007). France with less than the third retail value (€210m) of UK FT market represented in 2007 the third global market in FT certified products. Even if FT labeling has been slower to take off in France, since 1998, things have been moving very fast: the French market in FT certified products grew by more 70% the last 3 years. Secondly, French FT coffee has the second highest market share in all continental Europe. Before 2000, FT coffee had a market share of 0.1% in France (Krier, 2005). In 2006 the market share was around 5% (Conseil de la Concurrence, 2006), FT Arabica coffee² representing 7% of sales volume and 8% of sales revenue (Max Havelaar, 2006b). Thirdly, it is the main European market to offer coffees of pure origins, responding to the particular awareness of the consumers of the concepts of soil and origin, the 'terroir' (ECF, 2006b).

As Sanches (2005) observed, French political and economic culture is characterized by dependence on a powerful and centralized state. It makes the regulation of government critical to FT sales (Ozcaglar-Toulouse, 2006). That is why the French government has standardized FT so as to clarify a whole industry which became complex to understand (many labels, different actors). The process of French FT regulation started in 2005 when a law was passed by the Parliament to organize, clarify and certify Fair Trade (Law n° 2005-882 for SMEs, August 2, 2005; decree JORF n°113, text n°281, May 16, 2007). Then in 2006, the French Standards Association (AFNOR) developed with the main FT actors (NGO, retailers, consumers, importers) the reference systems as regards FT in France (Agreement AC X50-340)³.

Plan of the paper

For all those reasons, this paper seeks to study Fair Trade coffee consumption in France. First, this paper commences with a review of the literature regarding FT, its history and its definition. We will also examine the previous studies concerning FT coffee in Europe. Second, we will present the aim and objectives of our study. Third we will focus on the methodology used for our quantitative analysis. Fourth, we will present the results and then the implications of this study.

(1) The USA (20.2m bags), Brazil (15.9m), Germany (9.2m), Japan (7.3m), Italy (5.6m) and France (5.3m).

(2) By 2002 approximately 50% of the market was arabica while 50% was robusta (Giovannucci, 2003).

(3) For instance, it has imposed that the minimum prices and criteria recognized by FT International federations be explicitly mentioned in the bill of the SMEs (Poret, 2007).

I - Literature review on FT

1.1 - History of FT

Ethical consumptions appeared many decades before the 1970s. In the first half of the XIXth century, a group of opponents to slavery opened “free produce” stores that sold only items grown and manufactured by non-slaves (Glickman, 2004). Consumerist activism was quite developed in the US by that time: it concerned abolitionists as well as non-abolitionists or just conservative Christians (2004b). In 1860, a Dutch writer, E. Douwes Dekker, aka Multatuli, reflected this activism in Europe by publishing the well-known *Max Havelaar* (“*Max Havelaar Of de koffiveilingen der Nederlandsche Handelsmaatschappij*”) to fully expose the abuse of free labour in the Dutch Indies. Then, around the beginning of the XXth century, many buyers’ associations were created (mainly by women) in Europe and in the US. The American *National Consumers’ League* (1899⁴), the French “*Ligues sociales d’acheteurs*” (1902), the German “*Käuferbund*” (1907) and many other European associations (Chessel, 2003 & 2004) were all engaged in acts of ethical consumption. Every act of consumption was regarded as linked to every act of production, everybody being responsible for the well being of producers by their consumption choices (F. de Ferran, 2007).

The two World Wars and the wave of decolonization after 1945 did not allow those small but active social Leagues to expand. Nevertheless, new structures appeared. In 1946, the American *Ten Thousand Villages* (formerly *Self Help Crafts*) began buying needlework from Puerto Rico, leading the way to the first formal “Fair Trade” shop in 1958. By that time, *Oxfam UK* started to sell crafts made by Chinese refugees. Then in 1964 it created the first FT Organization (EFTA, 2006a).

It was only in 1973 when *Fair Trade Original* in the Netherlands, imported the first “fairly traded” coffee from cooperatives of small farmers in Guatemala (EFTA, 2006a). Since then, FT has slowly expanded. Exclusively sold in Specialized Stores for two decades, FT market grew suddenly at the end of the 1990s when it started to use more conventional distribution channels: supermarkets. From then on, international FT sales have been growing by more than 20% every year (Krier, 2006).

In France, the Max Havelaar label was introduced in 1992 in one region, Brittany, and it remained promoted only there until 1997 (Giovannucci, 2003). Then, diverse FT participants formed a new FT platform to promote the label nationally. FT movement was still less developed than it was in Germany, Belgium or UK, but it quickly caught up. From less than 1% per year before, French consumption grew by more than 250% between 1999 and 2001 – the greatest FT growth (2003). Similarly, the FT coffee market grew at the highest rate of all the EU countries. FT was no more the monopoly of specialized stores: in 2003, 71% of sustainable coffee was sold in mainstream market channels whereas specialty shops market share was expected to decline (2003).

The Government regulation has underlined the importance of labels in the French food industry whether they be FT or not (e.g. “A.O.C.”, whose translation can be “controlled term of origin”). Specialized stores do not sell labeled products owing to the fact they are devoted to FT, whereas, hyper and supermarkets (SM) only sell labeled products (de Ferran, 2007). It implies the importance of selling through conventional distribution networks in France. According to Max Havelaar France, 80% of all FT products are sold in supermarkets; only 15% are sold in Specialized Stores (Max Havelaar, 2006b). SM may be a symbol of consumer society and free trade (Baudrillard, 1998), it has also become the best channel for fair trade to develop. In 2005 there were 165 worldshops in France which generate €9.3m and

(4) Organizations designed to promote better conditions among workers by encouraging the purchase of articles made and sold under improved working conditions. The movement started in England (1890); the U.S. group was founded (1899) by Florence Kelley and her followers. The league undertook to investigate factories and to educate consumers in purchasing habits. For many years the league used a label for goods which had passed inspection, and many consumers learned to purchase only those goods thus labeled. Many of the objectives of the league became law, e.g., shorter hours, minimum wages, payment for overtime, and the abolition of child labor in most states. The Columbia Encyclopedia, 6th Edition, 2004, Columbia University Press.

10.000 supermarkets selling FT products. The retail value of labeling organizations was €69m (Krier, 2005). Furthermore those channels have hugely benefited from some important innovations implemented the past years. France is today one of the main European markets for espresso machines with single-serve portions which has shown an exponential growth. Moreover, products for easy home preparation as well as new recipes have been developed for bars and brasseries (European Coffee Federation, 2006b). For those reasons, FT coffee market share sold in SS is expected to become less and less important in the years to come.

1.2 - Definition of Fair Trade

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted on December 10th, 1948, at the United Nations already proclaimed in its Article 23 (3) “the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for oneself and one’s family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection”. Nevertheless, even if FT remained a niche market until the end of the past century, the FT actors used to propose different definitions. At the end of the 1990s, there were as many FT definitions as FT actors who competed to be acknowledged as the only and good one. FT market was tiny as well as segmented.

That is the reason why in 2001 FINE, the informal group constituted by the four main international FT associations (namely *FLO*, *IFAT*, *NEWS!* and *EFTA*) united to propose a common definition of Fair Trade. “Fair Trade is a trading partnership, based on dialogue, transparency and respect, that seeks greater equity in international trade. It contributes to sustainable development by offering better trading conditions to, and securing the rights of, marginalized producers and workers – especially in the South. Fair Trade organizations (backed by consumers) are engaged actively in supporting producers, awareness raising and in campaigning for changes in the rules and practice of conventional international trade” (Krier, 2006). Its ultimate purpose is thus to make poverty history by maintaining a decent standard of living among small farmers and producers. Even incomplete or too optimistic (Weber, 2007), this definition has been little by little accepted by all major FT actors and scholars since.

Following the examples of the UN and of the FINE, the International Coffee Organization decided to foster the sustainable development of the coffee sector, “leading to enhanced employment and income, and better living standards and working conditions in member countries”. Then, “recognizing the importance of the coffee sector to the livelihood of millions of people, particularly in developing countries”, the ICO included in its International Coffee Agreement this FT dimension (ICO, 2007).

1.3 - Previous studies regarding FT products

If we consider the upsurge of the European FT market since the beginning of the new millennium, most of the studies made on the FT market before 2001 are no longer relevant. Davies (2007) identified the niche-market era before 2002 and the “mass-market era of fair trade” since 2002. Recently, some studies did try to analyze FT consumption in Europe. De Pelsmacker et alii (2006) for the Belgium market, Maietta (2003) and Becchetti & Rosati (2007) for the Italian market, Tanner and Wölfling Kast (2003) for the Swiss Market, Llopis Goig (2007) for the Spanish market, de Ferran (2007) and Ozcaglar-Toulouse (2006) for the French Market proposed studies mostly based on questionnaires (limited to 1,000 people) or on convenience samples (qualitative approach). They focused on the consumer perceptions and values to highlight decision-making as regards ethical consumption. Schaw and Shiu (2003) tried to develop a model of ethical consumer decision-making to explain the intentions of purchases of FT grocery products.

Many studies have highlighted café culture and lifestyle statements in different countries, e.g. in Scotland (Scott, 2006). Concerning FT coffee particularly in Europe, the largest study was carried out in 2003 by Giovanucci and Koekoek for the ICO, the UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development), the IISD (International Institute for Sustainable Development) and the World Bank. Nevertheless it dealt with data from 2001 when FT coffee was still a niche market. By then, the French FT coffee market share was 0.35% (Giovanucci, 2003) and it was expected to reach 1% in 2004. It actually attained 5% in 2006 (Max Havelaar France, 2006a; Conseil de la concurrence, 2006). Since Giovanucci, few scholars have studied FT coffee. In a survey of 808 Belgian respondents, De Pelsmacker (2005) found that consumers' buying behavior was not consistent with their positive attitude toward ethical products. Concerning the French market, de Ferran (2004, 2007) found that the retail stores chosen (SM or SS) have to be taken into account to implement efficient marketing strategies because of different purchasing motives in the two locations.

As regards FT consumers, several studies did try to identify the ethical consumer in terms of demographic characteristics. Most concluded that demographics were not relevant in identifying the socially responsible consumer: neither the basic demographic characteristics (age, income and employment status), nor the gender seem to influence ethical buying behavior (Tsalikis and Ortiz-Buonafina, 1990; Sikula and Costa, 1994; Roberts, 1995; MORI, 2000; Dickson, 2001). Anyway, while FT consumers support FT values, their "product purchase does not appear to be viewed as an altruistic act because purchasers are unwilling to sacrifice product quality for the sake of purchasing" (Littrell and Dickson, 1999). Fair Trade is not a charity business.

Almost all of the previous demographic research has been done during the "niche market era" (1990-2002). Since the beginning of the "mass-market era of FT", new studies have been carried out. In a web-based survey on a sample of 750 Belgian coffee consumers, de Pelsmacker et alii (2005) confirmed that demographic characteristics did not appear to have a substantial impact on ethical product buying behavior. Only the importance of the label issuer discriminated between socio-demographic groups (older and less educated consumers attached more importance to it than other groups). Based on a US sample of 1,474 older consumers, Moschis, Curasi and Bellenger (2004) showed that even if the older market can best be described as composed of four gerontological segments (healthy hermits, healthy indulgers, ailing outgoers and frail recluses), FT was not considered as a reason for patronizing specific food and grocery stores in any of those segments. As older consumers spend about 10 percent more on food than the US average, they remain very price-conscious. Furthermore location (the location of the stores and the ease of locating merchandise within the store) is still the number one criteria. Nevertheless other studies insisted on the sense of moral responsibility of mature senior consumers (Carrigan, Szmigin and Wright, 2004). Through a printed questionnaire distributed to 1,055 respondents of four North American FT businesses, Littrell, Jin Ma and Halepete (2005) studied the differences in product attitudes between generational cohorts of FT apparel consumers, i.e. generation X (ages 29-40), baby boomer (ages 41-59) and "swing" (ages 60-75). All groups strongly supported the FT ideology. They "did not shop in different ways nor did they differ in their retail venue preferences". However the research suggested that generation X participants were more attracted by fashionable attire whereas baby boomers and swing participants looked for clothing comfort, value and quality.

Nonetheless, based on 1,012 phone interviews, a recent French FT survey (Ipsos-PFCE-MAEE-GRET, 2008) showed that ethical consumption in France depended on education and income. More than 60% of the consumers with a bachelor degree and 60% of higher incomes had bought a FT product during the last month while only 36% of the interviewed people had done so. As for demographic characteristics, young people (less than 35 years old) were more concerned (74% of them had bought FT products) than the whereas only 53% of consumers aged over 35 who had bought FT products. Coffee was the most favored FT commodity (81%) in comparison with rice/corn (48%) and tea (34%).

Finally, considering FT coffee purchases in Europe, there is a real scarcity of research. Based on the purchase data of Italian supermarkets and shopping centres between 1998 and 2002, Maietta (2003) conducted the largest quantitative study. She observed 3,669 purchases and tried to find the hedonic

price of FT coffee at a time when FT coffee was still a “niche product”. No study has been conducted in France to analyze FT coffee purchases. It means that in most European countries no quantitative study is available about the actions of so-called ethical consumers. Ethical consumption has not been measured and tested. With the exception of Maietta, most of the studies regarding FT coffee purchases stick to the consumer perceptions and values whereas no strong correlation has been yet proved between attitudes and buyer behavior, especially in the social marketing area (Shaw and Clarke, 1999; Kotler, 2001; Nicholls, 2006; Chatzidakis, 2007). Price, brand familiarity and quality remain the most important factors affecting the buying decision (CRC-Consommation, 1998; Carrigan and Boulstridge, 2000; Carrigan and Attalla, 2001; Tallontire, Rentsendorj and Blowfield, 2001; de Pelsmaker, 2005 & 2006). In France, 93% of FT purchases are made in super and hypermarkets (Ipos PFCE-MAEE-GRET, 2008).

II - Aims and objectives of the study/Research goals

Our study seeks to remedy such deficiency in order to overcome the attitude-behavior gap when people give socially desirable answers (Shaw & Shiu, 2002; de Pelsmaker, 2005). More specifically, we make two main hypotheses around the purchase motivation of FT coffee.

First, past qualitative studies show a link between personal characteristics and FT coffee purchases: gender, profession, income... The FT coffee purchase seems to be closely related to demographic factors (gender, profession, age). The consumption is growing with the educational level and the standard of living. Moreover, women seem to be more concerned with FT (Sikula & Costa, 1994; Tsalikis & Ortiz-Buenafina, 1990).

H1: FT coffee purchases are related to demographic factors.

H1a: FT coffee purchases are growing with the educational level and the standard of life. These two aspects are here summarized by the profession of the customer.

H1b: younger consumers are more socially conscious.

H1c: women are more socially conscious.

Second, we study the purchase timing between two aspects: the seasonality and the impact of promotions. There are here crucial considerations. If the purchase seasonality of traditional and FT coffees is not comparable, it would indicate specific motivations for FT coffee. The role of the promotion more generally represents the impact of marketing for this type of product. If the motivations are different, the impact of different types of promotions must be specific.

H2: the consumption logics of FT coffee and traditional coffee are not the same.

H2a: the consumption seasonality is not identical .

H2b: the impact of the promotions is specific depending on the coffee type.

Furthermore, regarding French FT market (third market in the world with a turnover of €220m) and the importance of FT coffee within (almost 50% of all sales), our ultimate objective is to help identify some features of the FT consumer from the French FT coffee consumer.

III - Methodology

3.1 - Data

We base our analysis on panel data from *BehaviorScan* in the retailing sector. This panel represents 5,668 households who purchased coffee at least one time in the supermarket or in a hard discount store between January 2005 and June 2007. We have customers' personal characteristics (including possession of loyalty cards). The transactions and the products are described (time of the transaction, products purchased and their characteristics, amount and quantity involved...). Moreover, the promotions are tracked: aisle-end displays, handbills and animations in the shop. We have globally 118,252 transactions with, at least, one coffee bag purchased and 152,633 folded-over coffee bags purchased (from which 10,267 FT coffee bags). The choice to purchase FT coffee depends on personal characteristics as well as on the purchase context (price, promotions...). Then, we choose to focus our analysis on the quantity of FT coffee bags purchased at a disaggregated level (for each transaction).

3.2 - Model

We are facing transaction in a “non contractual” setting. In the case of “non contractual” relationships, customers do not notify the firm when they disappear (Dwyer, 1989; Jackson, 1985). We have two possible model specifications to take into account for our type of transactions.

First, we could treat them with continuous mixture models (for example Pareto/NBD or BG/NBD models). In fact, the transactions in a “non contractual” setting are treated more and more with continuous mixture models. However, despite their increased popularity, their managerial implications are limited due to the parametric distributions of the parameters and the lack of explanatory variables. If generalizations are always possible, however they are very complex (Casteran, Meyer-Waarden, & Benavent, 2007).

The second option is the finite mixture models. They have been used for more than 100 years (Newcomb, 1886; Pearson, 1894). The finite mixture models offer a very accurate explanatory pattern due to segmentation and explanatory variables. Moreover, they permit to adopt a semi-parametric point of view. Indeed, they suppose the existence of classes in population and, in each of those classes. They suppose a link in each class between the dependent variable and the independent variables. The main advantage of this formulation is its clear managerial implications.

This formulation gives an intuitive comprehension of heterogeneity by a limited number of classes. But this formulation remains rigorous. Laird (1978) and Heckman and Singer (1984) show that a finite mixture model gives a good numerical approximation of the underlying distribution. It works even if the distribution is continuous. Each component of the mixture density is a local approximation of this distribution. This approach is a serious alternative to a purely non-parametric estimation. However, despite these properties, the applications in marketing are quite recent (Wedel et alii, 1993).

The number of products purchased y at each transaction is supposed to be Poisson distributed with a frequency parameter λ . λ is varying across an underlying distribution on the population. This distribution is supposed to be discrete (latent class), which leads to a finite mixture formulation.

We have then C unknown latent classes; each individual is supposed to belong to a single class. Of course, this membership is not directly observed. The prior probability of membership to a class c is π_c with

$$\sum_{c=1}^C \pi_c = 1 \quad .$$

Moreover, we have longitudinal data. It means that we have N_i transactions for I individuals with

$$\sum_{i=1}^I N_i = N \quad .$$

For each class c , individual i and purchase n , we have the following expression:

$$P(y_{in} | \lambda_{in|c}) = \frac{e^{-\lambda_{in|c}} \lambda_{in|c}^{y_{in}}}{y_{in}!} \quad (1)$$

y_i is the number of products purchased at each transaction and λ_{ic} the frequency parameter for the customer i conditionally to the membership of the class c . Of course, we can incorporate some explanatory variables x_1 and x_2 . λ_{ic} is now:

$$\lambda_{in|c} = \beta_{0c} \exp(\beta_{1c} x_1) \quad (2)$$

with the constant β_{0c} . We can also parameterize the prior probability of membership to a class c with a multinomial logit form:

$$\pi_c(x_2, \beta_{2c}) = \frac{\exp(k_c + \beta_{2c} x_2)}{\sum_{j=1}^C \exp(k_j + \beta_{2j} x_2)} \quad \text{with } k_j \text{ constant.} \quad (3)$$

The density is then, with Θ the vector of the parameters:

$$f(y_{in} | x_{1in}, x_{2in}, \Theta) = \sum_{c=1}^C \pi_c(x_{2in}, \beta_{2c}) \mathcal{P}(y_{in} | \lambda_{in|c}(x_{1in})) \quad (4)$$

The parameters are estimated by the maximization of the log-likelihood.

$$LL = \sum_{i=1}^I \sum_{n=1}^{N_i} \log [f(y_{in} | x_{1in}, x_{2in}, \Theta)] = \sum_{i=1}^I \sum_{n=1}^{N_i} \log \left[\sum_{c=1}^C \pi_c(x_2, \beta_{2c}) \mathcal{P}(y_{in} | \lambda_{in|c}(x_{1in})) \right] \quad (5)$$

We use the iterative EM algorithm (Dempster, Laird and Rubin, 1977). The optimal number of classes is determined by the comparison between models using Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) (Oliveira-Brochado et Martins, 2005).

$$AIC = -2LL + 2k \quad (6)$$

with k the number of parameters to estimate.

The posterior probabilities for a customer i to belong to a class c are:

$$P(c|i) = \frac{\pi_c \prod_{n=1}^{N_i} \mathcal{P}(y_{in} | \lambda_c(x_{1in}))}{\sum_{j=1}^C \pi_j \prod_{i=1}^{N_i} \mathcal{P}(y_{in} | \lambda_j(x_{1in}))} \quad (7)$$

Of course, one of these formulations (mean of products purchased and prior probabilities) or both could be purely stochastic with only constant terms. We can then write:

$$\lambda_{in|c} = \beta_{0c} \quad \text{and} \quad \pi_c = \frac{\exp(k_c)}{\sum_{j=1}^C \exp(k_j)}$$

3.3 - Estimation steps

The procedure is divided into two steps. In the first step, we iteratively estimate the number of classes for FT coffee purchases. The selection of the number of classes is based on the AIC. We obtain coefficients estimated for FT coffee purchases. In the second step, we keep the same number of classes to estimate the traditional coffee purchases. We compare then the estimated coefficients for FT coffee and traditional coffee.

4 - Results

4.1 - Estimation

Due to the limited number of pages, we cannot give the details of the coefficients values. Of course, they are available if required. With respect to the AIC, we do not incorporate any explanatory variable in the multinomial model. The prior probability formulations are then based only on constant terms. For the same reason (AIC value at 11,591.98), the optimal number of classes is three. Another way to assess the validity of the models is the rootogram (based on the root square of countings) of posterior probabilities.

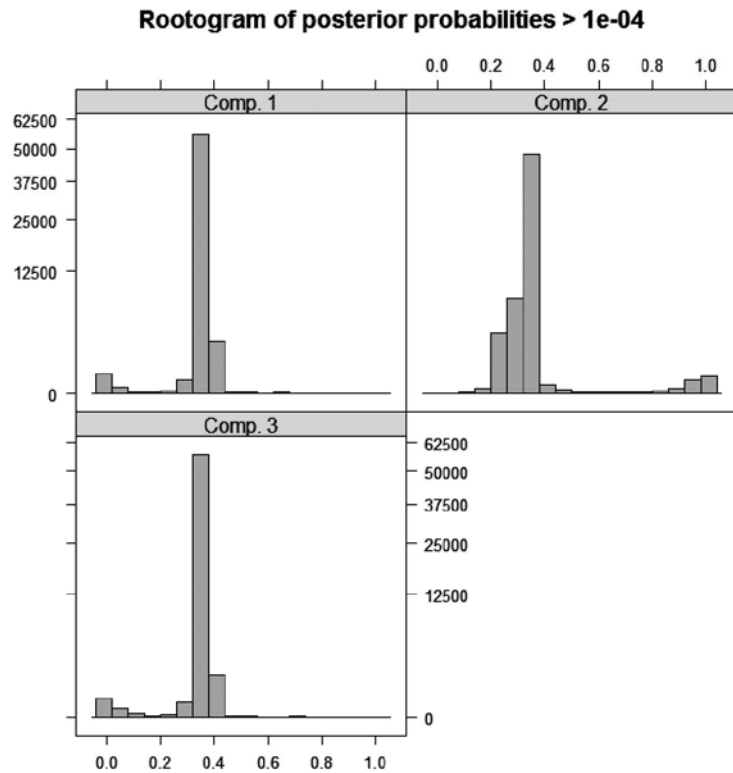


Figure 1: Rootogram for FT coffee purchases

They represent the distribution of posterior class probabilities. A peak at probability 1 is the more interesting result because it indicates a clear-cut between the segments. However, we have a concentration in the middle of the intervals indicating an overlapping between segments. In other words, people are likely to belong to one class or to another one. The borders between segments are not very clear in the case of FT coffee consumption.

Logically, the results are also poor for traditional coffee. We have the same misspecifications.

Those results can have two causes: either the lack of appropriate explanatory variables or the sign of an immature market without clear behaviors. However, our variables seem to be very accurate: demographic characteristics, marketing variables... An immature market is characterized by a large part of versatile customers with no fixed preferences for one type of product.

4.2 - Class details

The classes depend, of course, on the number of FT coffee bags purchased at each transaction. The distribution indicates that we have three behaviors: non-customers with exceptional purchase, heavy customers with specific purchases and heavy purchaser (figure 2).

Distribution of the transactions by class

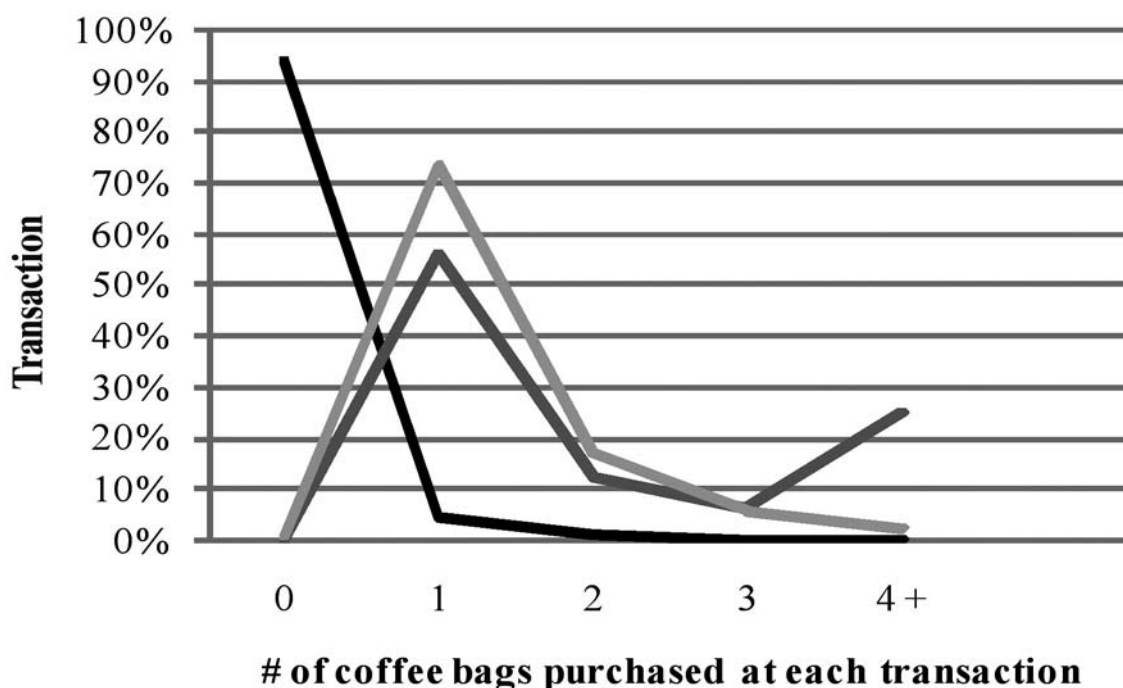


Figure 2: Distribution of the transactions

Those classes are well-characterized:

	Size	Part of FT coffee purchases	Well-off professions	Lower wages	Non-working (unemployed and retired)	Unitary price of purchased bag
Class 1	93.5%	46.0%	36,3%	31,6%	32,1%	2,85 €
Class 2	0.5%	4.4%	62,5%	31,3%	6,3%	3,54 €
Class 3	6.0%	49.6%	62,8%	11,6%	25,6%	2,70 €
Total	100.0%	100.0%				

Table 1

The size of the classes is very dissimilar (table 1). Class 2 is almost negligible except its part in the FT coffee purchase. But the largest part of purchases is generated by class 3. The behavior of this class is clearly opportunistic with the lowest unitary price: “I buy if it’s cheap”. By opposition, class 2 is composed of “FT coffee fanatics” with a large consumption of expensive products.

For the good understanding and to reference to FT purchases, we will call class 1 “non purchaser”, class 2 “heavy purchaser” and class 3 “opportunistic purchaser”. Those terms are a bit misleading: for example, non-purchasers represent almost half of FT coffee sales due to their weight in the population.

4.3 - Coefficients

The values of the coefficients illustrate the behavioral fundamentals in the coffee choice. They permit to validate our hypothesis. In two classes (non purchasers and opportunistic purchasers), the profession coefficients are significantly different from zero. The logic is quite different depending on each class. For non-purchasers, the well-off profession is positively correlated with the FT coffee purchases. For opportunistic consumers, all the professions, by contrast with the farmers, are positively correlated with the FT coffee purchases. Given those results and the specific distribution of professions by class, our hypothesis 1a is accepted.

The role of age is more ambiguous. On the whole age has no impact on purchases except for non-purchasers where elders (more than 70 years old) have a slight higher probability to consume FT coffee. But, this correlation is likely to reflect likely the income level. Therefore we reject hypothesis 1b. Despite the results of previous qualitative researches, we do not find a significant link between gender and FT interest. The coefficients for male purchases (in contrast with female behaviors) are not significant (not different from zero) in any class. Hypothesis 1c is then rejected.

Finally, FT coffee purchase is related to demographic factors in the terms of income and culture. Despite the restrictions on gender and age, the hypothesis 1 is validated. Considering the result for traditional coffee, the class by class comparison of seasonality offers no clear results. The coefficients are not significant at class level. However, the comparison at an aggregated level is instructive:

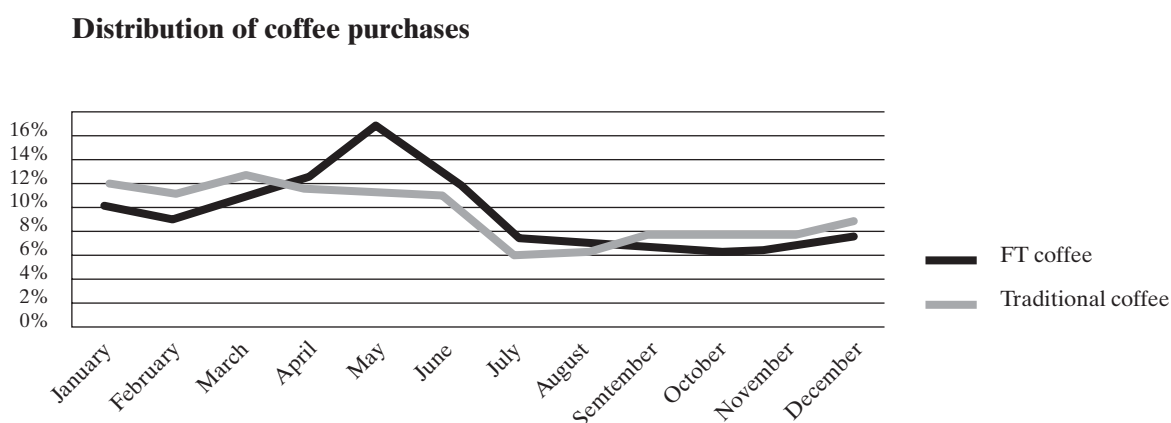


Figure 3: Distribution of coffee purchases

Clearly, we have a consumption peak for FT coffee in a three-month period (from April to June in figure 3). At the same time, traditional coffee consumption is stable, even regressing. Seasonality is not the same, which validates the hypothesis 2a. At the same time, we are not able to detect significant differences between promotion coefficients. The promotions have the same type of impact on coffee consumption; their amplitude is not significantly different. The hypothesis 2b is rejected. Globally, we cannot confirm nor reject the hypothesis 2: seasonality is different but only at an aggregated level and promotions do not have a dissimilar impact.

5 - Discussion and implications

In this paper, we qualify the results of previous qualitative researches. First, the link between attitude to FT coffee and demographic is partially validated. In fact, the largest factor is the social position, at once the culture and the income of the people. Second, we cannot establish a specific behavior in terms of FT coffee consumption. The behavioral logic seems to be the same.

Our research gives some results around the market structure. We have a three sided market, which can represent a three-step lifecycle: non-consumers, opportunistic consumers and heavy purchasers. Promotions could have a central role on the class of opportunistic purchasers. By permitting a first purchase and, afterwards, repeated purchases, they could contribute to a class change, from the opportunistic to the heavy purchaser. This class is made up with a great part of well-off professions as the class of heavy purchasers. Then, those classes are a major target for the development of FT products. This result is especially interesting given the permeability of the classes. The taking into account of the posterior probabilities is clear with the overlap of the classes. The largest part of customers is able to switch easily from one class to another.

Finally, we developed in this paper (for the first time as far as we know) managerial implications for FT coffee based on a quantitative approach. Our study will thus be helpful to academics, NGO, manufacturers and retailers as it will show them the French FT consumer is like. We seek to understand him so as to make recommendations for better marketing and promotion of FT coffee and FT products.

This research needs further analysis. The first step could be a work on the behavioral characteristics of FT coffee and traditional coffee purchases. The second could deal with the probabilities of switching from one class to another. And the third one could measure the impact of the FT factor on the future behavior of the customer as regards the brand loyalty.

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A sensitivity analysis procedure for Bayesian decision making

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Abstract

In an effort to see how analytical model outputs change with respect to variations in model inputs, sensitivity analysis procedures have been widely used in applications such as mathematical programming and classical optimization. However, until recently, sensitivity analysis has seen only limited application in the area of decision theory and support. This paper investigates the use of sensitivity analysis in the realm of classical Bayesian reasoning, where the probabilities of the states of nature are revised based on additional information. These updated probabilities only become useful, however, if they lead to an optimal decision different from that obtained on the basis of prior probabilities. This paper develops a novel sensitivity analysis procedure for Bayesian decision making and proposes a set of criteria for the ranges of the model input parameters over which the current solution will remain optimal.

Reference

Reference to this paper should be made as follows: Huq, F., Martin, C., Cutright, K., and Hale, T. S., (20xx) 'A sensitivity analysis procedure for Bayesian decision making', *Int. J. Dec. Sci., Risk and Mgmt.*, Vol. , No. , pp. .

Keywords

Decision support, sensitivity analysis, Bayesian decision making.

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1 - Introduction

Sensitivity analysis techniques have been applied to a multitude of to help determine how robust solutions are to changes in problem parameters. An area of management science/operations research where sensitivity analysis has been very commonly used is in linear programming. Only recently has the concept of sensitivity analysis been applied to classical decision theory problems. This research provides a new sensitivity analysis procedure for the input parameters in classical Bayesian decision making.

In Bayesian analysis, the prior probabilities of the states of nature are revised based on some indicators of the states of nature. However, these updated probabilities are useful only if they lead to an optimal decision different from that obtained on the basis of prior probabilities. In this paper we develop some conditions that must hold in order for the decisions based on prior and posterior probabilities to be different. First the general case is developed and then two numerical examples are shown. It needs to be mentioned that though the conditions developed will hold for any integer values of number of alternatives m and states of nature n , it becomes quite complex when m and n is large. That, however, does not restrict the usefulness of the model very much because in most practiced cases the values of m and n are low. This study is organized as follows. First, a brief literature review is presented to help define both the scope and the landscape of this research. In the section that follows, the procedure methodology is developed. This is followed by a precise derivation of sensitivity analysis multipliers for both the prior probabilities and the conditional probabilities of a particular Bayesian decision model. Both of the multipliers are defined for ranges on which the current optimal solution remains optimal. Hence, the decision maker will know by how much the probabilities (model inputs) would have to change before resulting in a change in the Bayesian decision (model output). A brief example problem is then presented to show the efficacy of the proposed methodology (a much larger problem is presented in the Appendix to demonstrate that the methodology is not constrained by problem size). A short conclusions section ends this treatise.

2 - Background

A classical decision theory problem has been aptly described by Evans (1984) as consisting of a set D of courses of action such that $d_i = 1, 2, \dots, m$. The decision maker has to choose one of the courses of action. There is a set S of outcomes or states of nature $s_j, j = 1, 2, \dots, n$ and a probability P_j assigned to each outcome subject to the conditions $\sum P_j \leq 1$ and $P_j \geq 0$. There is a payoff (utility) assigned to each combination of a course of action and state of nature. The decision maker chooses the course of action that maximizes the expected payoff.

Sensitivity analysis of such problems based on geometric characteristics of optimal decision regions in the probability space has been performed by Evans (1984). A more elaborate analysis was performed by Buckley (1988). Therein the author considered not only the variation in the probabilities of states of nature but also the variation in expected payoffs.

If a classical Bayesian approach to decision making is used then the probabilities are subject to revision. However, the Bayesian approach in which probabilities are subsequently revised was not considered in the Evans (1984) or the Buckley (1988) reports. Huq and Kesh (1992) presented the Bayesian approach and considered revised probabilities in calculating the usefulness of additional information in decision making. They developed a model to observe the sensitivity of decisions to changes in conditional probabilities that represent the relative strength of the causal relationships, as asserted by Mantaras (1990). A sensitivity measure, R , was proposed and it was shown that R has to meet certain conditions for the decision to change after collection of posterior information. The limitation of the Huq and Kesh study, however, was that it only provided a way to deal with cases of up to three decision alternatives and states of nature.

In contrast, the focus of this paper will be to use the concepts of sensitivity analysis and apply it to a much more general Bayesian type decision making situation in which two or more states of nature and decision alternatives can be incorporated. This proposed approach also has fewer restrictive assumptions which yields a more useful model for situations with a large number of decision alternatives and a reasonable number of states of nature.

In their Bayesian analysis textbook, Carlin and Louis (1996) provided a brief accounting of sensitivity analysis on Bayesian probabilities. The authors concentrate on how sensitivity analysis could be applied to the prior probabilities in decision making, but are sparse in terms of the how to. In a novel, more holistic approach Weiss (1995) defined a sensitivity analysis procedure that incorporates both an influence statistic and an outlier statistic to help assess the *overall* sensitivity of a particular decision model.

Similar overall Bayesian network model sensitivity analysis research was performed by Laskey (1995). The author incorporated advanced numerical techniques to derive the partial derivatives of a particular model's outputs with respect to its input parameters. For a recent taxonomy and review of sensitivity analysis procedures in general the reader is referred to Fey and Patil (2002).

The research developed herein should not be confused with Bayesian approaches to conventional (probabilistic) sensitivity analysis. We are interested in developing sensitivity analysis measures for classical Bayesian reasoning (not the other way around). For research into Bayesian methods for sensitivity analysis the reader is referred to works by Greenland (2001) and Oakley and O'Hagan (2004). For a general introduction to Bayesian reasoning, the reader is referred to the now classic reference by Howson and Urbach (1989) or to second edition of the well-known Bayesian statistics textbook by Bolstad (2007).

3 - Methodology

In the method presented in a previously published research by Huq and Kesh (1992), the analysis becomes progressively complex as the size of the problem increases (as m and n get larger). In what follows we will present a method that improves upon the Huq and Kesh approach and proposes a model that is not limited by the number of states of nature or the number of decision alternatives.

The nomenclature for this methodology is presented in Table 1 below.

I	Index set of decision alternatives
J	Index set of possible states of nature
K	Index set of experiment
S_j	States of nature $j, j \in J$
E_k	possible result or indicator k of experiment, $k \in K$
$Pr(S_j)$	prior probability of state of nature j
$Pr(E_k S_j)$	conditional probability that result E_k occurs given state of nature S_j
$Pr(S_j E_k)$	posterior probability of state of nature S_j given result E_k
O_{ij}	return if alternative i is selected under state of nature S_j
V_{ik}	expected return if alternative i is selected based on result k

Table 1. Nomenclature

From this notation, we also can see that

$$V_i = \sum_{j \in J} O_{ij} Pr(S_j) \quad (1)$$

and

$$V_{ik} = \sum_{j \in J} O_{ij} Pr(S_j | E_k) \quad (2)$$

We also define $i^*(k)$ as the optimum alternative based on posterior probabilities from result E_k . Hence

$$V_{i^*(k),k} = \max_{i \in I} \{V_{ik}\} \quad (3)$$

3.1 - Sensitivity to Prior Probabilities

To perform sensitivity analysis, first we need to find the optimal solution for a decision using the prior probabilities. Assuming that the payoffs do not change, our goal is to find the range of a multiplier α over which the current solution will remain optimal.

We assume without loss of generality that the result of the experiment is E_k . Define Δ_j as proportional change made in prior probability j and the multiplier α . Real life values of Δ_j can be thought of as events which might affect the scenario probabilities. It is premised here that most Δ_j will be relatively small.

It should be noted here that changes in Δ_j and the rates of change in Δ_j are both central to the premises made herein. That is to say Hence, the adjusted values of the prior probabilities are then:

$$\Pr(S_j) + \alpha \Delta_j \quad (4)$$

These probabilities are feasible as long as

$$\sum_{j \in J} \Delta_j = 0 \quad (5)$$

and $\underline{\alpha} \leq \alpha \leq \bar{\alpha}$ where

$$\bar{\alpha} = \min \left[\min_{\Delta_j > 0} \left\{ \frac{1 - \Pr(S_j)}{\Delta_j} \right\}, \min_{\Delta_j < 0} \left\{ \frac{\Pr(S_j)}{-\Delta_j} \right\} \right] \quad (6)$$

$$\underline{\alpha} = - \min \left[\min_{\Delta_j > 0} \left\{ \frac{\Pr(S_j)}{\Delta_j} \right\}, \min_{\Delta_j < 0} \left\{ \frac{1 - \Pr(S_j)}{-\Delta_j} \right\} \right] \quad (7)$$

The posterior probabilities for a given value of α are now calculated as

$$\Pr^\alpha(S_j | E_k) = \frac{(\Pr(S_j) + \alpha \Delta_j) \Pr(E_k | S_j)}{\sum_{j \in J} (\Pr(S_j) + \alpha \Delta_j) \Pr(E_k | S_j)} \quad (8)$$

Then $i^*(k)$ will remain the optimum alternative as long as

$$V_{i^*(k),k} \geq V_{ik} \quad (9)$$

or

$$\sum_{j \in J} O_{i^*(k),j} \Pr^\alpha(E_k | S_j) \geq \sum_{j \in J} O_{ij} \Pr^\alpha(E_k | S_j) \quad (10)$$

or

$$\alpha \sum_{j \in J} \Delta_j (O_{i^*(k),j} - O_{ij}) \Pr(E_k | S_j) \geq \sum_{j \in J} (O_{ij} - O_{i^*(k),j}) \Pr(S_j) \Pr(E_k | S_j) \quad (11)$$

Define B_{ik} and T_{ik} as follows

$$B_{ik} = \sum_{j \in J} \Delta_j (O_{i^*(k),j} - O_{ij}) \Pr(E_k | S_j) \quad (12)$$

$$T_{ik} = \sum_{j \in J} (O_{ij} - O_{i^*(k),j}) \Pr(S_j) \Pr(E_k | S_j) = (V_{ik} - V_{i^*(k),k}) \Pr(E_k) \quad (13)$$

Then the condition on α that leaves $i^*(k)$ optimum is

$$\alpha B_{ik} \geq T_{ik} \quad (14)$$

which will hold as long as $\underline{\alpha}_k \leq \alpha \leq \overline{\alpha}_k$ where

$$\overline{\alpha}_k = \min \left\{ \frac{T_{ik}}{B_{ik}} \right\}_{B_{ik} < 0} \quad (15)$$

$$\underline{\alpha}_k = - \min \left\{ \frac{T_{ik}}{-B_{ik}} \right\}_{B_{ik} > 0} \quad (16)$$

3.2 - Sensitivity to Conditional Probabilities

Again we start with the same premise as in the case of sensitivity to prior probabilities. Assuming, once more, no changes in the payoffs our intention is to find the range of a multiplier β that contributes to the adjustment of the conditional probabilities, over which the current solution remains optimal.

We assume without loss of generality that the result of the experiment is E_k . Define Δ_j as proportional

$$\Pr(E_k | S_j) + \beta \Delta_j \quad (17)$$

change made in conditional probability j and the multiplier β . Then the adjusted values of the conditional probabilities are:

These probabilities are feasible as long as $\underline{\beta} \leq \beta \leq \bar{\beta}$ where

$$\bar{\beta} = \min \left[\min_{\Delta_j > 0} \left\{ \frac{1 - \Pr(E_k | S_j)}{\Delta_j} \right\}, \min_{\Delta_j < 0} \left\{ \frac{\Pr(E_k | S_j)}{-\Delta_j} \right\} \right] \quad (18)$$

$$\underline{\beta} = - \min \left[\min_{\Delta_j > 0} \left\{ \frac{\Pr(E_k | S_j)}{\Delta_j} \right\}, \min_{\Delta_j < 0} \left\{ \frac{1 - \Pr(E_k | S_j)}{-\Delta_j} \right\} \right] \quad (19)$$

The posterior probabilities for a given value of β are now calculated as

$$\Pr^\beta(S_j | E_k) = \frac{\Pr(S_j) (\Pr(E_k | S_j) + \beta \Delta_j)}{\sum_{j \in J} \Pr(S_j) (\Pr(E_k | S_j) + \beta \Delta_j)} \quad (20)$$

Then $i^*(k)$ will remain the optimum alternative as long as

$$V_{i^*(k),k} \geq V_{ik} \quad (21)$$

or

$$\beta \sum_{j \in J} \Delta_j (O_{i^*(k),j} - O_{ij}) \Pr(S_j) \geq \sum_{j \in J} (O_{ij} - O_{i^*(k),j}) \Pr(S_j) \Pr(E_k | S_j) \quad (22)$$

Define B_{ik} and T_{ik} as follows

$$B_{ik} = \sum_{j \in J} \Delta_j (O_{i^*(k),j} - O_{ij}) \Pr(S_j) \quad (23)$$

$$T_{ik} = \sum_{j \in J} (O_{ij} - O_{i^*(k),j}) \Pr(S_j) \Pr(E_k | S_j) = (V_{ik} - V_{i^*(k),k}) \Pr(E_k) \quad (24)$$

Then the condition on β that leaves $i^*(\mathbf{k})$ optimum is

$$\beta B_{ik} \geq T_{ik} \quad (25)$$

which will hold as long as $\underline{\beta}_k \leq \beta \leq \overline{\beta}_k$ where

$$\overline{\beta}_k = \min_{B_{ik} < 0} \left\{ \frac{T_{ik}}{B_{ik}} \right\} \quad (26)$$

$$\underline{\beta}_k = - \min_{B_{ik} > 0} \left\{ \frac{T_{ik}}{-B_{ik}} \right\} \quad (27)$$

EXAMPLE:

This example is based on three states of nature, four decision alternatives and two possible experimental results or indicators. The example below could very easily be, say, analogous to choosing between four different investment opportunities. The prior probabilities and the conditional probabilities are given by:

$$\begin{aligned} \Pr(S_1) &= 0.50 & \Pr(S_2) &= 0.30 & \Pr(S_3) &= 0.20 \\ \Pr(E_1 | S_1) &= 0.20 & \Pr(E_1 | S_2) &= 0.30 & \Pr(E_1 | S_3) &= 0.80 \\ \Pr(E_2 | S_1) &= 0.80 & \Pr(E_2 | S_2) &= 0.70 & \Pr(E_2 | S_3) &= 0.20 \end{aligned}$$

The outcome values are given in Table 2 below.

Alternative	State of Nature		
	S_1	S_2	S_3
1	50	-20	30
2	20	30	20
3	60	-30	20
4	40	-20	40

Table 2. Outcomes for alternative/state of nature combinations.

The example will explore sensitivities based on the occurrence of experimental result E_1 . In this case we have the following posterior probabilities and expected outcomes:

$$\Pr(S_1 | E_1) = 0.2857 \quad \Pr(S_2 | E_1) = 0.2571 \quad \Pr(S_3 | E_1) = 0.4571$$

$$V_{11} = 22.86 \quad V_{21} = 22.57 \quad V_{31} = 18.57 \quad V_{41} = 24.57$$

In this example, $i^*(1) = 4$ is the optimum alternative based on these posterior probabilities.

Example: Sensitivity to Prior Probabilities

We choose to redistribute the prior probabilities by the following relative change rates:

$$\Delta_1 = 1.00 \quad \Delta_2 = -0.50 \quad \Delta_3 = -0.50$$

The feasible limits on α are

$$\underline{\alpha} = -0.5 \text{ and } \bar{\alpha} = 0.4 .$$

The relevant values of T_{ik} and B_{ik}

$$T_{11} = -0.60 \quad T_{21} = -0.70 \quad T_{31} = -2.10$$

$$B_{11} = -6.00 \quad B_{21} = 3.50 \quad B_{31} = -13.50$$

Then the range of α that leaves alternative 4 optimum is

$$\bar{\alpha}_1 = \min \left\{ \frac{-0.60}{-6.00}, \frac{-2.10}{-13.50} \right\} = 0.10$$

$$\underline{\alpha}_1 = - \min \left\{ \frac{-0.70}{-3.50} \right\} = -0.20$$

If we set $\alpha = 0.10$ then the expected outcomes are

$$V_{11} = 25.71 \quad V_{21} = 22.38 \quad V_{31} = 23.33 \quad V_{41} = 25.71$$

If we set $\alpha = -0.20$ then the expected outcomes are

$$V_{11} = 18.57 \quad V_{21} = 22.86 \quad V_{31} = 11.43 \quad V_{41} = 22.86$$

Example: Sensitivity to Conditional Probabilities

We choose to change the conditional probabilities by the following relative change rates:

$$\Delta_1 = 1.00 \quad \Delta_2 = -1.00 \quad \Delta_3 = -1.00$$

The feasible limits on β are

$$\underline{\beta} = -0.2 \text{ and } \bar{\beta} = 0.3 .$$

The relevant values of T_{ik} and B_{ik}

$$T_{11} = -0.60 \quad T_{21} = -0.70 \quad T_{31} = -2.10$$

$$B_{11} = -7.00 \quad B_{21} = 21.00 \quad B_{31} = -17.00$$

Then the range of β that leaves alternative 4 optimum is

$$\beta_1 = \min \left\{ \frac{-0.60}{-7.00}, \frac{-2.10}{-17.00} \right\} = 0.085714$$

$$\underline{\beta}_1 = - \min \left\{ \frac{-0.70}{-21.00} \right\} = -0.03333$$

If we set $\beta = 0.085714$ then the expected outcomes are

$$V_{11} = 28.98 \quad V_{21} = 21.84 \quad V_{31} = 27.14 \quad V_{41} = 28.98$$

If we set $\beta = -0.03333$ then the expected outcomes are

$$V_{11} = 20.48 \quad V_{21} = 22.86 \quad V_{31} = 15.24 \quad V_{41} = 22.86$$

4. Conclusions

An attempt has been made to incorporate concepts of sensitivity analysis to Bayesian decision making. It has been shown that if certain conditions are met then new information does not change the optimal decision made on the basis of prior information. Consequently new information can be of value only if these conditions are not met. Managers can use this approach to make informed decisions about the value of additional information. The proposed approach can be applied to decision problems ranging from capacity planning to military reconnaissance. It should be noted that for larger decision sets (e.g., greater than six or seven decision alternatives) the complexity of proposed approach increases dramatically.

5. Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank the anonymous referees who provided valuable insight and supplied prudent modifications that led to vast improvements from the originally submitted manuscript.

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Appendix

The following example, a more expanded problem, is presented to show that the analytic approach developed in the paper is not limited by the dimensionality of the problem. It is based on six states of nature, five decision alternatives and three possible experimental results or indicators. The prior probabilities and the conditional probabilities are given by:

$$\begin{array}{lll}
 \Pr(S_1) = 0.150 & \Pr(S_2) = 0.200 & \Pr(S_3) = 0.250 \\
 \Pr(S_4) = 0.175 & \Pr(S_5) = 0.150 & \Pr(S_6) = 0.075 \\
 \Pr(E_1 | S_1) = 0.100 & \Pr(E_1 | S_2) = 0.150 & \Pr(E_1 | S_3) = 0.200 \\
 \Pr(E_1 | S_4) = 0.250 & \Pr(E_1 | S_5) = 0.300 & \Pr(E_1 | S_6) = 0.350 \\
 \Pr(E_2 | S_1) = 0.600 & \Pr(E_2 | S_2) = 0.500 & \Pr(E_2 | S_3) = 0.400 \\
 \Pr(E_2 | S_4) = 0.300 & \Pr(E_2 | S_5) = 0.200 & \Pr(E_2 | S_6) = 0.100 \\
 \Pr(E_3 | S_1) = 0.300 & \Pr(E_3 | S_2) = 0.350 & \Pr(E_3 | S_3) = 0.400 \\
 \Pr(E_3 | S_4) = 0.450 & \Pr(E_3 | S_5) = 0.500 & \Pr(E_3 | S_6) = 0.550
 \end{array}$$

The outcome values are given in Table 3 below.

Alternative	State of Nature					
	S_1	S_2	S_3	S_4	S_5	S_6
1	-20	0	10	30	60	100
2	-30	-10	0	35	70	110
3	-50	-30	0	40	80	140
4	-100	-50	-10	30	100	180
5	-160	-80	-20	50	100	200

Table 3. Outcomes for alternative/state of nature combinations

The example will explore sensitivities based on the occurrence of experimental result E_i . In this case we have the following posterior probabilities and expected outcomes:

$$\begin{array}{lll}
 \Pr(S_1 | E_1) = 0.07143 & \Pr(S_2 | E_1) = 0.14286 & \Pr(S_3 | E_1) = 0.23810 \\
 \Pr(S_4 | E_1) = 0.20833 & \Pr(S_5 | E_1) = 0.21429 & \Pr(S_6 | E_1) = 0.12500 \\
 V_{11} = 32.56 & V_{21} = 32.47 & V_{31} = 35.12 & V_{41} = 33.51 & V_{51} = 29.23
 \end{array}$$

In this example, $i^*(1) = 3$ is the optimum alternative based on these posterior probabilities.

Appendix: Sensitivity to Prior Probabilities

We choose to redistribute the prior probabilities by the following relative change rates:

$$\Delta_1 = 1.00 \quad \Delta_2 = 1.00 \quad \Delta_3 = 0.00 \quad \Delta_4 = 0.00 \quad \Delta_5 = -1.00 \quad \Delta_6 = -1.00$$

The feasible limits on α are then

$$\underline{\alpha} = -0.15 \text{ and } \bar{\alpha} = 0.075 .$$

The relevant values of T_{ik} and B_{ik}

$$T_{11} = -0.54 \quad T_{21} = -0.56 \quad T_{41} = -0.34 \quad T_{51} = -1.24$$

$$B_{11} = -27.50 \quad B_{21} = -18.50 \quad B_{41} = 28.00 \quad B_{51} = 45.50$$

Then the range of α that leaves alternative 3 optimum are

$$\underline{\alpha}_1 = \min \left\{ \frac{-0.54}{-27.50}, \frac{-0.56}{-18.50} \right\} = 0.01955$$

$$\bar{\alpha}_1 = -\min \left\{ \frac{-0.34}{-28.00}, \frac{-1.24}{-45.50} \right\} = -0.01205$$

If we set $\alpha = 0.01955$ then the expected outcomes are

$$V_{11} = 28.50 \quad V_{21} = 27.54 \quad V_{31} = 28.50 \quad V_{41} = 24.13 \quad V_{51} = 17.98 .$$

If we set $\alpha = -0.01205$ then the expected outcomes are

$$V_{11} = 34.91 \quad V_{21} = 35.33 \quad V_{31} = 38.96 \quad V_{41} = 38.96 \quad V_{51} = 35.75 .$$

Appendix: Sensitivity to Conditional Probabilities

We choose to change the conditional probabilities by the following relative change rates:

$$\Delta 1 = 1.00 \quad \Delta 2 = 1.00 \quad \Delta 3 = 0.50 \quad \Delta 4 = -0.50 \quad \Delta 5 = -1.00 \quad \Delta 6 = -1.00$$

The feasible limits on β are

$$\underline{\beta} = -0.1 \text{ and } \bar{\beta} = 0.3$$

$$\beta_1 = \min \left\{ \frac{-0.54}{-18.63}, \frac{-0.56}{-11.19} \right\} = 0.02886$$

The relevant values of T_{ik} and B_{ik}

$$\begin{array}{llll} T_{11} = -0.54 & T_{21} = -0.56 & T_{41} = -0.34 & T_{51} = -1.24 \\ B_{11} = -18.63 & B_{21} = -11.19 & B_{41} = 17.88 & B_{51} = 37.38 \end{array}$$

Then the range of β that leaves alternative 3 optimum are

If we set $\beta = 0.02886$ then the expected outcomes are

$$V_{11} = 29.04 \quad V_{21} = 27.95 \quad V_{31} = 29.04 \quad V_{41} = 25.07 \quad V_{51} = 18.25 .$$

If we set $\beta = -0.01888$ then the expected outcomes are

$$V_{11} = 34.95 \quad V_{21} = 35.53 \quad V_{31} = 39.24 \quad V_{41} = 39.24 \quad V_{51} = 36.67 .$$

Les impensés de la gouvernance : La pertinence politique de la participation de la société civile au Nord et au Sud

“The Emergence of Civil Society for Achieving an Alternative Political Order and Preparing the Ground for Restoring Human Rights in Southern African countries”

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Abstract

African democracy is known for what has been called 'waves of democratization'. The path to democracy is made of transitional periods from non-democratic to democratic regimes which follow each time a particular route.

Most of the African countries have either ignored or misunderstood the role of the civil society in protecting and promoting human rights. Similarly, the civil society and its relationship with the state cannot simply mean that the same standards apply to everyone in equal measure. The role of civil society as an emancipator of social forces may be distinct from the state more especially when it is concerned with the status of human rights in African region. The distinctiveness of different regions, in terms of their level of socioeconomic development and significantly their cultural attributes, ought to be acknowledged in this regard. The perceptions of power from State to State may thus differ. If all laws are situational laws as they operate on specific and local areas, all political representations may follow local patterns.

The pressure for political transition in African region is not only from international arena but also from the domestic societies who are mobilising to rid themselves of the monarchies, dictatorial, military and one-party structures running under the masquerade of democracy and constitutionalism. But regular free and fair elections do not in themselves mean democracy. Endorsement and enforcement should be distinguished. Democracy is also about ensuring that electoral outcomes reflect the will of the people through effective parliamentary institutions. The absence of political violence during elections and smooth transfer of power by the ruling elites may have let experts believe in an "African miracle" like in Botswana.

However even for those countries which have enjoyed liberal democracy, there are growing doubts as to whether they are really the model of democracy. Political legitimacy is missing even though some countries are maintaining the democratic status in their constitutions and in the eyes of the whole world. The First-Past-The-Post electoral system has failed poorly in this regard in the majority of the African countries. The system promotes a predominant party system which undermines the much cherished idea of a multiparty democracy. Then the absence of an effective political opposition undermines the fragile African democracies. Our article wishes to investigate the potential of civil society in building an effective political opposition in Southern African countries.

Introduction

Lors du dernier sommet de la SADC (*Southern African Development Community*) qui a eu lieu en Octobre 2008, les représentants de la Troïka ont souligné le besoin de revenir à une situation pacifique au Congo et au Zimbabwe afin de pouvoir éradiquer la pauvreté (SADC, 2008b). Ils ont salué les populations de l'Angola et du Swaziland pour la tenue pacifique des élections récentes et encouragé la population de la Zambie à les imiter pour les élections à venir. Les déclarations de la SADC nous amènent ainsi à considérer l'état de la société civile dans ses 14 pays membres de l'Afrique australe, à savoir l'Afrique du Sud, l'Angola, le Botswana, la République Démocratique du Congo (ou Congo Kinshasa), le Lesotho, Madagascar, le Malawi, l'île Maurice, le Mozambique, la Namibie, le Swaziland, la Tanzanie, la Zambie et le Zimbabwe.

Depuis sa création en 1979¹, la SADC vise à la constitution d'une zone économique intégrée. Elle s'est dotée depuis 2001 d'institutions calquées sur le modèle de l'Union européenne. Tout comme les pays européens, les pays de la SADC ont chacun une histoire riche (que ce soit avant et pendant la colonisation où chacun a eu à subir le joug d'une puissance étrangère différente², ou bien depuis l'indépendance), des cultures particulières et des langues distinctes³. Tout comme les pays européens, ce qui semble les attacher les uns aux autres, plus que leur passé, est ce territoire commun qu'ils ont en partage mais aussi leur avenir avec les nombreux défis à relever qui se posent à eux.

Généralement, le discours sur la société civile est compris comme une critique de la domination de l'Etat sur la société, comme une préférence pour la réforme politique au détriment des velléités révolutionnaires, c'est-à-dire comme une stratégie du changement politique qui privilégie les élections et la négociation (Bratton, 1994). Cette compréhension est souvent plus nationale et politique qu'économique et sociale. Elle oublie en outre la dimension purement trans-nationale que la mondialisation a permis de développer au sein même de ces sociétés africaines en particulier autour du combat contre la pauvreté, l'illettrisme, l'inégalité homme/femme, etc.. Les OSC constituent les acteurs clés du développement (Brown et Kalegaonkar, 1999).

L'objectif de notre étude est de considérer l'état actuel de la société civile dans les pays membres de la SADC et de répondre à la question suivante : quelle est la situation politique, économique, sociale et sanitaire à laquelle doivent faire face les sociétés civiles de ces Etats à l'aube du XXIème siècle ? Qu'entend-on par société civile en Afrique australe ? Et quel rôle peuvent-elles jouer ? Dans une première partie, nous étudierons les défis auxquels sont actuellement confrontées ces sociétés civiles. Dans une seconde partie nous reviendrons sur l'histoire et la définition du concept de « société civile ». Dans une troisième partie, nous aborderons les actions des OSC (Organisations de la Société Civile) dans les programmes de démocratisation et de lutte de la pauvreté dans cette partie sud du continent africain.

(1) Créée en 1979 sous le nom de SADCC (Conférence de coordination du développement d'Afrique australe), elle a pris le nom de SADC (Communauté de développement d'Afrique australe) en 1992. L'entrée de l'Afrique du Sud en 1994, avec la fin du régime d'apartheid, a largement renforcé son poids régional. La SADC possède également un organe de défense et de sécurité.

(2) Anglaise, portugaise, belge, française, hollandaise, etc.

(3) La Tanzanie compte 120 ethnies différentes, chacune ayant conservé sa langue. La RDC (ou Congo-Kinshasa) ne parvient toujours pas à recenser l'ensemble de ses ethnies : il y en aurait plus de 200 (CIA World factbook, 2008).

I – Les défis à relever

Pendant longtemps, les sociétés africaines ont semblé posséder peu d'organisations intermédiaires occupant l'espace de la société publique, à savoir l'espace compris entre le foyer et l'Etat (Bratton, 1994). Toutefois, examinées de près, on pouvait discerner des institutions religieuses et culturelles qui exprimaient des identités collectives et que les africains reconnaissaient, respectaient et écoutaient : il s'agissait des clans, des fraternités en tout genre, etc. Pendant la période coloniale, les africains ont réactualisé ces anciennes structures traditionnelles (des associations ethniques et tribales, des mouvements prophétiques et des partis d'agriculteurs) et ont établi de nouvelles formes d'associations (mouvements paysans, syndicats, associations d'instituteurs, etc.). Cette « phase de pré-indépendance » marque l'apparition des premières classes moyennes africaines en même temps que la première des quatre étapes de l'émergence des sociétés civiles en Afrique (M'Boge et Gbaydee, 2004).

Après l'indépendance, les sociétés africaines ont connu une période particulière pendant laquelle la distinction entre société civile et Etat était floue. L'émancipation avait créé une atmosphère de cohésion nationale forte où tout paraissait possible. Mais ce mariage a fait long feu et les années 60 virent la fin de cette deuxième phase. Les sociétés civiles africaines durent, une nouvelle fois, prendre leur liberté vis-à-vis de l'Etat qui était cette fois-ci le leur.

Effectivement, les élites africaines au pouvoir ont alors donné la priorité à la souveraineté de l'Etat et à la sécurité nationale. Ce faisant, elles ont essayé, au travers de la "*departicipation*" (Kasfir, 1974) de réduire la participation populaire dans les affaires publiques⁴ et d'encadrer la société civile. Malgré les efforts faits dans ce sens, la construction d'états organisés autour de parti unique et le développement de régimes militaires, les élites africaines n'ont heureusement pas toujours réussi dans leurs tentatives qui visaient à décourager toute organisation autonome à prendre racine dans la société civile. De plus, les mauvaises ou faibles performances des économies africaines ont donné plus de force et de légitimité à l'activité des sphères autonomes vis-à-vis du pouvoir central.

Comme autant de moyens d'éviter les coûts et l'inefficience d'économies régulées, les producteurs et les marchands ont choisi de participer de plus en plus à l'économie que l'on a qualifiée d'informelle, de parallèle, de grise, etc. Les sociétés civiles africaines reprenaient alors leurs droits, au détriment de la cohésion nationale, sur ces Etats qui s'étaient affublés des mêmes pouvoirs et privilèges que les puissances coloniales passées. Après avoir atteint un sommet dans les années 90, la part de l'économie informelle s'est pourtant réduite⁵ ouvrant la voie à la quatrième phase de développement de la société civile africaine.

De fait, la libéralisation des économies au cours des deux dernières décennies a légitimé l'existence des corps intermédiaires dans les sociétés civiles africaines et les a fait rentrer dans la quatrième phase de leur développement. En réponse aux protestations populaires et à la pression des donateurs internationaux (les états comme les ONG), les leaders politiques africains ont dû ouvrir politiquement, même de manière relative, leur pays.

(4) "Departicipation, the process of reducing popular involvement in politics, is the most striking feature of post independence black Africa. In virtually every country political structures which markedly increased participation were hastily installed in the last hectic years of colonial rule. They have been unceremoniously dismantled with the same degree of alacrity. Policies of leaders all over the continent have reduced the involvement of the masses in politics, and thereby contracted the political arena." Kasfir, 1974: 3).

(5) Toutefois, l'Organisation Internationale du Travail (ILO, 2002) évaluait encore à 72% l'emploi informel en dehors du travail agricole dans l'Afrique sub-saharienne en 2002. Elle ramenait ce chiffre à 34% pour l'Afrique du Sud lorsqu'on intégrait la population active agricole (ILO, 2002 : 6). En ce qui concerne la contribution au PNB, la part de l'économie informelle était toujours de 24% pour la Zambie, 43% pour la Tanzanie et 39% pour le Mozambique (ILO, 2002 : 24).

1.1 - La nature des régimes politiques en Afrique Australe :

Les perspectives de stabilité politique en Afrique australe se sont accompagnées de la fin de l'apartheid en Afrique du sud, de la fin des guerres au Mozambique et en Angola, d'élections démocratiques au Lesotho, de progrès relatifs vers la démocratie dans la République Démocratique du Congo. Un essai de catégorisation des régimes politiques des membres de la SADC (voir **Tableau 1**) nous a amené à adapter pour notre étude le modèle de Diamond (2002) enrichi par Bratton (2004) des scores de *Freedom House*⁶. Selon l'ONG américaine, chaque droit politique (*political rights*) et liberté civile (*civil liberties*) est évalué sur une échelle de 1 (le plus haut degré de liberté) à 7 (le plus faible degré de liberté). Les droits politiques sont appréciés au travers de 10 questions (3 sur les processus électoraux, 4 sur le pluralisme et la participation et 3 sur le fonctionnement du gouvernement) tandis que les libertés civiles sont appréciées au travers de 15 questions (4 sur la liberté d'expression et de croyance, 3 sur la liberté d'association, 4 sur l'état de droit et 4 sur les libertés individuelles).

Type de régime	Sous-type de régime	Pays	Freedom House Scores 2008	
			Droits politiques	Libertés civiles
Démocratie	Démocratie libérale	Afrique du Sud	2	2
		Botswana	2	2
		Ile Maurice	1	2
	Démocratie électorale	Lesotho	2	3
		Namibie	2	2
		Madagascar	4	3
Malawi		4	4	
Semi-démocratie/Semi-autocratie	Hybride « ambiguë »	Mozambique	3	3
		Tanzanie	4	3
		Zambie	4	4
Autocratie	Autocratie libéralisée (hégémonique)	Angola	6	5
	Autocratie non-réformée	RDC (Congo)	6	6
		Swaziland	7	5
	Zimbabwe	7	6	

Tableau 1 – Les pays de la SADC par type de régime

(Source : traduit de Bratton (2004) et réactualisé pour le Zimbabwe et pour les scores de Freedom House)

Si le caractère démocratique des pays Africains est variable, il convient de noter que, malgré la troisième vague de démocratisation qui a eu lieu en Afrique (après la fin de la période coloniale et la fin de la guerre froide), seulement cinq pays d'Afrique sub-saharienne peuvent être qualifiés de « démocraties libérales ». Dans ces pays, le gouvernement est parvenu au pouvoir de manière pacifique lors d'élections libres et multipartites qui sont intervenues au moment prévu par la constitution. Parmi ces cinq pays, trois sont membres de la SADC : l'Afrique du Sud, l'Ile Maurice et le Botswana. Et parmi ceux-ci, un seul – l'Ile Maurice – a vu se réaliser une véritable alternance politique⁷.

(6) ONG américaine fondée en 1941 qui « assiste le développement des libertés dans le monde ». Référence mondiale en la matière, elle publie des rapports sur la liberté de la presse, la liberté dans le monde, les nations en transition. Pour une explication complète de la méthodologie, voir le site officiel de Freedom House: http://freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=351&ana_page=341&year=2008

(7) L'ANC reste toujours le parti majoritaire en Afrique du Sud depuis 1994 (et il semble qu'il le restera quelque temps encore, surtout depuis sa fusion en 2005 avec l'ancien parti national qui avait institué l'apartheid) tandis que le Botswana Democratic Party domine la scène politique depuis l'indépendance du Botswana en 1966.

Comme leur nom l'indique, les démocraties libérales protègent les droits politiques et les libertés civiles, respectent la liberté de la presse, offrent un cadre législatif et des institutions judiciaires équitables, indépendantes et efficaces. En Afrique, elles se caractérisent par une corruption modérée, mais réelle. Même pour ces démocraties, l'égalité entre sexe reste limitée, tout comme la protection de la propriété privée et la garantie de droits sociaux.

De manière générale, on trouve en Afrique un second type de démocratie : les « démocraties électorales ». Celles-ci ont des systèmes constitutionnels et civils qui respectent les standards démocratiques minimaux. Au premier chef, il s'agit de l'élection par suffrage universel du chef de l'exécutif. Le régime est assuré et renouvelé par des élections que les observateurs étrangers, comme les candidats perdants, jugent justes et libres. Nonobstant cela, dans ces démocraties électorales, les libertés politiques et civiles – spécialement entre les élections – ne sont pas garanties. Les minorités politiques sont quelques fois marginalisées et ne sont pas protégées par la constitution, comme au Malawi et en Namibie. En outre, la liberté d'expression est compromise par la main mise de l'Etat sur les media radiophoniques et télévisuels qui promeuvent la voix du pouvoir en place (Madagascar). Plus grave, le pouvoir de décision incombe généralement aux chefs de l'exécutif et exclut tout autre représentant élu (Lesotho). La séparation des pouvoirs, lorsque de nouvelles victoires électorales viennent à conforter le parti en place, s'efface alors durablement.

Cependant, les libertés civiles et des droits politiques peuvent évoluer différemment d'année en année. Par exemple en 2002, les droits politiques ont décliné à Madagascar (en raison de la rivalité politique entre les deux candidats Marc Ravalomanana et Didier Ratsiraka) et au Malawi où les libertés civiles ont été mises à mal en 2004 (lors de l'élection de Mutharika). Inversement, le Lesotho est passé d'un régime « autocratique libéralisé » à une démocratie électorale en raison d'élections à la proportionnelle rendues possible grâce à une nouvelle loi électorale en 2002.

En dessous du seuil de la démocratie électorale, Diamond qualifie certains régimes qui en prennent la forme sans en avoir le fond de « régime hybride ambigu » (*ambiguous hybrid*). Il s'agit d'une zone grise entre la démocratie et l'autocratie pure et simple qui regroupe le Mozambique, la Tanzanie et la Zambie. De manière générale les élections ont bien lieu en temps et en heure mais les registres de vote sont falsifiés de manière régulière, les campagnes d'intimidations sont nombreuses, le décompte des voix est hasardeux et les contestations par les perdants déçus sont récurrentes. Une fois au pouvoir, les « représentants » élus exercent de manière arbitraire leurs prérogatives et font preuve autant de clientélisme que d'une gestion patrimoniale de l'Etat.

En deçà, Diamond parle d'autocratie. Il distingue les « autocraties libéralisées » (*liberalized autocracy*) des « autocraties non-réformées » (*unreformed autocracies*). A près de 56% (27 pays sur 48), les régimes sub-sahariens sont des autocraties. A l'échelle du continent, ces régimes représentent les deux tiers de sa population. Toutefois, parmi les pays de la SADC, nous n'en trouvons que quatre (moins d'un tiers sur les 14 membres de la communauté) : l'Angola, la République Démocratique du Congo, le Swaziland et le Zimbabwe.

Les « autocraties libéralisées » sont les héritières des précédents régimes militaires et/ou des régimes à parti unique qui ont dû s'adapter pour survivre à la fin de la guerre froide et à la pression occidentale dans un environnement mondial plus démocratique. Si les régimes en place font cas de l'existence d'une opposition et de certaines libertés politiques, l'exercice du pouvoir se fait traditionnellement par un contrôle étroit de la presse, des partis politiques et de toutes les associations qui peuvent constituer une menace au point de devoir emprisonner les principaux opposants. Toutefois, certains pays sont fortement « incités » à organiser des élections libres : l'Angola a, par exemple, connu, pour la première fois depuis 1992, des élections en 2008.

Enfin, les « autocraties non-réformées » sont les régimes où les gouvernements font ouvertement peu de cas de la tenue d'élections régulières et d'une quelconque légitimité démocratique. Les leaders politiques parviennent au pouvoir de manière héréditaire (monarchie absolue au Swaziland depuis 1973) ou en manipulant les résultats des élections avec le soutien de l'armée et de la police et en intimidant et/ou en violentant les opposants politiques (Mugabe au début de 2008 au Zimbabwe). Le respect des droits de l'homme ainsi que la situation économique désastreuse au Zimbabwe reste un problème majeur. Pour le seul mois de Mai 2003, l'ONG *Zimbabwe Human Rights Forum* avait recensé 16 cas de torture, 24 arrestations arbitraires et 13 détentions arbitraires (voir tableau en **Annexe 1**). Par ailleurs, ces pays sont souvent impliqués dans des conflits meurtriers (les deux guerres du Congo en RDC ont fait plus de 3 millions de morts⁸ – sur une population estimée à 66 millions – et plusieurs centaines de milliers de déplacés). L'Etat en faillite peine à faire respecter son autorité et abandonne aux seigneurs de guerre locaux, comme aux gangs armés, ses citoyens. Dans chacun de ces trois cas, les perspectives démocratiques restent peu favorables. Si on peut anticiper un effondrement inéluctable de ces régimes à long terme, la lente détérioration de la situation est l'évolution la plus probable à moyen terme.

De manière globale, les membres de la SADC connaissent donc des régimes politiques relativement plus démocratiques, ce qui constitue un point positif de comparaison avec l'ensemble des pays sub-sahariens qui sont pour moins d'un tiers (15 sur 48) des démocraties (Diamond, 2002 ; Bratton, 2004). Toutefois, même dans un pays comme l'Afrique du sud qui reste le moteur de la communauté, l'exercice du pouvoir par Thabo Mbeki ne s'est pas fait sans velléité clientéliste (installation de proches leaders à la tête des provinces), autoritaire (malgré la claire séparation des pouvoirs) ou traditionaliste (au travers de ses « propositions » de traitement du sida).

1.2 - La perception de la démocratie par la société civile :

Afin de mesurer sur le terrain quelle est la perception de la démocratie par les africains eux-mêmes, plusieurs instituts de recherche se sont rapprochés pour étudier le phénomène.

L'*Afrobarometer* est un projet de recherche indépendant qui regroupe plusieurs institutions⁹ et qui réalise des enquêtes statistiques sur le point de vue des citoyens à propos de la démocratie, de la société civile et des réformes économiques en Afrique sub-saharienne. Les entretiens sur lesquels se basent les graphiques suivants ont été effectués entre le 10 mars 2005 et le 7 mars 2006 dans tous les pays mentionnés dans les graphiques. Plus de 25 000 entretiens ont été menés lors de chaque enquête (Round 2 en 2003 et Round 3 en 2005) avec des hommes et des femmes adultes selon un échantillonnage représentatif pour assurer la plus grande représentativité possible¹⁰.

De manière globale, on constate que la confiance dans les institutions publiques paraissait, à bien des égards, plutôt faible en 2002-2003 (Round 2, voir Tableau 2). En comparant avec l'enquête de l'an 2000 (Mattes, 2000), on perçoit, dans le cas de l'Afrique du Sud, une détérioration constante : les personnes interrogées sont moins confiantes qu'auparavant dans le chef de l'Etat, le Parlement, le gouvernement provincial mais aussi dans l'armée, la police et la justice. De manière générale, l'Afrique du Sud se distingue par la confiance en ses institutions la plus faible de tous les pays étudiés. Derrière le pays le plus riche d'Afrique australe, se range le Botswana dont la confiance vis-à-vis de ses institutions s'est également réduite pendant la période. Il faut peut-être y voir le retour au pouvoir d'un membre de l'ancienne famille royale, Seretse Ian Khama (vice-président en 1998 puis président depuis avril 2008), fils de Seretse Khama qui fut le président de 1966 à 1980.

(8) 3,3 millions de morts selon le IRC (International Rescue Committee) dans son rapport *Mortality in the Democratic Republic of Congo: Results from a Nationwide survey* publié en avril 2003 et réalisé par Roberts L., Ngoy P., Mone C., Lubula C., Mwezse L., Zantop M. et Despines M. Cela ferait de cette guerre le conflit le plus meurtrier sur le sol africain.

(9) L'*Afrobarometer* est né du rapprochement entre différents instituts et universités : la Michigan State University qui a débuté des recherches sur la Zambie en 1993 ; l'Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa) qui a commencé, en 1994, à étudier l'Afrique du Sud ; et le Center for Democratic Development (CDD) qui, dès 1997, se concentrait sur le Ghana.

(10) Pour plus de détails sur la méthodologie, consulter le site : <http://www.afrobarometer.org/methods.html>

	Traditional Leaders	President/ Prime Minister	Parliament/ National Assembly	Local Government	Army	Police	Courts
Senegal	79	73	52	51	82	70	68
Mali	78	71	62	51	79	63	50
Malawi	68	48	38	33	72	64	61
Mozambique	62	75	54	42	48	50	59
Lesotho	58	58	49	49	50	51	58
Tanzania	55	79	69	60	72	51	54
Botswana	54	44	37	34	60	57	57
Ghana	54	65	48	38	54	51	45
Zimbabwe	53	46	37	39	55	52	55
Zambia	51	46	40	16	52	42	49
Kenya	49	70	53	36	58	27	37
Uganda	47	61	48	77	51	43	51
Namibia	42	76	47	31*	50	48	42
Nigeria	31	18	11	17	21	11	12
South Africa	19	37	31	20	32	35	39
Total	53	58	45	38	56	48	50

Tableau 2 – Confiance dans les institutions

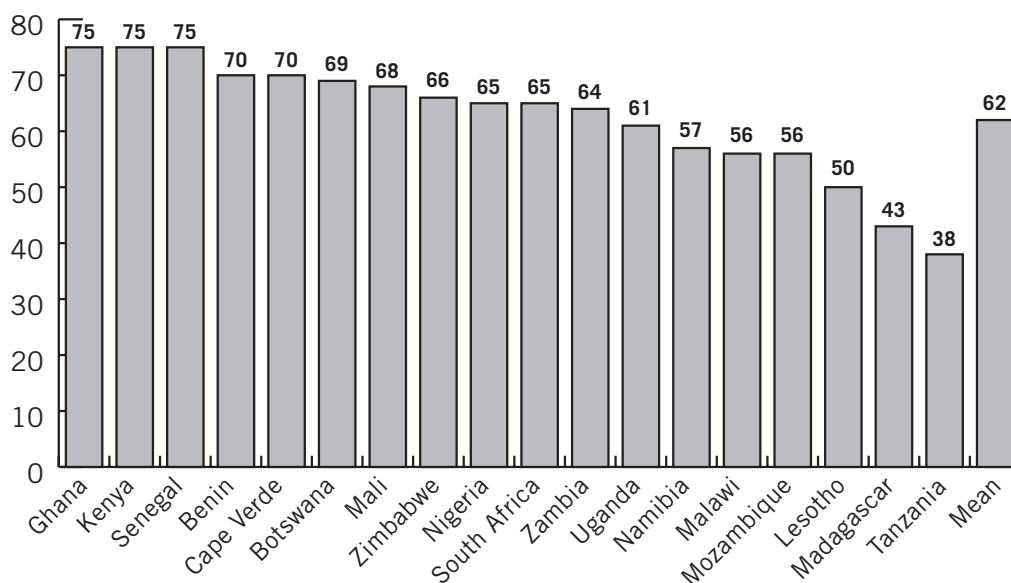
Source : Afrobarometer, Working Paper, n°93, February 2008

A l'inverse, pour le Lesotho, le Malawi et même pour le Zimbabwe, la confiance de la société civile dans les institutions publiques était alors forte en 2002-2003. Pour les autres pays (Namibie et Zambie), la situation était plus nuancée : l'armée, la police et la justice pâtissaient d'une faible confiance.

La plupart des enquêtes sur le terrain montrent que les Africains préfèrent la démocratie à tout autre régime politique qu'ils ont connu. Cependant, il y a assez de preuves qu'un tel soutien à la démocratie peut être simplement temporaire et qu'il peut décliner dans le temps : la proportion de ceux qui supportent à la fois la démocratie et rejettent en même temps toutes les alternatives autocratiques est en effet passé de 48% à 37% entre 2000 et 2003 (Bratton, 2004). Les enquêtes réalisées par *Afrobarometer* en 2003 (Round 3) confirment la tendance.

A l'occasion de nouvelles élections et d'alternances politiques possibles, le soutien par les populations africaines de la démocratie apparaît assez fort. Parmi les membres de la SADC, le soutien populaire à la démocratie (voir **Graphique 1**) et au multipartisme reste important bien qu'un peu moins élevé par rapport au soutien démocrate du Ghana, du Kenya et du Sénégal qui sont à plus de 70%. Effectivement, au Botswana, au Zimbabwe, en Afrique du Sud et en Zambie, près des deux tiers des personnes sondées lui accordent une importance réelle. Dans les autres pays, à peine plus d'une personne sur deux soutient l'idée que la démocratie est le meilleur régime et, plus alarmant, moins de la moitié des Malgaches et des Tanzaniens (respectivement 43% et 38%) pensent que la démocratie mérite d'être protégée.

Support for Democracy, 2005-2006 (percent agree democracy is preferable)

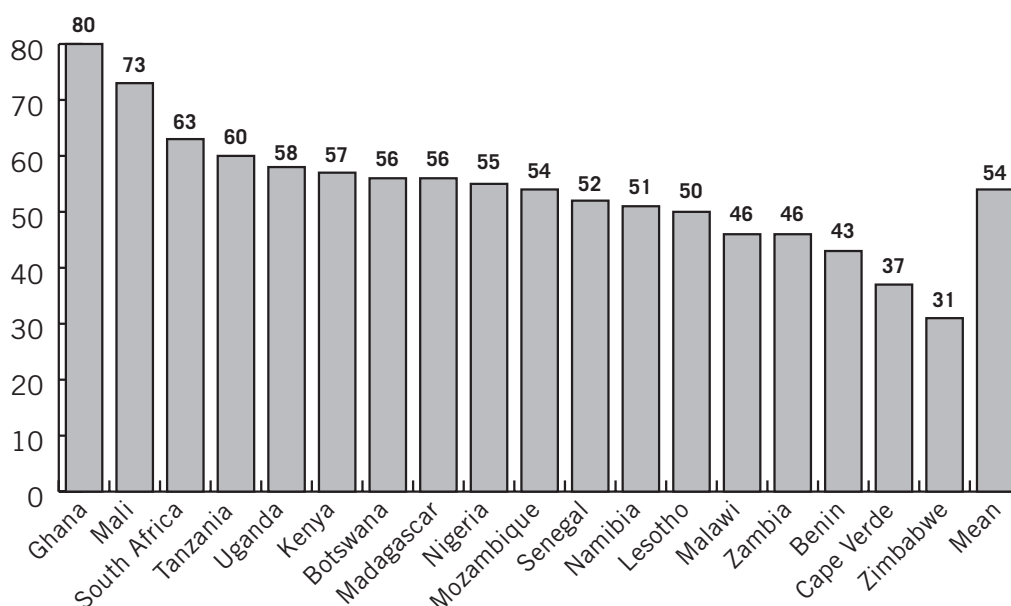


Graphique 1

(Source : Afrobarometer, Briefing Paper, n°40, Revised November 2006)

De fait, la patience à l'égard de la démocratie est limitée (voir **Graphique 2**). Une majorité étroite indique une certaine tendance à la compréhension et à la patience (54%) alors que plus du tiers (37% pour l'Afrique du Sud qui est le pays où la patience est la plus grande !) est prêt à changer si la démocratie échoue à produire des résultats concrets dans un avenir proche. Si on se concentre sur les seuls pays de la SADC, la moyenne est de 51.3%. Cependant, le très faible résultat du Zimbabwe amène à s'interroger sur le sens des réponses qu'ont voulu donner les personnes interrogées : s'agit-il d'un rejet de la démocratie en tant que tel ou simplement de la personne qui est censée l'incarner (Mugabe) à un moment donné ?¹¹

Patience with Democracy, 2005-2006 (percent willing to give democracy time to solve problems)



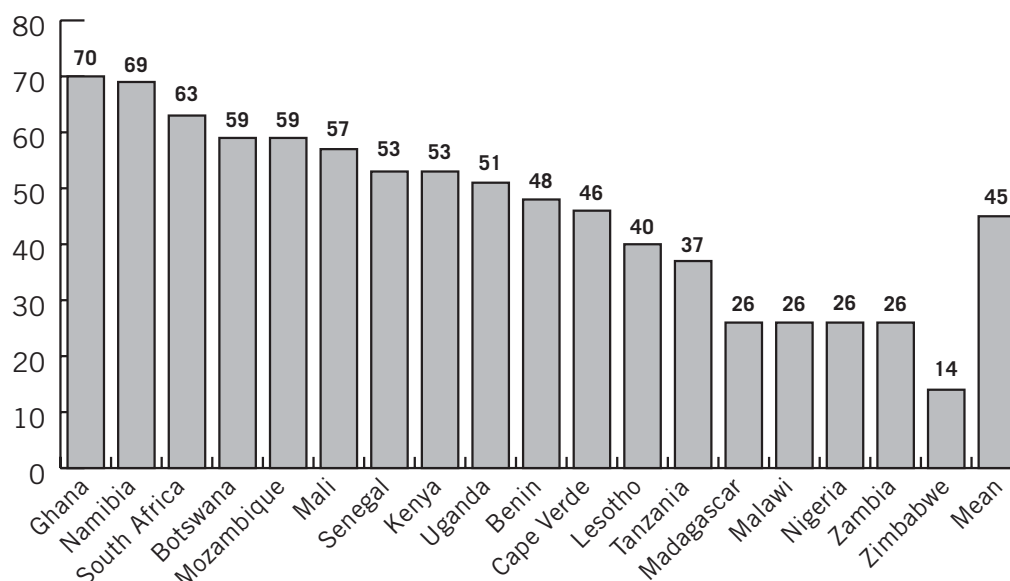
Graphique 2

(Source : Afrobarometer, Briefing Paper, n°40, Revised November 2006)

¹¹ On peut remarquer également les cas intéressants du Bénin et du Cap Vert qui soutiennent fortement la démocratie (graphique 1) et qui sont très impatients à son égard (graphique 2).

Cette impatience se retrouve à certains égards dans la satisfaction que procure à ses habitants la démocratie dans chacun de ces pays (voir **Graphique 3**). Les Sud Africains (63%) sont ou « assez » ou « très satisfait » de la démocratie dans leur pays. Les Namibiens semblent satisfaits à 69% alors qu'ils n'étaient que 51% à donner du temps à la démocratie pour résoudre les problèmes du pays. Cependant dans six pays – ce qui représente près de la moitié des pays d'Afrique Australe –, la population estime ne pas être satisfaite de l'état de la démocratie chez eux. Pour trois d'entre eux (Madagascar, Malawi et Zambie), à peine un quart de la population (26%), voire moins (13% pour le Zimbabwe), se déclare satisfait des performances du système démocratique.

Satisfaction with Democracy, 2005-2006 (percent "fairly" or "very satisfied")



Graphique 3

(Source : Afrobarometer, Briefing Paper, n°40, Revised November 2006)

Cette faible confiance dans les institutions est à mettre en relation avec la corruption ou en tout cas le degré de corruption perçue dans ces pays par le monde des affaires et la société civile. En effet, la corruption réduit la confiance dans les institutions politiques¹². Or, l'Afrique est une région où la corruption est très répandue. Parmi les pays africains de notre étude, un seul des pays de la SADC, selon *Transparency International* (voir **Tableau 4**), appartient en 2007 aux 40 pays les moins corrompus de la planète. Il s'agit du Botswana classé au rang 38 sur 179. Sur les 14 pays qui composent la Communauté, 6 pays sont au-delà du 111ème rang et 10 pays sont au-delà de la 84ème place. Les pays les plus corrompus sont évidemment la RDC (toujours en guerre), le Zimbabwe (qui a connu une inflation supérieure à 1 000% sur l'année 2007 selon le FMI¹³) et l'Angola (en guerre de 1975 à 2002).

(12) Toutefois, une étude de Lavallée (2006) sur les pays africains a montré que les effets négatifs de la corruption vécue comme perçue sur la confiance institutionnelle sont d'autant plus forts que la qualité ressentie des services gouvernementaux est bonne. Il ne s'agit pas ici de revenir sur les intéressants résultats de cette étude dans la mesure où les pays de notre étude souffrent « traditionnellement » d'une forte corruption.

(13) Sharmini Coorey, Jens R. Clausen, Norbert Funke, Sônia Muñoz & Bakar Ould-Abdallah, "Lessons from the High Inflation Episodes for Stabilizing the Economy in Zimbabwe", IMF Working paper, WP/07/09.

Rang/179	Pays	Note	Evolution / 2005
38	<i>Botswana</i>	5.4	-6 places
43	<i>Afrique du Sud</i>	5.1	+ 3 places
53	<i>Ile Maurice</i>	4.7	=
57	<i>Namibie</i>	4.5	-10 places
84	<i>Lesotho</i>	3.3	-14 places
84	<i>Swaziland</i>	3.3	+ 19 places
94	<i>Madagascar</i>	3.2	+ 3 places
94	<i>Tanzanie</i>	3.2	+ 6 places
111	<i>Mozambique</i>	2.8	-14 places
118	<i>Malawi</i>	2.7	-21 places
123	<i>Zambie</i>	2.6	-16 places
147	<i>Angola</i>	2.2	+ 4 places
150	<i>Zimbabwe</i>	2.1	-43 places
168	<i>République Démocratique du Congo</i>	1.9	-24 places

Tableau 4 – Indice de perception de la corruption

Source : Transparency International, Annual Report 2007 & 2005

Le constat le plus préoccupant est de considérer que depuis la dernière enquête de 2005, seulement 5 pays sur 14 ont amélioré leur classement. Un seul – l’île Maurice – est resté au même rang alors que tous les autres ont chuté dans les profondeurs du classement : le Botswana qui était le meilleur élève a perdu 6 places et le Zimbabwe 43. En moyenne, le nombre de places perdues – si cela a quelque pertinence – est supérieur à 18. Au-delà de la forte demande de démocratie des sociétés civiles de la région, il s’agit maintenant de comprendre cette corruption au travers de ses causes qui sont autant de défis posés aux sociétés d’Afrique australe.

1.3 - L’étendue des défis :

Les indicateurs macro-économiques cachent des différences importantes entre les pays et au sein même des pays où les populations sont devenues majoritairement urbaines (56.3%) ¹⁴. Cependant, une rapide revue des indicateurs de développement de l’Afrique australe offre une image assez pessimiste de la situation de la région au début du troisième millénaire (voir tableau en **Annexe 2**). L’espérance de vie n’y est que de 42 ans pour une population de plus de 220 millions de personnes. La décennie des années 1990 avait vu augmenter fortement la mortalité infantile dans la moitié des pays alors que certains (Namibie, Lesotho, Mozambique et Malawi) avaient connu de légères améliorations. La scolarisation des enfants en bas âge avait, elle, fortement diminué pendant la période et le ratio filles/garçons s’était à peine stabilisé : on comptait 94 filles pour 100 garçons en 2000.

(14) 43.7% de la population d’Afrique australe est rurale. Source: Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, World Population Prospects: The 2006 Revision et World Urbanization Prospects: The 2007 Revision, <http://esa.un.org/unup>, Vendredi 31 Octobre, 2008.

Parallèlement, le nombre de personnes qui vivaient avec moins de 1US\$ par jour avait crû, reflet d'une évolution négative du PNB par tête dans la moitié des pays de la région (Zimbabwe, Angola, RDC et Zambie). A l'exception de la Tanzanie, la proportion de la population qui avait accès à l'eau potable avait faiblement augmenté. La malnutrition infantile concernait près d'un enfant sur quatre. Enfin, la pandémie du SIDA continuait à proliférer (18.49% des femmes entre 15 et 24 ans étaient touchées) et menaçait socialement et économiquement toute la région.

Depuis le début des années 2000, le suivi des progrès de chaque pays est rendu plus aisé au regard des *Objectifs du Millénaire pour le Développement* (OMD) des Nations Unies¹⁵. Selon la déclaration de Septembre 2000 signée, entre autres, par les pays de la SADC, les *Millennium Development Goals* sont représentés par 8 objectifs globaux et 17 à 18 objectifs concrets que les Etats membres de l'ONU – parmi eux les pays de la SADC – ont convenu d'atteindre d'ici à 2015. Pour les objectifs généraux, il s'agit de :

- Réduire l'extrême pauvreté et la faim (OMD 1 dans le tableau ci-après);
- Assurer l'éducation primaire pour tous (OMD 2) ;
- Promouvoir l'égalité et l'autonomisation des femmes (OMD 3) ;
- Réduire la mortalité infantile (OMD 4) ;
- Améliorer la santé maternelle (OMD 5) ;
- Combattre le VIH/SIDA, le paludisme et d'autres maladies (OMD 6) ;
- Assurer un environnement durable (OMD 7) ;
- Mettre en place un partenariat mondial pour le développement (OMD 8).

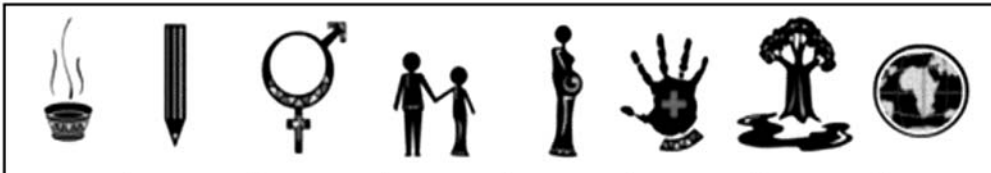
									
OMD		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Pays									
Afr. du Sud		+	+	+	+			+	+
Angola		-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
Botswana			+	+	-	-	-		+
Lesotho			-	+	+		-		
Madagascar		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Malawi			-	-		-	+		
Ile Maurice			+	N/A	+	+			+
Mozambique		-	-	-			-	-	-
Namibie		N/A	+	+		+	-		-
RDC		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Swaziland		-	-	-	-	-	-		-
Tanzanie			+	-	-	-	-	-	+
Zambie			+	+	+			-	?
Zimbabwe			-			-	-	-	-

Tableau 5 - Etat d'avancement des pays de la SADC au regard des OMD

A partir des données de l'ONU, MDG Status 2005 ¹⁷

(15) Source : <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>

(16) Cette statistique et toutes celles de cette page et de la page suivante sont tirées de 2007 The little data book on Africa de la Banque Mondiale (2008).

Or, pour nombre de ces points, les membres de la SADC connaissent un certain retard. Nous récapitulons cette évolution dans le **tableau 5**. Dans le tableau, nous reprenons les rapports de l'ONU réalisés, pour chaque pays, sur l'état actuel de la réalisation (« *actual level of achievement of goal* ») de chaque objectif. Nous utilisons la légende suivante : « + » lorsque le pays est en avance sur l'agenda fixé, « » lorsque le pays est dans les temps pour atteindre l'objectif en 2015 et « - » lorsque le pays est en retard par rapport au programme prévu.

Une analyse horizontale, *i.e.* pays par pays, permet aisément de constater que l'Afrique du Sud semble être sur la bonne voie en ce qui concerne l'atteinte des objectifs du millénaire.

Seuls l'endiguement de l'épidémie du sida dans sa population (18,79% des personnes entre 18-49 ans sont séropositives¹⁶) et la sécurité maternelle ne se font pas à un rythme plus rapide que prévu. De même, l'Ile Maurice paraît pouvoir atteindre les objectifs d'autant plus facilement qu'elle semble, d'une part, à l'écart des graves problèmes sanitaires du continent (0,55% de la population est séropositive, la mortalité infantile est très faible, la scolarisation des enfants élevée et l'espérance de vie est de 73 ans) et, d'autre part, en avance sur les autres membres (ses données, qui sont très positives, datent de 2002 et nous n'avons aucune information qui tendrait à prouver que la tendance s'est renversée depuis).

Juste derrière ces deux pays, la Namibie et la Zambie connaissent également des résultats positifs suite à leurs efforts. La Zambie et la Namibie ont un taux de scolarisation supérieur à 75% en école primaire, la Namibie se distinguant par une égalité générique qui se retrouve dans le ratio filles/garçons de 101/100 et aussi par le fait que moins de 8% des enfants de 15 à 24 ans soit illettré. Par contre, le Botswana et le Lesotho se situent au milieu du gué. En avance sur certains points (l'égalité hommes/femmes pour les deux ; plus spécifiquement, la scolarisation des enfants pour le Botswana et la mortalité infantile pour le Lesotho), ils sont en retard sur d'autres (le SIDA pour les deux pays, mais plus particulièrement la santé maternelle pour le Botswana et la scolarisation des plus jeunes pour le Lesotho).

Tout au bout du spectre, l'Angola, le Mozambique, le Swaziland et le Zimbabwe paraissent avoir décroché et ne semblent plus en mesure d'atteindre les Objectifs du Millénaire alors que leur situation nationale empire. L'espérance de vie dans ces pays ne dépasse pas les 42 ans (37 ans pour le Zimbabwe). En Angola, la malnutrition concerne près de 1 enfant sur 3 (1 enfant sur 4 au Mozambique), ce qui explique une mortalité infantile angolaise de 50% supérieure aux trois autres pays qui sont déjà au-dessus de la moyenne africaine. Relativement faible en Angola et au Mozambique, la population séropositive représente 20% de la population au Zimbabwe et 33.3% au Swaziland. Enfin, le ratio filles/garçons qui est régulièrement mis à mal dans les pays de la SADC souffre d'un déficit particulièrement notoire au Mozambique où on compte 82 filles pour 100 garçons présents à l'école (école primaire, collège et lycée).

Si on procède à une analyse verticale, c'est-à-dire par OMD, on se rend compte que, pour l'ensemble des pays de la SADC, la scolarisation des enfants et l'égalité hommes/femmes sont les deux seuls objectifs pour lesquels les progressions sont fortes et pour lesquels les objectifs seront probablement atteints. L'évolution est plus contrastée de pays à pays pour les OMD qui concernent la santé maternelle, la mortalité infantile et l'engagement dans une plus grande coopération économique internationale. Hélas, à l'exception de l'Afrique du Sud, la malnutrition reste un défi majeur pour l'ensemble des pays, tout comme la protection de l'environnement et l'endiguement du SIDA (65% des personnes porteuses du virus dans le monde habitent en Afrique australe), ce qui laisse planer de lourds nuages sur la croissance future de cette région du monde.

(17) Le tableau a été réalisé à partir des rapports disponibles, pays par pays, de la page du site de l'ONU consacré au Millenium Development Goals: http://www.undp.org/mdg/tracking_countryreports2.shtml. Pour le Lesotho et la Zambie, le rapport d'avancement des OMD est 2008 ; pour le Malawi, le rapport est de 2007 ; pour la Tanzanie, 2006 ; pour l'Afrique du Sud, l'Angola, le Mozambique et le Zimbabwe, 2005 ; pour la Namibie, 2004 ; pour le Botswana et le Swaziland, 2003 ; et enfin pour l'Ile Maurice, 2002. Pour le RDC et Madagascar, les données sont respectivement ni exploitables (données de 2001), ni disponibles au 28/10/08 (comme pour l'OMD 8 de la Zambie « ? »).

II – Historique et définition du concept de société civile

Selon la définition de l'ONU, la société civile comprend l'ensemble des entités légales à caractère national, régional ou international autres que les gouvernements fédéraux et les organisations internationales (ITU, 2008). Si le concept de société civile est récent, l'association d'hommes est, elle, discutée et analysée depuis longtemps (Colas, 1992).

2.1 - La genèse et le développement d'un concept :

Chez Aristote, le concept le plus proche de la « société civile » est l'association politique, la *koinonia politikè* qui dépasse l'*oïkos* (la famille) et l'*ethnos* (le peuple). Elle est un fait de nature, la nature poussant instinctivement tous les hommes à l'association politique. Elle est en outre, au travers de l'Etat, la plus importante de toutes les associations:

« Tout État est évidemment une association ; et toute association ne se forme qu'en vue de quelque bien, puisque les hommes, quels qu'ils soient, ne font jamais rien qu'en vue de ce qui leur paraît être bon. Évidemment toutes les associations visent à un bien d'une certaine espèce, et le plus important de tous les biens doit être l'objet de la plus importante des associations, de celle qui renferme toutes les autres ; et celle-là, on la nomme précisément État et association politique. » (1993, §1, Livre I)

Il n'y a donc rien de supérieur à l'association politique.

Cicéron fut, par la suite, l'un des premiers auteurs à parler de *societas civilis* sans y donner un sens différent de celui du Stagire. Il s'agit pour lui d'un système politique organisé autour de principes de justice et de lois. A Rome, *societas civilis* désigne l'association publique et privée des individus dans la Cité. *Societas civilis* désigne la Cité comme groupement d'individus politiquement organisés et la société d'individus qu'elle rassemble.

Au Moyen Age, la société civile vient à s'opposer à la société religieuse et gagne ainsi sa connotation laïque et séculière. Le concept continue à être identique à celui d'Etat et à s'opposer à l'« état de nature ». Par la suite, certains philosophes (Hobbes, Locke et Kant) vont tour à tour présenter leur propre vision de l'état de nature pour le distinguer de l'association d'hommes. Parmi ceux-là, Rousseau présente la société civile comme fondée sur l'arbitraire et la force :

« Le premier qui, ayant enclos un terrain, s'avisa de dire : *Ceci est à moi*, et trouva des gens assez simples pour le croire, fut le vrai fondateur de la société civile. » (Rousseau, 1989 : 52)

Tout au long du XVIIIème siècle, le sens de la société civile et les obligations qu'elle fait naître entre ses membres se galvaudent. Du civisme romain en tant que prise en charge des devoirs du citoyen par ses membres comme sentiment moral, on passe à la civilité en tant que bonnes manières et douceur des mœurs. Dès lors, le XIXème siècle voit apparaître un double discours dans lequel le libéralisme et le socialisme s'opposent : l'un défend la liberté individuelle et l'association contractuelle tandis que l'autre reproche des rapports de domination et de lutte des classes. Dans les deux cas, la société bourgeoise se révèle être l'écrin de la société civile.

Hegel (*Principes de la philosophie du droit*, 2003) est de ceux qui distinguent société civile (*bürgerliche Gesellschaft*) et Etat (*Staat*) pour donner la primauté à ce dernier sur les différentes classes de la société prussienne. L'existence de la société civile n'est pas contradictoire avec l'Etat. Celui-ci ne se superpose à la société civile et à la famille ni comme une adjonction synthétique à leurs êtres, ni comme

un principe externe destiné à les organiser. Bien au contraire, l'État est la réalité même de ces sphères placées sous lui, c'est lui qui les anime, qui définit leurs vies et par suite leurs buts. L'État, considéré comme un organisme avec ses différents éléments (prince, gouvernement, assemblées), représente la sphère de l'intérêt général. La société civile, qui est composée des individus, des familles et des diverses associations (corporations, communes, ordres), correspond à la sphère de l'intérêt particulier. Plus précisément, l'État est, pour la société civile, à la fois une « nécessité extérieure » et une « fin imminente ».

De cette identification entre les deux sphères (Etat et société civile), Marx tire la conclusion d'une « antinomie non résolue ». Au contraire de Hegel, Marx donne la primauté à la société civile sur l'Etat et ne donne plus simplement une dimension politico-juridique à celle-ci. Les aspects économiques et sociaux font véritablement leur apparition. La société civile devient fondamentalement la sphère la plus importante des deux.

« La société civile comprend l'ensemble du commerce matériel des individus à un certain stade de développement des forces productives. Elle embrasse la totalité de la vie commerciale et industrielle de ce stade historique et dépasse, dans cette mesure, le cadre de l'Etat et de la nation » (Marx, 1982 : 1068)

Cependant, dans la société bourgeoise, la société civile se trouve sous bien des aspects injustement dominée par l'Etat, « superstructure idéaliste ». En outre, contrairement à la vision libérale contractualiste, les individus ne sont plus indépendants les uns des autres mais « *se font mutuellement* » (Marx, 1982 : 1071).

Par la suite, inspirée notamment par Tocqueville, Durkheim, Weber, une version nouvelle de la société civile moderne s'organise autour de cinq dimensions, reprise par le Conseil Economique et Social Européen (CESE, 1999) :

- la société civile est peuplée par des institutions plus ou moins formalisées : ce réseau forme un niveau social autonome tant à l'égard de l'État qu'à l'égard de la vie familiale et domestique stricto sensu. Ces institutions ont de multiples fonctions (pas seulement économiques, mais aussi religieuses, culturelles, sociales ...), et jouent un rôle déterminant dans les processus d'intégration sociale ;
- l'appartenance des individus aux institutions de la société civile se décide sur une base volontaire : les membres des associations, entreprises, collectifs qui peuplent la société civile ne sont jamais forcés d'y adhérer, ni en vertu d'une obligation politique, ni en vertu d'une supposée appartenance "naturelle" à une communauté quelconque ;
- la société civile est structurée par le droit : les principes démocratiques du respect de la vie privée, de la liberté d'expression, de la liberté d'association forment l'armature normative de la société civile. Indépendante de l'État, la société civile n'est nullement un lieu sans droit ;
- la société civile est un lieu de formation de la volonté collective et de représentation des citoyens : les organisations de la société civile jouent le rôle important de "corps intermédiaires" entre l'individu et l'État sans lesquels le discours démocratique ne pourrait se constituer ;
- la société civile installe un espace de subsidiarité; ce concept de la subsidiarité ouvre la possibilité d'instituer des niveaux de pouvoir autonomes par rapport à l'État, mais reconnus par lui.

Mais cette notion de société civile liée à la « citoyenneté » ne se limite plus en ce début de XXIème siècle à un territoire précis, aux limites de l'Etat Nation. La mondialisation a ainsi donné une épaisseur nouvelle à la nature de la citoyenneté en tentant de lui accorder des « droits globaux » (Caster, 2002). La mondialisation a, de fait, permis le développement par « le bas » et pas seulement par « le haut » d'une société civile. Les ONG et les mouvements sociaux altermondialistes ont permis l'éclosion d'une citoyenneté qui se veut globale au même titre que les menaces qui pèsent sur l'ensemble des hommes.

2.2 - Définitions contemporaines de la société civile :

Les différences d'intérêts et de perspectives qui traversent la société civile amènent à prendre en considération la grande diversité de ses membres (ITU, 2008). Le Secrétariat exécutif du SMSI (Sommet Mondial sur la Société de l'Information), organe des Nations Unies, a ainsi structuré en « familles » cette société civile. Chaque famille a les caractéristiques communes suivantes : une culture institutionnelle homogène, des mécanismes de consultation établis, une organisation faïtière de caractère international qui regroupe les membres au niveau mondial, enfin un canal de communication bien établi. Même si le SMSI est principalement axé autour de la société de l'information et des Technologies de l'Information et de la Communication, cette distinction semble pertinente et opérationnelle.

Concrètement, la société civile est composée des familles suivantes (SMSI, 2003):

- la famille de la *communauté scientifique* et technologique (CERN, UNESCO, TWAS, *Académie des Sciences pour le Monde en Développement*, etc.) ;
- la famille dite du « *Genre* » qui comprend plusieurs centaines d'associations travaillant à l'égalité des sexes et au respect des droits des femmes ;
- la famille des *Créateurs et Acteurs de la Culture* qui se concentre sur le soutien et la défense du droit des éditeurs à publier et à distribuer la production intellectuelle dans une totale liberté ; elle se compose entre autres de la Fédération Internationale d'Associations des Bibliothèques et des Institutions (IFLA) et de l'Association Internationale des Editeurs (API) ;
- la famille des *Réseaux et Coalitions* formée de groupes informels visant à promouvoir le changement social ;
- la famille des *Jeunes* composée de membres de 15 à 30 ans autour de rencontres, de projets et d'activités communes (on peut faire référence à l'*Initiative des jeunes Africains*, les *Jeunes volontaires pour le développement durable*, la *Fondation Internationale des Jeunes*, etc.) ;
- la famille des *Médias* qui inclut des associations de la presse écrite, de la radiodiffusion et de la presse en ligne, des groupes de liberté de la presse, etc ;
- la famille *Ville et Pouvoirs Locaux* qui est composée de municipalités, de villes, de régions, de départements tels que *GCD*, *Telecities*, *CITAL-Bilbao*, *WACLAC*, *AIMF*, *AMGVF*, etc ;
- la famille des *ONG* qui réunit plus de 500 membres de la conférence d'organisation non gouvernementales (*CONGO*) et d'autres ONG ;
- la famille du *Milieu Universitaire et Educatif* composée de personnes impliquées dans l'éducation universitaire, la recherche, l'éducation des enfants et l'éducation continue
- la famille des *Personnes Handicapées* formée par l'*International Disability Alliance* (IDA), le corps de négociation de l'Assemblée Générale de l'ONU pour la Convention sur les droits des personnes handicapées qui inclut *Disabled Peoples' International*, l'*Union Mondiale des aveugles*, la *Fédération Mondiale des sourds*, etc ;
- la famille des *Volontaires* coordonnée par la *Conférence Internationale des Volontaires* (ICVolunteers) et rassemblant des organisations travaillant avec des volontaires dans le monde entier tant localement que globalement : *International Association for Volunteer Effort* (IAVE), *European Volunteer Center* (CEV), *CIVICUS* (*World Alliance for Citizen Participation*), *IFRC* (*International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies*), *ATD Quart Monde*, etc ;
- la famille des *Think Tanks* composée des institutions privées qui mettent un accent particulier sur la recherche, l'analyse politique et la production de ressources ;
- la famille des *syndicats* coordonnée par la *Confédération Internationale d'Union de Libre-échange* (ICFTU) représentant 231 organisations affiliées avec une adhésion combinée de 158 millions d'ouvriers d'Afrique, d'Amérique, d'Asie et du Pacifique et d'Europe ;
- la famille des *Institutions philanthropiques* et autres fondations qui peuvent être coordonnées par la *Global Contrat Foundation* ;

- la famille des *Partenariats multi-acteurs* concernée par des projets et des activités impliquant des partenaires des gouvernements, de l'industrie, des universités et du secteur privé ;
- la famille des *Peuples Autochtones* représentant les ethnies minoritaires dans certains pays (Bushmen au Botswana, etc.).

Selon le Conseil Economique et Social Européen (CESE, 1999), la société civile est « un concept global désignant toutes les formes d'action sociale d'individus ou de groupes qui n'émanent pas de l'État et qui ne sont pas dirigées par lui ». Concept dynamique, « son seul élément contraignant ne peut être que la défense du système démocratique ». Se développant progressivement, la société civile est un processus culturel en tant qu'elle se présente comme un ensemble de valeurs à respecter par les membres d'une société et parmi lesquelles on range:

- la visibilité politique des actions de communication ;
- le pluralisme politique ; ce qui implique la tolérance vis-à-vis d'opinions contraires et le débat public comme champ de confrontation ;
- l'éducation accessible à tous et à toutes ;
- l'autonomie des membres et de leur action sociale garantie comme telle par l'Etat mais aussi par des institutions autonomes ;
- la culture de la solidarité entre les citoyens et donc de la responsabilité des uns vis-à vis des autres et des générations suivantes (Développement durable) ;
- la représentation et/ou la participation politique des citoyens (via des mandats électifs ou des groupes d'intérêt et d'action) libre et ouverte ;
- la Subsidiarité qui est, dans le domaine de la société civile, une invitation à laisser les citoyens traiter eux-mêmes les problèmes qui les concernent.

Ces valeurs à respecter sont celles que l'on retrouve dans nombre de chartes et de codes, et en particulier dans les Objectifs du Millénaire pour le Développement de l'ONU que nous avons vus précédemment.

III – La société civile dans certains pays en Afrique Australe

Malgré le tableau noir que nous avons dépeint en première partie, la société civile en Afrique australe n'a pas moins faim de démocratie, de liberté, d'égalité et de protection que d'autres. M. Bratton (2006) a montré dans son étude *Population pauvres et citoyenneté démocratique en Afrique* que la pauvreté est *neutre* lorsqu'il s'agit de l'attachement aux valeurs démocratiques : « toutes choses étant par ailleurs égales, les gens ont tendance, à tous les niveaux de bien-être matériel, à avoir des opinions semblables en ce qui concerne la tolérance politique, l'obligation politique de rendre compte et l'égalité politique ». La pauvreté ne semble pas expliquer de manière convaincante une tendance antidémocratique parmi les Africains pauvres. Au contraire, Bratton montre que « la pauvreté est en fait positive pour plusieurs aspects importants de la participation politique », non seulement pendant les élections – c'est la thèse de Yadav (2000) pour qui les populations pauvres se distinguent par une plus grande participation électorale¹⁸ – mais aussi entre les élections, notamment en termes de fréquentation de réunions communautaires et de contacts avec des dirigeants informels.

18 Bratton (2006) appuie cette thèse en se référant aux élections qui ont eu lieu dans six pays africains depuis le début du siècle. Il cite en particulier le cas malgache analysé par Roubaud (Identités et transition démocratique : l'exception malgache ?, Paris/Antananarivo, L'Harmattan/Tsipika, 2000) et par Razafindrakoto (« Do they really think differently ? The voice of the poor through quantitative surveys », in J.-P. Cling, M. Razafindrakoto et F. Roubaud (eds.), *New International Poverty Reduction Strategies*, Londres-New York, Routledge, chapitre V, p.126-147).

Comme nous venons de le voir la participation de la société civile peut prendre plusieurs formes. Il peut s'agir par exemple des consultations de la communauté (*community consultation*) comme en Afrique du Sud où elles sont fréquemment mises en place sous l'impulsion du gouvernement lui-même. Il y a aussi un certain nombre de forums thématiques initiés par le gouvernement sur des sujets importants tels que le *South African National AIDS Council*, le *National Anti-Corruption Forum* et le *Moral Regeneration Movement* qui bénéficient tous de la participation d'Organisations de la Société Civile (OSC).

Toutefois les organes institutionnels qui visent à favoriser un dialogue social tels que le *South Africa's National Economic Development and Labour Advisory Council* (NEDLAC) ont, pour beaucoup d'entre eux, montré leur inefficacité à déterminer des priorités nationales mais aussi à créer de la cohésion sociale autour d'objectifs de développement. Mettre en place une stratégie efficace de développement requiert l'implication de toutes les parties prenantes autour d'un large consensus. Pour ce faire, l'engagement d'OSC populaires – et non pas seulement de lobbies communautaires¹⁹ –, enraciné dans les différents espaces (territoriaux, culturels, économiques, etc.) est nécessaire.

L'introduction au début des années 2000 des PRSP (*Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers*) a conditionné l'apparition, le développement et l'action de beaucoup d'Organisations de la Société Civile en Afrique Australe. En Zambie, au Mozambique, au Malawi et en Tanzanie, ces « papiers » ont permis d'établir une base de coopération entre le gouvernement, les OSC et les donateurs, coopération qui n'existait pas dans le passé. Il s'agissait, à l'instigation du FMI et de la Banque Mondiale, d'établir des stratégies de réduction de la pauvreté dans chacun des pays concernés. Concrètement, les champs d'actions de ces « papiers » étaient l'éducation, la santé, l'agriculture, l'eau potable et les infrastructures économiques, sans oublier la protection de l'environnement, l'égalité des sexes et la lutte contre le sida, bref les futurs OMD de l'ONU. En contrepartie à ces stratégies, les pays se voyaient accorder une réduction de leur dette et/ou de nouveaux prêts auprès de ces institutions.

Partant d'un principe intéressant – impliquer les OSC dans la lutte des fléaux dont elles pâtissent directement – les PRSP se sont heurtés à la suspicion et à la méfiance des différents acteurs. Parce que les structures et les documents étaient directement fournis par le FMI et la Banque Mondiale, les gouvernements ont développé des stratégies – et fait adopter des stratégies aux OSC – en accord avec ce qu'ils pensaient que l'on attendait d'eux. En outre, la création de nouveaux programmes – comme le PRGF (*Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility*) – a augmenté le sentiment que la stratégie était impulsée depuis l'étranger et que les OSC n'étaient là que pour valider l'existant et l'appliquer. Dès lors, de nouvelles initiatives innovantes sont apparues dans d'autres pays pour lutter contre la pauvreté et permettre le développement des sociétés de la SADC. Mais elles ont été rattrapées par les projets développés autour des Objectifs du Millénaire pour le Développement. Si l'Ile Maurice fut le premier pays à s'impliquer, aujourd'hui la totalité des pays ont impliqué leurs OSC dans la réalisation des 8 objectifs et de leurs 17 objectifs concrets (voir **Annexe 3**) et réalisent des suivis réguliers de leur état d'avancement.

La « participation imposée » des OSC par les gouvernements occidentaux aux Etats de la SADC en vue de leur permettre de bénéficier d'accords n'a également pas porté ses fruits dans le cas des accords de Cotonou. Souvent le caractère conditionnel de la participation des OSC à de futurs accords amène ces Etats à s'inscrire dans une position typiquement hégélienne en imposant à la société civile ses volontés lorsqu'il s'agit d'accepter par exemple le « Global Compact » des Nations Unies. Les OSC restent très sceptiques, voire méfiantes vis-à-vis du Global Compact (Gabriel, 2003) qu'elles jugent trop extérieur, trop macroéconomique et éloigné des réalités matérielles et concrètes du terrain. Les OSC font ressortir la nécessité de développer des politiques *bottom-up* qui prennent en compte les besoins basiques de développement dans leurs dimensions micro-économiques avant de vouloir imposer des politiques économiques *top-down* jugées trop générales et pas assez sociales.

(19) Particulièrement en Afrique du Sud et au Zimbabwe, le paysage des OSC se dessine autour de clivages idéologiques et politiques qui reprennent ceux des principaux partis politiques.

De nouvelles OSC ont vu le jour depuis le début du millénaire : elles sont davantage ancrées dans le quotidien des communautés locales. Elles représentent des partenaires que les Etats doivent écouter attentivement afin de prendre en compte les besoins de leurs populations, même si ces jeunes OSC sont quelques fois en porte-à-faux les unes avec les autres. De manière générale, le paysage des Organisations de la Société Civile est extrêmement riche. Les relations nouées entre OSC peuvent être antagonistes (entre mouvements altermondialistes par exemple), rendant l'existence de partenariat autour de la lutte contre la pauvreté assez difficile à réaliser. Les partis politiques, ici comme ailleurs, essaient de phagocyter les OSC qui, elles-mêmes, bataillent entre elles afin de s'assurer la place d'interlocuteur privilégié vis-à-vis du gouvernement et des autres acteurs (les entreprises, les donateurs, etc.) nationaux et internationaux.

Dans cette situation, le NOPADA, NEPAD en anglais, apparaît à maints égards comme la solution africaine – et non plus occidentale – qui permet aux Etats africains de solliciter leurs OSC afin qu'elles se mobilisent encore davantage dans la lutte contre la pauvreté au travers des OMD (M'Boge & Doe, 2004). Le NOPADA (2001) a pour ultime objectif de combler le retard qui sépare l'Afrique des pays développés. Il ne s'agit donc pas seulement de financer des projets tous azimuts. Au sein de l'Union Africaine, 19 pays avaient signé en 2004 le *Mécanisme Africain d'Evaluation par les Pairs* (MAEP). Parmi ceux-là, 4 pays appartenaient à la SADC : l'Angola, le Mozambique, le Botswana et l'Afrique du Sud. Parmi les 19 signataires, 8 ont été sélectionnés afin de mettre en place ce *Nouveau Partenariat pour le Développement Africain* (*New Partnership for African Development*). L'engagement principal de ces pays – dont un seul fait parti de la SADC, l'Afrique du Sud – s'organise autour de 10 priorités qui sont très proches des OMD :

- la bonne gouvernance via une justice indépendante et une gestion transparente ;
- la mise en place d'infrastructures pour améliorer la compétitivité ;
- l'éducation et la santé ;
- les NTIC ;
- l'agriculture, l'environnement et l'énergie ;
- l'accès aux marchés développés.

Sceptiques au départ, les OSC ont rapidement salué le NOPADA comme une étape décisive dans la réalisation des aspirations communes vers l'unité de l'Afrique (Harsch, 2004) et la sortie du sous-développement. La place accordée à la démocratie, au respect des droits de l'homme, à la paix et à la bonne gouvernance a séduit la plupart des OSC qui ont poussé leur gouvernement respectif (ONU, 2003 ; Chikwanha, 2007) à reprendre le Mécanisme Africain d'Evaluation par les Pairs – en anglais, *Africa Peer Review Mechanism*, APRM.

Conclusion

Bien qu'il reste encore un long chemin à parcourir, l'Afrique du Sud apparaît comme le pays le plus avancé parmi les pays du NOPADA (Hammerstad, 2004). Puissance dominante en Afrique australe, l'Afrique du sud est aussi la principale puissance africaine et représente à elle seule plus du 1/5 du PNB africain en parité de pouvoir d'achat (467 milliards de US\$ contre 2 158 pour l'ensemble du continent²⁰). Leader incontesté, les problèmes que connaît la Nation arc-en-ciel sont révélateurs des défis, insurmontables pour le moment, auxquels doivent faire face tous les pays membres de la SADC qui veulent suivre sa voie.

Malgré une croissance soutenue de l'Afrique du Sud ces dernières années qui fait d'elle un pays émergent, malgré le fait que l'Afrique du Sud tire derrière elle toute la SADC et représente plus des deux tiers du PNB de la communauté (avec 467 milliards de US\$ en 2007 en parité de pouvoir d'achat pour un total de plus 720 milliards pour la SADC²¹), les progrès dans la réduction de la pauvreté n'ont pas été jusqu'ici remarquables. L'Afrique du sud se distingue encore par un taux de chômage entre 25%²² et 38.8%²³ selon les sources, à l'instar de ses voisins qui oscillent entre un taux anormalement faible (la Namibie a vu son taux de chômage passer brutalement de 35% à 5% entre 2006 et 2007²⁴) et très élevé (le Zimbabwe détient le triste record de 80% de chômage devant la Zambie avec 50%²⁵). Le principal obstacle au développement des OSC au sein même de la nation de Mandela est la lutte contre la pauvreté.

Il est peut-être trop tôt pour juger l'état des relations entre les OSC et le gouvernement, de même que la maturité des OSC sud africaines. En effet, nous avons évoqué auparavant les différentes phases de « maturation » qu'ont semblé suivre les sociétés civiles africaines. Selon cette grille, l'Afrique du Sud ne serait qu'à sa seconde phase et il est optimiste de croire que la cohésion sociale sud africaine puisse encore durer longtemps sans la diminution de la grande pauvreté de ses *townships*.

Tout le défi des OSC en Afrique australe se trouve résumé là : dans l'évolution prochaine de la situation économique et sociale en Afrique du Sud qui, seule en comparaison avec tous les pays de la SADC, soutient ses OSC par une politique gouvernementale et un cadre institutionnel fort. Des études récentes ont démontré l'importance décisive d'un cadre et d'un soutien étatique à l'action efficace des OSC. Peu d'OSC en dehors de ce cadre parviennent à des résultats concluants (Robinson, 2005). Dès lors, si l'Afrique du Sud échoue dans les années à venir, les OSC de la région devront trouver ailleurs la force et l'exemple pour continuer à se développer et à se poser comme rempart au totalitarisme, soutien aux populations les plus pauvres et relais des ONG internationales.

(20) Source : CIA worldfact book, 2007.

(21) Source: CIA worldfactbook 2007.

(22) Source: CIA World Factbook 2007.

(23) Source: SALDRU data from South African Labour and Development Research Unit, University of Cape Town; October Household Survey (OHS) and Labour Force Survey (LFS) data from Statistical Releases of Statistics South Africa. [WWW document]. URL <http://www.csae.ox.ac.uk/resprogs/usam/default.html> (accessed on October 28, 2008)

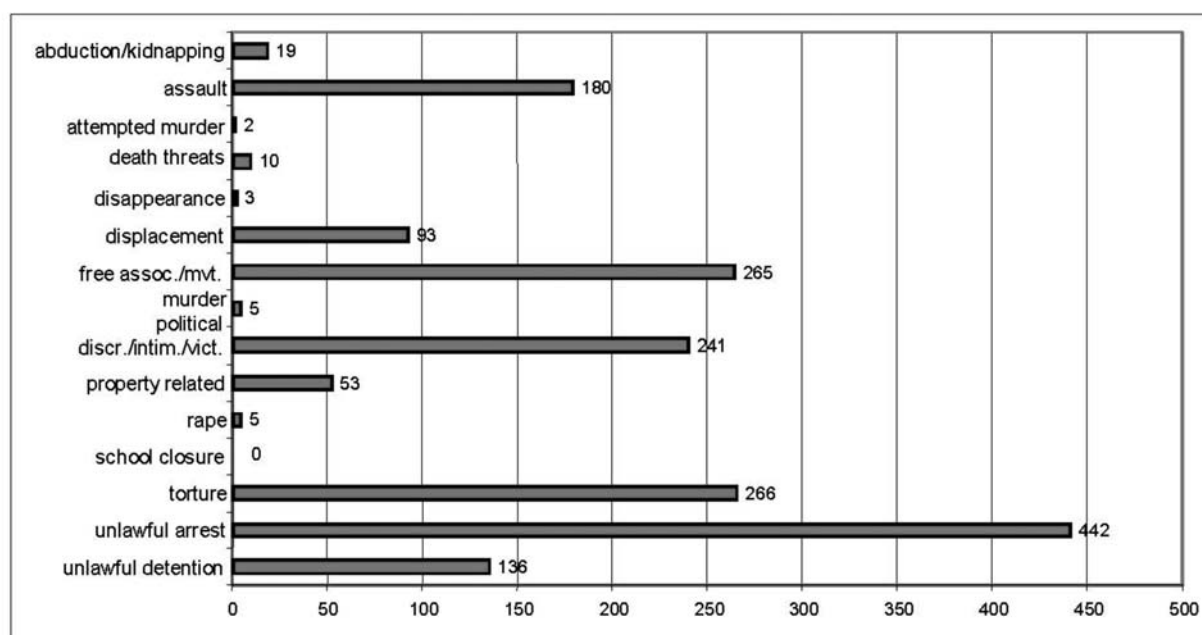
(24) Source: CIA World Factbook 2007.

(25) Source: CIA World Factbook 2007.

Annexe 1

Violences politiques au Zimbabwe: Janvier – Juin 2003

Source: Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum²⁶, Political Violence Report, 17 June 2003



(26) Political Violence Report, Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, 17 Juin 2003. Le Forum est constitué des organisations suivantes : Amani Trust, Amnesty International (Zimbabwe), Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP), Gays and Lesbians of Zimbabwe (GALZ), Legal Resources Foundation (LRF), Transparency International (Zimbabwe), University of Zimbabwe Legal Aid and Advice Scheme, Zimbabwe Association for Crime Prevention and the Rehabilitation of the Offender, Zimbabwe Association of Doctors for Human Rights (ZADHR), Zimbabwe Civic Education Trust (ZIMCET), Zimbabwe Human Rights Association (ZimRights), Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (ZLHR), et Zimbabwe Women Lawyers Association (ZWLA).

Annexe 2

Afrique Australe: Données comparatives sur le Développement									
à partir du <i>World Development Indicator Database 2003</i>									
(source: Gabriel, 2003)									
	Population	Espérance de vie à la naissance	GNI per capita*	Education primaire complète	Ratio filles/garçons dans les écoles primaires et au collège	Malnutrition infantile	Mortalité en bas âge	VIH parmi les femmes de 15-24 ans	Accès à l'eau potable
Unité	millions	année	\$	%	%	%	Per 1,000	%**	%
Années	2001	2001	2001	1995 - 2001	2000	1993 - 2001	2001	2001	2000
Sub-Saharan Africa	674	46	460	-	-	-	171	9.20	58
East Asia & Pacific	1,823	69	900	105	-	15	44	0.16	76
Europe & Central Asia	475	69	1,970	-	-	-	38	-	91
Latin America & Caribbean	524	71	3,580	-	102	9	34	0.30	86
Middle East and North Africa	301	68	2,220	86	95	15	54	-	88
South Asia	1,378	63	450	74	-	-	99	0.48	84
Angola	14	47	500	28	-	41	260	5.75	38
Botswana	2	39	3,100	102	102	13	110	37.49	95
DRC	52	45	80	40	-	34	205	5.91	45
Malawi	11	38	160	64	94	25	183	14.89	57
Mozambique	18	42	210	36	75	26	197	14.67	57
South Africa	43	47	2,820	98	100	9	71	25.64	86
Tanzania	34	44	270	60	99	29	165	8.06	68
Zambia	10	37	320	73	92	24	202	20.98	64
Zimbabwe	13	39	480	-	94	13	123	33.01	83
Moyenne / Total	197	42	824	63	94	24	168	18.49	66

* Atlas method, newly adopted by the World Bank. GNI is GDP including a terms of trade adjustment. See www.worldbank.org for details of change in statistical terminology. ** Average of high and low estimates
 Primary data source: 2003 World Development Indicators Database, World Bank. See www.worldbank.org
 Note: Figures in italics are for periods other than those specified

Annexe 3

Les Objectifs du Millénaire pour le Développement

OBJECTIF 1 : Réduire l'extrême pauvreté et la faim

- **CIBLE 1.A** - Réduire de moitié, entre 1990 et 2015, la proportion de la population dont le revenu est inférieur à un dollar par jour
- **CIBLE 1.B** - Assurer le plein-emploi et la possibilité pour chacun, y compris les femmes et les jeunes, de trouver un travail décent et productif
- **CIBLE 1.C** - Réduire de moitié, entre 1990 et 2015, la proportion de la population qui souffre de la faim

OBJECTIF 2 : Assurer l'éducation primaire pour tous

- **CIBLE 2.A** - D'ici à 2015, donner à tous les enfants, garçons et filles, partout dans le monde, les moyens d'achever un cycle complet d'études primaires

OBJECTIF 3 : Promouvoir l'égalité des sexes et l'autonomisation des femmes

- **CIBLE 3.A** - Éliminer les disparités entre les sexes dans les enseignements primaire et secondaire d'ici à 2005, si possible, et à tous les niveaux de l'enseignement en 2015 au plus tard

OBJECTIF 4 : Réduire la mortalité infantile

- **CIBLE 4.A** - Réduire de deux tiers, entre 1990 et 2015, le taux de mortalité des enfants de moins de 5 ans

OBJECTIF 5 : Améliorer la santé maternelle

- **CIBLE 5.A** - Réduire de trois quarts, entre 1990 et 2015, le taux de mortalité maternelle
- **CIBLE 5.B** - Rendre l'accès à la médecine procréative universel d'ici à 2015

OBJECTIF 6 : Combattre le VIH/sida, le paludisme et d'autres maladies

- **CIBLE 6.A** - D'ici à 2015, avoir enrayé la propagation du VIH/sida et avoir commencé à inverser la tendance actuelle
- **CIBLE 6.B** - D'ici à 2010, assurer à tous ceux qui en ont besoin l'accès aux traitements contre le VIH/sida
- **CIBLE 6.C** - D'ici à 2015, avoir maîtrisé le paludisme et d'autres maladies graves et commencer à inverser la tendance actuelle

OBJECTIF 7 : Préserver l'environnement

- **CIBLE 7.A** - Intégrer les principes du développement durable dans les politiques et programmes nationaux et inverser la tendance actuelle à la déperdition des ressources naturelles
- **CIBLE 7.B** - Réduire l'appauvrissement de la diversité biologique et en ramener le taux à un niveau sensiblement plus bas d'ici à 2010
- **CIBLE 7.C** - Réduire de moitié, d'ici à 2015, le pourcentage de la population qui n'a pas d'accès à un approvisionnement en eau potable ni à des services d'assainissement de base
- **CIBLE 7.D** - Améliorer sensiblement, d'ici à 2020, les conditions de vie de 100 millions d'habitants des taudis

OBJECTIF 8 : Mettre en place un partenariat pour le développement

- **CIBLE 8.A** - Poursuivre la mise en place d'un système commercial et financier multilatéral ouvert, réglementé, prévisible et non discriminatoire
- **CIBLE 8.B** - Répondre aux besoins particuliers des pays les moins avancés (PMA)
- **CIBLE 8.C** - Répondre aux besoins particuliers des pays en développement sans littoral et des petits États insulaires en développement (en appliquant le Programme d'action pour le développement durable des petits États insulaires en développement et les décisions issues de la vingt-deuxième session extraordinaire de l'Assemblée générale)
- **CIBLE 8.D** - Traiter globalement le problème de la dette des pays en développement par des mesures d'ordre national et international propres à rendre l'endettement tolérable à long terme
- **CIBLE 8.E** - En coopération avec l'industrie pharmaceutique, rendre les médicaments essentiels disponibles et abordables dans les pays en développement
- **CIBLE 8.F** - En coopération avec le secteur privé, faire en sorte que les nouvelles technologies, en particulier les technologies de l'information et de la communication, soient à la portée de tous

Source : <http://www.un.org/french/millenniumgoals/global.shtml>

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