

**The Impact of Globalization:
Opportunities and Challenges for Glocal Development in Europe, Latin
America and The Caribbean**

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1. TRENDS IN GLOBALIZATION

After a decade of exuberant globalization during the 1990s, fueled by linear and optimistic expectations, large sectors of the world's society and economy now face much more complex situations than originally anticipated up until the beginning of 2000. In an increasing number of cases, the results of globalization have been disappointing.

According to many analyses, growth rates in the so-called "Triad" (United States, Europe, Japan) will be moderate, or even negative, though actual figures will differ widely. Due to the strategic importance of US, European and Japanese markets, this situation will also have a depressive effect on many emerging and developing markets.

Deflation is one very significant signal of these disappointments, and currently affects some of the world's most important countries such as the United States and Germany. Some economists are calling it "New Deflation," as compared to the 1930s phenomenon. Its effects have been evident for many years in countries such as Japan, where its impact is felt in numerous sectors of the economy, and particularly on the price of manufactured goods.

However, according to other experts, 2003 will be a better year than 2002, and will be driven by an upturn in investments and consumption. The improvement in the real economy will also enable chief financial markets to overcome a crisis comparable to the 1970s, leaving today's model of neo-liberalist development substantially unchanged or even strengthened.

Factors stimulating the economic revival will include the strength of some of Eastern Asia's chief economies, and to some extent also India and Russia. China, in particular, will act as an engine of globalization. Domestic deflation in that country, considered to be "good deflation," is a consequence of opening to the world economy, and gives Chinese firms a strong competitive advantage in international markets.

In this picture of the world economy, Latin America is also affected by widely conflicting trends and prospects. These range from very negative to promising, and reflect each country's particular situation and relation to global markets. Overall, however, most countries in the region are dealing with numerous bottlenecks: social divide, economic imbalance, insufficient internationalization of the economy, lack of infrastructure, doubts concerning culture and identity, etc. Poverty continues to be a constant handicap, as

the vast dimensions of this phenomenon have remained virtually unaltered over the last fifteen years.

What is considered to be a new type of world crisis--with the exception of a few Asian and European countries—as of this date still does not seem to be responding to a mix of economic policies tested during the twentieth century.

New analytical and political approaches are therefore emerging, though not without difficulty, alongside more orthodox interpretations. These can be seen in the increasing number of publications on this issue, of international conferences and congresses, the spread of movements of opinion, and the increasing importance of non-governmental organizations, as well as world summits (Monterrey, Johannesburg, Porto Alegre, Davos).

These are some of the main ideas emerging from these new phenomena and positions:

- The "novelties" involve extending economic analyses to include other institutional, social, demographic, and cultural factors, as well as mass psychology. In many cases, a new awareness is emerging. It is becoming obvious that macroeconomic policies must be improved (in international trade, finance, etc.) and that microeconomic changes must be stimulated. At the same time, individual countries must carry out structural reforms. However, it is also becoming increasingly evident that these are not the only causes that stimulate development processes or that cause economic and social involution.
- In order to overcome the crisis and revive flagging development processes, increasing importance is attached to the fundamental question of the recurring imbalance between demand and supply of goods and services generated in capitalist systems. This is another novelty. In fact, for some time now a structural imbalance has been evident between the huge and increasing production capacity of vast areas of the world, favored by continual technological innovations, and the purchasing power needed to absorb them. This increasingly appears to be conditioned by the failure of income distribution and wealth-sharing mechanisms, which have characterized the last twenty years of globalization. The results are evident in the growing income gap between the globalized elite, the middle classes and the poorest social groups, in all the main regions of the world
- It has therefore become clear that markets, both mature and developing, must be enlarged through a range of tools aimed at redistributing purchasing power. But if the relaunch of private consumption is an absolute necessity for today's economic systems, the production of collective goods such as

welfare, the supply of education and culture, health and the environment, and security should also be considered indispensable to guarantee balanced and sustainable development processes, and to reduce the existing gaps.

- From the standpoint of the production of these collective goods, there is a new approach that is no longer chiefly based on the division between public and private spheres of intervention. Instead, this approach is based on the need to find new and more effective forms of interaction and collaboration between public actors and private subjects.
- There is a renewed call for politics to play a strong role, and to make a strong commitment to building a new global statism. This new statism consists of :
 - a) the creation and strengthening of international rules to effectively manage a global society in all aspects, and for the cooperation of a wide variety of national and international institutions that are subsidiary and complementary (world governance);
 - b) strengthening periodic inter-governmental summits (the various Gs) and of multilateral organizations in more effective forms of government at the world and regional level;
 - c) greater progress in constructing economic and political integration at the level of the world's great regions, starting with the European Union, Mercosur, etc.
- But there are other forms of statehood (territorial and functional) that are beginning to play an increasingly important role in guiding domestic and international decision-making on social and economic issues. These are the intermediate state actors, regional governments, federated states, Laender; international cities and metropolitan areas. Due to on-going decentralization processes (devolution) and transformations of federal states in various parts of the world, these actors have acquired and must acquire a greater capacity to manage development in the transnational perspective.
- Through the revolution in telecommunications and transport, an enhanced subjectivity and capability for action of numerous "functional bodies" is also being strengthened: universities, research centers, authorities, chambers of commerce, trade fair organizations, ports, airports, etc. These bodies are working together with the complex world of associations that represent economic interests, such as firms, local networks of firms, districts, and trades unions.

- These local and functional subjects are increasingly called upon to interact with the growing number of transnational companies (TNCs), large companies and even small and medium sized firms. In the past twenty years, the reduced importance of nation states has meant a transfer of power to the latter group. The capacity of the local and functional subjects to negotiate/collaborate proactively with the TNCs essentially depends upon the capability of all these intermediate subjects to collaborate reciprocally, at the city, metropolitan and regional level, and to involve extensive representatives from functional and social groups of the population. This creates the capability for "glocal governances."

It is these hundreds of thousands of subjects and thousands of cities that animate globalization. Together, they give life to a global "archipelago economy," and following the interpretative glocalism model, these hundreds of thousands of nodes and tens of thousands of networks continually exchange resources in ways that are new even compared to the recent past.

2. THE EMERGENCE OF GLOCALISM WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF GLOBALIZATION

In this framework, especially over the last few years, globalization has seen the phenomenon of glocalism emerge with force. Localities (national and sub-national entities in various shapes and forms) have begun to interact increasingly with "flows" of capital, technologies, goods, people, and cultural values generated by global actors.

The localities have also increasingly begun to dialogue with each other, to build networks and to set up "horizontal" alliances. Through increasingly dense and complex relationships and agreements among different local subjects (of various types and at various levels: public and private, national and sub-national), a process has begun that we could define "horizontal globalization." This is an essential aspect of glocalism, as we will discuss in more detail later.

On one hand, all of this has come about in practice, in the empirical experiences of the actors. It is also due to the theoretical reflections of scholars who have developed the concept of *glocal* as a possible alternative to the concept of *global*: viewed as a unilateral expression of cultural hegemony on the part of the strongest actors.

Over the last few decades, we believe that the interactive relationship between global flows and localities has taken three fundamental forms. One of these is glocalism:

- A form characterized by the exclusive predominance of global flows moving through localities, which have frequently broken down their structures, bending them to their interests and to their strategies. Many local actors see the memory of colonial domination reemerging: for example, in cases where multinational firms have settled in developing areas, and completely ignore local needs for environmental protection and safety at the workplace, with very negative consequences for local communities. International financial institutions have also imposed strongly recessive policies on countries already in a depressed phase, contributing to their collapse. In other cases, stronger countries and world financial institutions have also pushed for the permanent adoption of monetary systems that are unsustainable in the long term: the dollarization of Latin America which is causing economic and social catastrophes.

- A form of defensive and self-centered localism. This is the case of countries and regions that have attempted to escape global flows and sealed themselves within their boundaries. They have deluded themselves, pressured by protests and fueled by fear. They believed they could go it alone, while the process of globalization was affecting and transforming the entire planet.
- Finally, the glocal approach, which is characterized by meeting, negotiation and dialogue between global actors and local actors. It also means dialogue between the local actors themselves, with the aim of increasing their joint negotiating strength. The search for reciprocal advantage and common interests between localities and global flows has been a predominant theme, in the attempt to build common projects.

Two factors underlie the first type in which global flows alone prevail. On the one hand, there is the behavior of those global actors (transnational firms, multilateral institutions, large dominant states) that do not understand or do not want to recognize a locality's diversity, specificity and legitimate interests. In many cases these actors appear incapable of grasping the complexity of situations, of pursuing medium- and long-term goals, and of looking beyond their own immediate advantage.

This behavior may involve a wide range of problems and choices. These include: setting up a production or sales unit with no margin for negotiation with local actors over how this will be done and the effect on local economies; making choices in economic or monetary policy that follow "recipes" with little awareness or sensitivity for the problems and needs of local development; pressure to adhere to free trade decisions that are certainly "politically correct" but often asymmetrical in practice, and in a number of cases are difficult for the weaker countries and areas to sustain.

The behavior of local subjects--national and sub-national, public and private--and the context in which these subjects operate is at the heart of the rationale in which global flows prevail to the exclusion of all else. Often, in Latin America as on other continents, the context is structurally weak, with little social and institutional complexity. There is little capacity to "build a system" and to build networks.

In these contexts, some local actors such as social groups, institutions, and companies, appear to identify too closely and to converge with the external strategies and interests of the global actors. Others are too tightly bound to the defense of their localities, and of their most apparent and most immediate interests. This makes it very difficult for them to grasp the opportunities and challenges brought by the global actors, and they are also unwilling to do so.

The lack of negotiation is the result of this dual inadequacy on the part of both global and local actors. A

simple power game is the consequence, without any negotiation or institutionalization, in which the interests of the global actors impose themselves, in what we call the "exclusive prevalence of global flows."

The second form - that of self-centered localism - happens when local actors and also international movements succeed, or at least attempt to succeed, to escape from and to impede the movement of global flows (although as globalization advances, it is increasingly difficult to do so). Self-centered localism is taking the forms of nationalistic and populist closing-off, economic autarchy, and rejection of any opening to cultural differences brought from "other worlds." It originates primarily from fear, fed by growing precariousness and uncertainty and the impression of not being able to make one's own reasons and one's own interests heard.

It also originates from protest, which in its turn originates from the experience, or even only the perception, of the "shady side" of globalization. This is the globalization we see in practice, which is breaking down territorial and social structures and increasing inequality. For some populations, modernization has entailed great environmental and social costs, and the loss of traditional identity, without anything in return.

Fear and protest alone are always "bad advisers." The result of self-centered localism is a lack of development, the non-entrance or the exit from processes of modernization, and the failure to grasp the opportunities offered by the scientific and technological revolution underlying globalization. The cases of Cuba and of North Korea are particularly evident in this connection (although the decades-long embargo declared by the United States against Castro's regime played a determinant role in the Cuban case). In practice, these last residual experiences of "real communism" are the most significant cases of self-centered localism. These cases represent a species threatened with extinction. This form of self-centered localism is still able to exist today either in specific sub-national situations (local communities that try in many shapes and forms to elude global flows), or in cultural convictions and approaches linked to third-world ideological models dating back to the 1960s and 1970s.

It should be noted that in the *no global* movements that have developed over recent years to contest the ongoing process of globalization, the culture of self-centered localism is undoubtedly still present. However its importance is decreasing. Ever larger parts of this movement have realized that localities cannot save themselves from the negative effects of globalization by building up defensive walls as the communist world did. Instead they need to regulate and institutionalize globalization itself. Self-centered localism remains essentially a "temptation," but in concrete terms it is becoming both less frequent and

less possible in today's world.

The third form is the glocal approach. It is characterized by the convergence of local and global actors on common interests and projects. While this convergence is never "natural," it is always sought and negotiated in the midst of difficulties and tensions. Two conditions make it possible:

1. First and foremost, the local fabric, represented and constructed by local actors, must be sufficiently dense and complex to be able to express its own arguments and negotiate its interests. National authorities, local communities, locally-based institutions, associations of firms and professionals, universities and research and educational institutions, public or private service agencies, Chambers of Commerce, must not only exist. They must network, and have the will and the capability to negotiate.
2. The second condition is that global actors must build a culture of complexity and a vision of their own interests that gives them the ability to see beyond the immediate. They must realize that the development and well-being of localities, in the medium and long term, are the conditions permitting their own development and the profitability of their own businesses. The United States realized this crucial lesson after WWII, when it launched the "Marshall Plan" for a Europe that had been destroyed. This was an act of great political intelligence, which enjoyed extraordinary success, partly thanks to the start-up (through the OECE, the Organization for Economic Cooperation, promoted by the American government) of early forms of economic and political collaboration among European countries. These early forms were the germ of the subsequent integration process that culminated in the European Union.

In the perspective of the glocal approach, in our opinion the distant experience of the "Marshall Plan" offers two important lessons that serve for the present and for the future. The first lesson is the importance of the interdependence of well-being and development between different continents and countries, as in the long term no one enjoys well-being alone. The second lesson is that continental integration, both economic and political is a condition and a driving force of development itself.

3. THE GLOCAL APPROACH AS A FUNDAMENTAL RESPONSE TO THE PROBLEMS OF GLOBALIZATION

The glocal approach is now a reality. It can be observed in various forms and to varying extents in many experiences of recent years, in Europe, in Latin America and elsewhere. It is just one possible response to the problem of globalization. However, it appears to have gained global recognition to an increasing extent, particularly after the Twin Towers, the collapse of the *new economy*, the crisis in international financial markets, the tragedy of Argentina, the emergence of a serious risk of a world recession, and the prospect of potentially destabilizing military conflict.

The name - *glocal* - may not appeal to everyone, and may not always be used. However, the central point is that this type of approach in reality appears to continue to gain new consensus both among local actors and among global actors. Brazil's president, Lula da Silva - the expression of a new Brazil and of a new Latin America - participated first in the *no global* forum (increasingly more of a *new global* forum in reality) at Porto Alegre and then went on to the summit on global capitalism at Davos. This represented a local approach transferred to the level of international politics. The media brought it into the planetary limelight, and it captured the world's attention through a gesture of great symbolic importance.

The *glocal* approach until now has been more frequently used at the level of sub-national or in any case partial and functional experiences: for example, meeting and agreement between a multinational firm and a local community (municipality or region) in the search for reciprocal advantage; collaboration between a multilateral financial institution and a region or city, to strengthen the networking and negotiating capability of local actors; decentralized cooperation initiatives developed by more advanced countries (in general European countries) with the world's less developed areas.

But the glocal approach, over and above its most recent fortunes, in reality already has a significant history behind it. Starting from the 1980s, locally-based *glocal* actors had already begun to emerge and were multiplying in different parts of the world. This happened in the so-called "Region-States" with only a few million inhabitants (Singapore, Ireland, Finland), and through the regions, *city-regions* and industrial districts whose economies are particularly dynamic in introducing innovation to their production sectors and in linking themselves to the neuralgic points of world markets. These are cases like Bavaria and Hamburg in Germany, Scotland in Great Britain, the industrial districts of Lombardy and of the north-east of Italy, Bangalore in India, Trinidad and Tobago in the Caribbean, Orlando and Las Vegas in the United States. These local systems have shown great dynamism and greater flexibility in

their capability to create a network of horizontal links (within local systems and among local systems), and vertical links (glocal, that is in connection with the global dimension).

But it is also true that nation states still play a strategic role within these positive experiences of regions, *city-regions* and local economic systems that can to some extent be related to a glocal approach. Undoubtedly, nation states have lost roles and power through globalization, but it is equally certain that they still retain important functions: the redistribution of resources through taxation and budget policies, a decisive function for social and territorial cohesion; managing international relations, essential to build a new global regulatory system through negotiation (in the financial, commercial and other fields); or the development of forms of macro-regional and continental integration between different countries (from the European Union to Mercosur).

Today the *glocal* approach, in the face of the world economic crisis, the collapse of certainty about the future, and increasing insecurity, appears to be gaining consensus regardless of its name. It is growing in visibility, a horizon to seek, and a possible option for international politics itself.

We must ask ourselves how and why the phenomenon of glocalism and glocal policies, possess more positive elements and have decidedly more competitive advantages when compared to other globalization models. These advantages include the following:

- First and foremost, we must start by saying that glocalism has the advantage of being functional to that institutional restructuring, much more complex and "fine-grained," that is to a great extent replacing the functions of the nation states - upwards and in some cases downwards. Tens of thousands of local institutions (cities, regions, etc.) and tens of thousands of functional organisms are increasingly becoming interconnected and cooperating within territorial nodes that are linked together through the long networks of ICTs.
- Another advantage derives from the development of the ICTs themselves, which strengthens a fundamental factor that underlies today's processes of glocalization: the subdivision of production phases and their reorganization on a trans-national basis with a continual search for localities where the most competitive conditions for production can be found.

In the next ten years it is expected that many more TNCs will increase delocalization of top-level service activities such as planning activities in the architectural, aeronautical, software design and industrial design fields, accounting and administration, and data processing. They will move them from the US, Europe and Japan, towards cities and local economic systems with a high concentration

of specialists in this branch of activities: China, India, Russia, and Latin America. This "delocalization" means much lower costs than those in the metropolis.

- "Global tribes," "diasporas" of emigrants (or former emigrants) from all continents of the world to all the continents of the world constitute very important bridges of glocalization. As far as Latin America is concerned, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and German diasporas work as "highways" for economic, entrepreneurial, cultural links to be forged with distant areas, clusters, towns of these countries. Spread all over Latin America, these communities of former emigrants and of their descendants tend to link as much as possible with partners from their subnational areas of origin. On the other hand, in the last twenty years, governments and other public and private organizations (such as the chambers of commerce in Italy) have become aware of the potential of cooperation with these communities and have collaborated with various policies and specific projects with these bilateral business communities. In this regard, Italy has been in the forefront in developing initiatives with the sixty million people of its diaspora, and with around two hundred million of "italici".
- These underlying trends are a starting point for action so that the "loci" (the cities, the local economic systems, the regions, etc.) can provide incentives for investment to produce research, knowledge and new technologies. They also can encourage producers of goods and services to locate there, and can facilitate the training and inflow of qualified labor. The glocal approach provides strong stimuli for opening and for strengthening networks of contact and collaboration between world centers of excellence. It also brings this about in the sphere of decentralized transnational cooperation - among cities, regions, universities, research centers and others at different levels of development.
- The advantages offered by glocalism also mean that high-level collaboration must be developed among the principal local actors. This will create the conditions for strong functional capability and the negotiating power needed to make advantageous agreements with the large global actors, in particular the transnational companies. In many cases, these processes of "glocal governance" also include representatives of local economic interests and of local communities in the decision-making process, thus also expanding the links of solidarity and grass-roots participation (participatory democracy).
- Another advantage of the glocalistic approach to world integration is that if successful, in terms of international trade it will bring about the equity and reciprocity that the president of Brazil, Lula da Silva, asked for at Porto Alegre and above all at Davos.

Thus globalization policies - if consistent - appear to represent a possible alternative to the crises and failure of the model of "globalization from above" that has prevailed until now. At the same time, they appear to be capable of helping to reduce the level of tension and social, cultural and political conflict produced by this model.

4. COMPARISON BETWEEN EUROPEAN AND LATIN AMERICAN EXPERIENCES: THE OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES OF GLOBALIZATION

In this emergence onto the world scene of the *glocal* approach, the European experience has undoubtedly played an important role. Europe - first and foremost the countries of the European Union – possesses a model of society and a historical experience (the experience of collaboration and integration in the second post-war period) that provide very useful examples for those experiencing development problems in a context of globalization.

Compared to Latin America, there are two significant differences in the European context, which are of particular importance from the perspective of a possible *glocal* approach to the problems of globalization, and that deserve some reflection. These are the historically-important differences that substantially explain why, in Latin America, it is so laborious and difficult to set up "glocal" development processes. It is not possible to escape this historic diversity, nor may we imagine that Latin America will be able to pass through the same historical processes that have characterized European affairs through the centuries. However, it is necessary to be aware of these differences in order to conceive and plan development: the Latin-American countries can take these differences into account and activate strategies and policies that, though with different time-frames and though following different pathways, aim to achieve similar results (social and institutional complexity, regulation frameworks, etc.) to those achieved in Europe.

In concrete terms, the two fundamental differences of context that we are speaking about are as follows:

- A. The presence and development in Europe, due to the specific nature of its history, of a dense fabric of intermediate-level social bodies, locally-based and functional institutions, a tendency to relate and networks for negotiating, and normative and regulatory *frameworks*. European history, even before the history of nation states, is a history of cities, of principalities, of local communities. Over the centuries, a vast experience of local power and autonomy has been laid down, and the processes of national unification have not destroyed this experience. This experience has been conserved, and with the recent decentralization processes it has indeed enjoyed new opportunities to make its presence felt.

Faced with this complexity and richness of the civil and institutional fabric, a global actor who is not particularly sensitive to the *glocal* approach and who does not possess a culture of complexity may consider all this to be simply a restriction and a cost. On the contrary, it is first and foremost an

opportunity and a resource enabling global actors and local actors to seek mutual advantage for joint projects. The richness of civil society and of the institutional life in fact means that the meeting between global actors and local actors in Europe is of necessity glocal.

On the contrary, it is evident that, where this complexity is less accentuated and less widespread (as in Latin America) the road towards the glocal approach is obviously much more difficult. Among global flows and local territories and communities, between the global and the local, there is indeed too little intermediation, a sort of "vacuum" that nobody is filling.

We can give a particularly significant example of how this rich institutional and social fabric plays an important role in the context of the Old Continent. The example, which has come to the forefront in recent months, is due to the crisis at Fiat, in the Turin area and elsewhere in the world, of the car industry. In particular, the crisis in the automobile industry in this city – substantially speaking the crisis of Italy's biggest multinational company – continues to pose serious problems for the city's present and future, as well as for other areas linked to the specialized mechanical industry.

But the city, which structurally is a European-level city, has a wealth of representative institutions (Regional, Provincial and Municipal governments) that are credible and able to act. It has a local community with a strong sense of its own identity and its industrial history, subdivided into a plurality of cultural expressions and forms of association (from the Church to associations of industrialists). It has a plurality of firms, of professional groups and economic subjects, active in many fields and sectors. Turin is host to internationally-renowned research and educational institutions (University, Polytechnic, public and private research centers, etc.). Furthermore, other subjects with planning capabilities and resources are active in the city, such as banking foundations and the network of Chambers of Commerce.

Faced with this crisis, with the risk of a local reality and a global actor like Fiat perishing and disappearing, Turin can and must create a system that can negotiate, propose projects and approaches, and build alternative solutions and roads, to lead it through the complexity of its institutions and its social subjects. For the global actor (Fiat in this case, and behind it General Motors, today partner and tomorrow potential purchaser of Fiat) all of this undoubtedly represents a restriction. For example, the company cannot easily close or do whatever it wants. But first and foremost, it is a resource, because a socially and territorially sustainable reconversion – not least thanks to the supporting action and the resources of local actors – is certainly better than solitude, a harsh and generalized conflict, abandon and decline with no prospects.

- B.** The presence and development in Europe of a wide-ranging continental process of economic and political integration, which has created the European Union and the single currency. The integration of the European Union goes far beyond free trade and the removal of customs barriers. This integration has made a decisive contribution to processes of *training* and *empowerment* of localities in their dealings with the new opportunities and challenges set by globalization. At the level of macro-economic policies, European Union integration has indeed fueled some common strategies, such as the introduction of the single currency.

The European experience provides important lessons for achieving positive development of localities in the framework of globalization: both free trade and common monetary policy – in order to guarantee "sustainable" modernization of localities - must come about between actors in similar conditions or in any case who are compatible and thus, if necessary (while awaiting the creation of these conditions) through a "variable geometry" procedure. The Europeans took the route of a customs and economic union, of structural policies for territorial and social cohesion, of a monetary policy and then a single currency gradually built up between convergent and compatible actors. The sustainability - for all the different localities (national areas, regions, local communities) - of macroeconomic and structural policies, and of policies for continental integration, has been the European countries' winning strategy.

In the perspective of a glocal approach, it must also be stressed that the European Union's institutions and policies have offered significant occasions and resources for development over the years.

European institutions have facilitated the creation of many partnerships and networks, at the national and even at the transnational level, between regions and functional bodies, between public and private subjects, within the world of associations, between educational and research bodies, and between service agencies. The policies of the European Union have made all this possible. Thanks to EC initiatives, new regulatory and self-regulatory frameworks have been set up that have contributed to building and stabilizing markets, and reducing the degree of risk and uncertainty. And partly thanks to European Union policies and resources, processes of *empowerment* of localities and of local administrative staff have been promoted (Regional governments, cities, local communities). Localities have been able to acquire greater culture and operating capability, raise their negotiating capacity, and strengthen their ability to network and to build systems.

The role that the European Union has played and continues to play in helping to "equip" and

strengthen localities may be more precisely described by giving some examples, such as:

- Territorial Pacts for employment, launched by the European Union in 1996 within the framework of the EU strategy to create jobs and encourage local development. These pacts are based on three fundamental principles: a "bottom up" approach whereby employment initiatives are taken at the local level; the widest possible involvement of all public and private subjects present in the area; and a plan of action drawn up through an integrated and innovative strategy based on a local diagnosis.

These pacts involve creating opportunities for discussion and agreement, drawing up accords and joint projects, and making all actors equally responsible. In Italy, for example, on the basis of EU regulations and national and regional regulations on the question, hundreds of these pacts are in force, in areas ranging from the biggest urban areas to the smallest country or mountain villages. They are substantial tools to dynamize the area, and assess the potential and value of local subjects. In the possible meeting between local and global (multinational firms, international institutions, etc.), this experience of dynamizing and value assessment, can be a significant resource to make the glocal approach a concrete reality and practice.

- Integrated Territorial Projects, which originated as a way to set up Regional government operative programs, financed with local, national and European Union funding, within the sphere of European Union policies finalized to promote development and update structures in developing regions (in EU language, Objective 1 areas of the European structural funds).

These projects are defined as "a set of inter-sectoral actions that are consistent and interlinked, which converge towards a common goal of local development and justify a unitary approach to putting it into practice." In Italy, a central role in drawing up and planning integrated local projects is played by local authorities (municipalities, provincial government) and other local subjects. The role of the regional governments is one of guiding and selecting projects, which they coordinate and accompany throughout their setting up period. In the sphere of these projects, possible sectors of intervention are infrastructure, production investment, valuing the environment, culture and nature, training human resources. It should be noted that, like the local pacts for employment which we already mentioned, the integrated local projects also promote great processes of socialization and learning that benefit local actors, by indicating methods and pathways that are to some extent standardized and held in common.

- The Framework Programs of the European Union for research, technological development contributing to the creation of the European Research Area and to innovation, particularly aimed at SMEs, which have now reached Framework Program VI (2002-2006) with finance to the tune of 16,270 billion euros. Their goal is to create a European research area: develop joint programs among the different countries so that a true European single market can be created for research and innovation, similar to what is already in place for goods and capital. The projects concentrate on some priority themes (from biotechnology for health to aeronautics and space) indicated in the Framework Program, and propose two significant methodological novelties: the creation of networks of excellence, and the development of integrated projects. In this case, too, the EU initiative plays a function of social and local "dynamization," capable of involving a vast number of different subjects from different nations – in the perspective of *local to local* projects conceived in the global context of research.
- Cross-border cooperation, that at least potentially concerns 40% of the geographical area of the 15 European Union countries and 25% of their population, considering both internal borders and the external borders of the Union. The "Interreg" cross-border collaboration programs, launched in 1990 and that today have reached the third edition, not only have significant financing--5,180 billion euros for the period 2000-2006--they also offer methodological support for drawing up joint projects among different countries within the perspective of the priority goals established by the EU: equal opportunities of lasting development and innovation.

Cross-border collaboration in one sense promotes territorial cohesion between local, regional and national communities. On the other hand, as in the cases (local pacts etc.) already described, it also promotes joint learning and socialization processes for the subjects involved. A vast world of public and private actors from different nations, with strong links to their local areas, find themselves involved in numerous *local to local* collaboration experiences within the framework of globalization: local and regional authorities, associations of entrepreneurs and professionals, chambers of commerce, universities and training and research institutions, local development agencies, private research and consulting firms.

More specifically, in the case of Italy - in the perspective of a glocal approach to the challenges and opportunities of globalization - the experience of industrial districts seems significant. In recent decades, these local production systems, characterized by a high concentration of small and medium-sized industrial and services firms and highly specialized phases of production, have achieved significant success both on the national and European market (now itself a domestic market) as well as on global

markets. Within these districts there is cooperation between local actors, but also in many cases global actors (multinational firms, capital in movement, etc.). More recently, under the pressure of the globalization process, local actors in these districts have begun increasingly to launch "long networks" in a global perspective (through de-localization, commercial, technological and production joint ventures, etc.).

This is why Italian districts today face tensions and difficult challenges, but their experience, by now "historic," shows that it is possible to overcome backwardness (in this perspective the case of the north east and the Veneto area is particularly significant, until the 1950s poor agricultural areas characterized by emigration). It can be done through a combination of factors: the social fabric and artisan tradition as well as specific technological know-how; the activism of entrepreneurs; the opportunity offered by the opening of markets (with free trade and European integration); the opportunities offered, before the introduction of the European single currency, by periodic "competitive devaluation" of the national currency.

The experience of these districts shows that there is no single "recipe" for development, but that development can come from a mix of conditions and policies, in relation to the diversity and specific nature of localities. In connection with these Italian experiences of local networks of firms, it should be noted that the districts were and are not only "children of the market," but also "children of public intervention," to some extent, through national and regional legislation and the related policies and public resources. In particular it is the regional governments, over recent years, that have determined the areas for these districts within their territories. And it is the regional governments, through the process of decentralization and more recently devolution of some powers from the central state, that today possess some of the tools and resources to enact policies that favor district infrastructure.

In concrete terms, policies in favor of companies include training, business services, resources for research and development, public support for the internationalization of production networks. The "neo-liberalist fundamentalism" that has been in fashion over recent years tends to conceal the role of the "public hand" in development processes, but empirical proof shows that this role contributes significantly to the success or failure of market actors throughout the world (from Asia to Europe and including even the United States) although in different ways and to different extents.

Some reflections and clarifications are needed on the role of the "public hand" in European experience in the second post-war period. In the first decades after 1945, on one hand the public role chiefly took the form of heavy public spending, from a Keynesian perspective. On the other hand, the role consisted of

the state and public authorities (including at the sub-national level) taking over direct entrepreneurial functions (thus with a strong presence of state industry). Starting from the 1980s, with the crisis of the Fordist and Keynesian models, these two phenomena were severely attenuated: the level of public spending was reduced and, above all, states began to put in place far-reaching privatization processes, at least in part renouncing direct management of production and service activities. But this does not mean that the role of the "public hand" was no longer decisive. It simply changed from a highly managerial role to "regulator". Public interventions were increasingly less interventions "by sector" (in support of production sectors), and increasingly more often became interventions "by factor," to support research and training or to equip areas with service centers for small businesses. But the role of the "public hand," though changed, has continued to be decisive for market regulation and to promote development, and to build "environments"--institutional, regulatory, infrastructural, social, cultural--that favor the birth and growth of firms.

During the same period, in other words in the past fifteen to twenty years, in Europe the relationships between the state and the regions/local communities have changed radically. Long considered as extensions of the state, local administrations have become and are still becoming more autonomous, and they have more duties. While their functions used to be basically bureaucratic and administrative, they progressed into the welfare sphere, and are now becoming proactive agents of local and international development.

The growth of institutional and functional competencies of municipal and regional governments has affected continental Europe, and in particular Italy and France: for a long time the most centralized states of Europe.

This trend has been favored by various exogenous forces, such as: a) globalization, which freed up market forces all over the world, bringing into competition towns, cities and regions in order to attract the most advantageous global actors in the spheres of finance, industry and services, etc.; b) the European construction which, having also suppressed the obstacles to competition, further increased the influence of the market which was partially rebalanced with the creation of structural funds enabling an attenuation of the effects of free trade; c) the central state, which pressured local governments to modernize themselves by reducing financial transfers, exposing them to market forces and launching constitutional and administrative reforms; d) citizens who are starting to demand more effective performance from local and regional governments, and they are asking to be consulted more often – through direct and indirect systems – in the major decisions affecting them.

This system of empowerment of local governments in the European Union is governed by the criteria of "vertical subsidiarity" among the various levels of government (the European Union, national governments, regional governments and local authorities). It is also characterized by strong territorial autonomies in countries such as Germany and Spain, that have compelled regional and municipal governments to develop a system of governance beyond the traditional role of the supplier of services. It includes all the aspects of community life on the local level: in other words it has compelled them to reorganize their activities to meet the needs of globalization, market economies and a growing democratic demand for participation.

Numerous local governments in Europe play a decisive role as the leading actor or share the decision-making role, or even as an actor having an influence on other entities in the pursuit of strategic goals for local and international/local (glocal) development. Certainly this occurs in very different ways, depending on country, and the different areas of each individual member country, which are more or less modern, more or less exposed to and established in the globalization process, with a greater or lesser wealth of enterprises, universities, research centers, associations, etc.

On the level of cities and regions, certain forms of partnership, and the joint construction of infrastructure (soft and hard) have taken the place of previous monopolies in several functional areas. Local governments have developed instruments for contracting with public and private agencies, non-profit associations, trade associations, universities, financial organizations, citizens' associations, in order to create development projects and services that are politically acceptable and financially sustainable.

This new way of governing is naturally much more complex and much more demanding than traditional methods based on hierarchies and monopolies. It has allowed Europe and other continents in the world (in the more positive cases) to successfully exploit relations with global actors and markets. The success stories of the so-called "learning cities" and "learning regions" have created positive frameworks for promoting the integration of territorial systems into the global market. In particular, it has required the development of three crucial elements to ensure the emergence and/or consolidation of the "constructive competitiveness" of local systems. These elements are: a) the maintenance or expansion of specific local resources; b) the activation of learning processes; and c) the maintenance and improvement of accessibility to different markets, networks and mobile resources.

The gamble was and still is to create and reinforce an institutional framework that favors these three prerequisites of development so that the "loci" can continue down the path of competitiveness and glocalization.

As mentioned earlier, various cities, regions (Laender) and productive areas of the European Union have expressed the capacity to reposition themselves in a positive manner on the global market through glocal policies.

They have gone through the various phases of preparing, starting, strengthening and improving local and glocal development.

We will just mention several cities of northern Europe, such as Stockholm and Helsinki; cities in Great Britain (Edinburgh, Glasgow, Manchester and London); cities and regions in France (Paris, Ile-de-France, Lyon, Rhône Alpes, Toulouse and Midi-Pyrénées); cities and Laender of Germany (Hamburg, Munich, Bavaria, Frankfurt and Hessen); and cities in Spain (Barcelona-Catalonia and Madrid).

The Italian cities and regions of Lombardy and Milan, Emilia Romagna and Bologna, as well as many of the two hundred industrial and technological districts in various regions of Italy, can be considered examples of the success that are currently reinforcing horizontal networks of local cooperation among territorial entities and functional in local governance approach. Through the coordination of inter-institutional associations and committees, these entities exploit the long global networks of the various entities to promote the glocalization of their respective territories, and they often use specialized agencies to fulfill functions of territorial marketing.

Europe, and specifically Italy within Europe, has "a lot to say" on the question of the glocal approach, even if many glocalization processes are far from being fully and efficiently developed. We may say that Europe has been and is a great laboratory of glocal experiences, both in the *local to local* perspective (from city to city, from region to region, etc., within national areas and in Europe), and in the *local to global* perspective. The complexity and density of localities and of their actors, who know their way around and can negotiate among themselves and with global actors and, at the same time, the "sustainable" integration at the continental level among different localities (nation states, public and private sub-national actors, etc.), are two essential aspects of this experience.

With regard to Latin America, governments and elite businesses have, over the last twenty years, adopted the ideology and the politics of globalization, in an attempt to change the long-term trend of socio-economic development in the region. Until the end of the 1990s, a series of macroeconomic indicators showed the progress made in containing inflation, in modifying the structure of employment, in opening the area to the international economy (measured in terms of trade and foreign investment) and in

stabilizing currencies.

Faced with the crises and the economic slowdown that have taken place in the area between 1999 and 2003, supporters of the neo-liberalist policies say that, all in all, these policies are effective. They add that the difficulties currently being experienced are tributes to be paid in the short-term, and that the process of long-term development will start up again, in the framework of a world upturn, with new lending and capital inflows into the continent.

Critics of the effects of globalization on Latin America and of a development that is essentially based on top-down policies, say that the current crisis will continue over time, if there is no change in economic policy. This will aggravate the imbalance that has emerged, both among the different countries in the region and within each individual country.

A key question that has emerged recently in the analysis of Latin America's relationship to globalization is that the "global" has predominated very distinctly over the "local" as the context in which economic and social policies have been formulated. It has been pointed out that the ideology and the techniques of globalization bring governments, planners, and elite groups into close contact with other actors of the global community and tend to disconnect these same social and functional groups from local situations and problems.

The result of this, is that with these policies considerable chances and potential are lost in terms of activating energy, resources, local development capabilities and the possibilities of more, lasting and fruitful local-global interlinking.

This translates into lost opportunities to help the federal states, provinces, metropolises and cities to progress in maturity and responsibility, as well as to potentialize the involvement and mobilization of important functional groups. Large areas of society are neglected, and the chance to increase local levels of social cohesion and democratic participation, is missed. In general, economic development and the strengthening of general security are neglected.

An alternative development model that is emerging, though it lacks investment support, tends to recognize and encourage "bottom up" and participatory development processes.

An increasing number of representative personalities and institutions in Latin America are recognizing the

need to do the following:

- a) to activate, in the widest sense, sub-national/local processes of "empowerment" of institutional/administrative, economic, social and cultural resources, so that they can more effectively and more efficiently manage administrative processes and economic-social development;
- b) to extend the participation of subjects implicated in local processes of programming and decision-making, involving political, institutional, economic actors as well as representatives of the local "comunidades,"; (communities)
- c) to start up processes of "local governance" and, in this way, build a stronger and proactive negotiating capability to pursue "glocalization" goals, meaning development with the involvement of global actors (TNCs, large and medium foreign firms) and other local actors in other parts of the world.

We must consider that the current phase of globalization induces local production systems, cities and regions to compete amongst each other, and thus to see their position within a wider, national and international sphere. Intervention--frequently by central state bodies, through development agencies and specialized bodies--is needed to ensure that processes of horizontal coordination take place among different local actors, and likewise coordination activities between different levels.

To start up and develop the processes indicated above, the role of functional institutions such as the BID or the World Bank, as "long networks" of international finance, appears to be an essential one, not least as catalysts of the private actors of global finance. These subjects have the task of acting as promoters and catalysts - through their planning capability and the financial resources they have available - of processes of this type. What counts is that, in making planning capability and resources available, there must be an awareness of the goals pursued, and of the consequent strategies. An overall project is necessary. Periodic interventions, or those chiefly aimed at what might be called "assistance-type" goals are not enough.

In any case, it must be recognized that already today a growing number of political leaders are distancing themselves from a conceptualization of national development that considers the socioeconomic territory as uniform throughout the global system. Instead, they are moving towards a local-global conceptualization that considers the society and the economy to be increasingly subdivided into different regions, cities and industrial areas and types of resources and needs.

Characterized by non-uniform local conditions, the "loci" of Latin America (regions and cities), are beginning to take an active part in glocalization. As this approach to integration policies is reconceptualized, it will spread significantly if favorable international and national conditions prevail.

As mentioned previously, examples of glocalization are on the upswing in Latin America.

In Latin America, initiatives that are "preliminary" and "preparatory" for the activities of true glocalization are increasingly numerous, as indicated in points a, b and c.

These take the form of various ways of extending participation in consultation and decision-making processes, of so-called "participatory budgets", as for example in the Brazilian state of "Rio Grande do Sul," where there are now some hundreds of state municipalities that hold citizens' meetings to draw up jointly the investments and priorities of public budgets. Or, as in the case of the provincial capital of Peru, Cajamarca, where a "process of inter-institutional agreement" has long been under way on projects and initiatives for sustainable development. And again, the development of schemes whereby representatives of civil society participate in local development projects in numerous cities of Chile, Argentina, Colombia, Guatemala and Mexico.

The common characteristic of some dozens of these cases of local governance is their capacity to increase the level of development in many regions in Latin America, encouraging inter-firm cooperation, synergism among associations of companies, agreements with trade unions and partnerships with local governments (in coordination with national and international agencies).

Less numerous, but on the increase and certainly very significant as a demonstrative model of a new approach to globalization, are the glocal experiences (local-global) that are being put into practice in some countries of that continent.

There is the case of "democratic negotiations" in Porto Alegre, for example, where the municipality, in a prolonged negotiation with Carrefour, the French large-scale distribution company (which intended to open a supermarket in the city), proceeded to a preliminary consultation. An extended committee was created that included members of the municipality and representatives of different organisms: the university, the commission for agriculture, the participatory budget council, the coordination committee for enterprises in Porto Alegre, other supermarkets, the employment commission, the consumer protection organization, etc.

The results of this activity of local governance at Porto Alegre were numerous and set precedents for new

initiatives for the entrance of other production or commercial TNCs: as a study of the socio-economic and environmental impact that was likely to be produced; the commitment by Carrefour to market a significant percentage of local products; the size of local employment; waste disposal; and contributions paid to participate in local development programs.

A particularly significant case, that does not involve the relationship between a multinational and a localized area, but that involves glocal cooperation of the "horizontal" type, is currently under way between four industrial districts in Brazil (in the States of Rio do Janeiro, Paraiba, Sergipe and Par ), in the fashion, wood/furniture and footwear sectors, and the corresponding districts and local networks in the Italian region of Lombardy.

From the Italian standpoint, this is an example of the internationalization of local networks of firms by reproducing abroad the organizational model of the district or of parts of it. This approach has developed in Central and Eastern Europe, and is now being repeated in the Mediterranean, the Far East, and indeed in Latin America.

In this example of decentralized collaboration between Lombardy and Brazil, the final goal is that of "glocalizing" those four districts: developing the economic relations of these Brazilian clusters with world markets, in particular with the European and the Italian market, through trade agreements, Italian foreign direct investments, joint ventures, subcontracting agreements, etc.

The project is financed by FOMIN of BID, by the Brazilian public organism SEBRAE, by the Regional Government of Lombardy, by the special agency PROMOS of the Milan Chamber of Commerce and it is run by Sebrae and Promos. In order to reach the economic goals indicated above, a series of integrated initiatives are underway aimed at raising the technical and quality standard of the Brazilian manufacturers.

In particular, these initiatives involve the creation of "long networks" of collaboration between Brazilian and Lombard/Italian functional organisms, and between institutions in the respective areas and countries: in design with Milanese institutions of international standing; in export and in collaborations with Italian companies through the Chambers of Commerce; in technology transfer by setting up contacts with technical servicing centers and with associations of firms in the sectors implicated in the project; with specialized trade fairs through which to learn about European markets and the characteristics of the competition, etc.

The project will tend to reproduce the essential aspects of division of labor and of cooperation/competition between firms, typical of the Italian districts, in Brazil, as well as strengthen the institutional framework and the cooperation between service institutions on site and with the rest of the world.

5. POSSIBLE STRATEGIES AND POLICIES IN A GLOCAL PERSPECTIVE.

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

WHO SHOULD BE INVOLVED? HOW CAN IT BE EXTENDED?

As we have seen, the analysis in this document is "different" from most concerning the process of globalization.

It is an analysis that takes into account levels, processes and values of globalization, "other" than those which relate national territories and actors to multi-national territories and actors. It also includes activities promoted by multilateral bodies to favor economic and social development processes.

Our analysis reaches the conclusion that a strong force for change must be activated, promoting collaboration in networks of public and private subjects, and at different levels with regard to areas of influence (multilateral, international, transnational, national and regional/urban).

We are therefore convinced that it is indispensable to promote a new culture, with new qualities that induce public and private subjects to act following the criteria of localization, such as: multilateral organizations like the specialized UN Agencies, regional banks such as the Inter-American Development Bank and the Caribbean Development Bank, the World Bank; governments and organizations from different states; state bodies at the regional and local/urban level (in Latin America and in Europe); associations of firms and trade-unions of workers; functional bodies such as the chambers of commerce, local development agencies, research centers and those spreading technology; universities and educational centers, etc.

We are convinced that multilateral bodies such as the Inter-American Development Bank have a fundamental role to play in increasing empowerment activities. This entails increasing the managerial skills of the municipal and urban authorities that are multiplying in Latin America, and that must learn how to tackle the increasing problems arising from migration to cities and relocation of labor.

In fact, what emerges from the above considerations is the convergence of interests and policies between global and local actors. The former must recognize the specific nature and interests of individual localities, the complexity of situations, and the inadequacy of a "single recipe" imposed from above. The latter must not shut themselves off from the world, and must not be afraid of the flows of globalization.

On the contrary, they must grasp the opportunities offered, while at the same time reducing risks and shadow areas.

In order to do this, the localities must also create links with each other, set up forms of horizontal and "bottom up" globalization, and act following a *local to local* methodology both at the infranational and at the transnational level.

The meeting between local and global must, indeed, not be a simple power game and, in this meeting, politics in all its various forms and at all its different levels must again play the proper role: harmonizing interests, constructing joint regulatory frameworks, seeking social and territorial cohesion, and guaranteeing the human and environmental sustainability of economic processes.

The factors of stability, reasonable predictability of scenarios, social and territorial cohesion, and social and environmental sustainability during the process of opening localities to globalization, must all be considered as "values," in the economic sense as well, and the resources used to ensure them must be considered as investments, and not simply costs.

All of this should also be considered a priority goal by international and multilateral institutions committed to action in support of development in areas such as Latin America.

However, what would a strategy for expanding scenarios of glocalization in Latin America look like in practice?

Where should leverage on the multilateral, global and local levels be applied in terms of entities/institutions? Which implementation processes should be used to apply this leverage?

In order to extend the cases of glocalization to the Latin American subcontinent, certain conditions must exist:

- The "catalyzing" role of a strong multilateral or supranational institution should be developed along with the influence of one or more strong countries in that region having political and economic clout. As in the abovementioned case of the European Union, a catalyzing institution must intervene from the outside to accelerate development in Latin America. It must be an institution with considerable resources, planning capacity and political credibility that can: establish shared goals; bring together

various entities to pursue those goals by pointing out the reciprocal advantages; indicate strategies for achieving those goals and define the rules for implementing the strategies.

- At the same time, the institutions that play this catalyzing role must identify the entities (public and private, territorial and functional) in the local scenarios – through an in-depth study of those scenarios – that can play decisive roles or share decision-making roles of direct or indirect influence. These entities will help set up the local governments that will be the first major step on the road to glocalization. These local entities can be either public, private, regional, municipal, territorial or functional, depending on their local context and parameters.

Paramount importance should be attributed to setting up strategic collaborations between various actors and the bureaucracies that would otherwise continue to operate and become entrenched in the "sum zero" logic ("what I earn is at your expense"). These collaborations are indispensable because the players will have to relinquish some of their power/financial resources in order to pool them for collective growth.

Examples can be gleaned from actions already taken by the Inter-American Development Bank and the World Bank. In this respect, the strategy of these "catalyzing" institutions should be to:

- a) Invest substantial resources to promote enrichment of the economic, socio-cultural and institutional fabric in the different localities. This will enable them to play an active role in negotiating both during *local to local* collaboration and in interaction with global actors;
- b) Empower the efficiency and efficacy of the policies of local public institutions (national, regional, municipal, etc.) and of functional institutions (associations, educational and cultural bodies, economic institutions, etc.) given their essential role in progress towards glocal development. Introducing fiscal autonomy for regions, municipalities, would be a positive form of evolution, and would increase levels of responsibility, transparency and efficacy in the management of local development, also increasing participation by civil society.
- c) Favor commercial, economic and political integration (but this must be a sustainable integration, not characterized by asymmetrical relationships between subjects in conditions that differ too widely) among different countries and areas of the Latin American continent. This will enable common macroeconomic strategies and policies.

In this historic phase, regional integration projects in Latin America are oscillating between designs for

vast free-trade areas,—for example the proposal by the United States to promote a free trade area between the two American continents—and a design more along the lines of the "functional" integration model of the European Union.

The European model - favored and proposed by the new Brazilian government and by other South American countries for the further strengthening of Mercosur - appears to entail integration by phases. It means creating those institutions (legislative and executive) that have facilitated integration between regions, cities and local networks of firms, in Europe and abroad, through specific local policies and resources.

It seems clear that a vast two-continent free trade area model for countries at different levels of development based on the North American model does not offer the possibility for policies aimed at creating regional institutions and bodies, as well as promoting initiatives that facilitate horizontal cooperation between various areas in Latin America. It also will not foster glocal cooperation processes between Latin American cities and local productive areas of other continents, as has occurred in the European model, and as this article has attempted to outline.

In conclusion, a new culture and a new project for world development are needed in the era of globalization. We can briefly express this culture and project through the concept of glocal governance. Glocal governance is a form of political and economic architecture. It is also a process in which local and global actors together create processes and take joint decisions - through dialectics and negotiations that both sides see as learning processes - following the glocal rationale. It champions the values of both competition and cohesion—values that have been bolstered and strengthened by many policies promoted by the European Union.

The glocal approach to the opportunities and challenges of globalization consists of seeking a system of *glocal governance* that can produce regulatory frameworks and points of reference that are shared and sustainable for all actors involved. Gradually constructed systems of *glocal governance* represent the best possible alternative to current forms of globalization (unregulated or often regulated unilaterally by the strongest actors). A culture and a project of *glocal governance* is thus the goal we are faced with if we want a more united and peaceful world. It is the actual "What can be done?" in the sense of programs, actions, day-to-day operations, and that can have a reasonable and credible response only within this culture and this project.

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