Investigating the Global Land Grab and Its Effects On African Countries

Alexandra Dalton

The twenty-first century saw the development of an international phenomenon known as "land grabbing." More formally referred to as "large-scale land acquisition,"[1] the practice involves the lease of vast, widespread amounts of land by foreign investors in order to produce crops for export.[2] The phenomenon only gained public attention in early 2008, when Spain-based NGO GRAIN released their groundbreaking, investigative report "Seized! The 2008 Land Grab for Food and Financial Security." What began as foreign governments from densely populated countries investing in land to ensure food security, has now evolved into an international form of agribusiness where even private actors are partaking, resulting in the commoditization of land. In addition to the financial crisis in 2008, the world food price crisis of 2008 has left many countries rethinking their food security policies.[3] Currently, the most prominent investors are found in the Persian Gulf, Asia, and the Middle East, who suffer from scare water and soil resources and have high population growth.[4]

Although land grabbing is occurring throughout South East Asia, The Middle East, and South America, there has been particular emphasis on the demand for African land. To date more than 70 per cent of land transactions have occurred on African soil.[5] As a result, this paper aims to explore the presence and effects of the global land grab in African countries. It begins by further describing the land grab phenomenon and its presence in Africa and will follow with an investigation of foreign investors and their motivations. The second section of the paper analyzes potential benefits and setbacks from Africa's perspective, with case study examples from Kenya, Madagascar, Liberia, Tanzania, and Mozambique. Through examining the lack of transparency between donor governments and rural African people, issues surrounding food security, smallholder displacement, limited job creation, and negative implications of monoculture farming, it is argued that despite potential benefits, land grabbing is a phenomenon that poses a serious threat to rural livelihoods in African countries. The final section offers future recommendations for land grabbing policies to better accommodate African countries. Two facts should be noted about this paper. Firstly, because "land grabbing" is a fairly recent phenomenon a number of primary sources have been used, including NGO reports, newspaper articles, and World Bank reports. Secondly, although closely related, this report deals strictly large-scale land acquisition, and does not discuss Foreign Direct Investment (FDI).

The land grabbing trend we are currently witnessing is unlike anything we have seen before. Worldwide, before 2008 less than 4 million hectares were transferred, while at the end of 2009 an immense 45 million hectares of land had been transferred.[6] By mid 2009, a total of 464 individual land transfer projects had been reported, taking place in 81 countries.[7] However, two thirds of projects (32 million) were taking place in Sub-Saharan Africa.[8] Land deals involve the host government's permission to rent land for a given amount of time to produce crops. However, given the majority of land deals in

[1] Center for Human Rights and Global Justice, *Foreign Land Deals and Human Rights: Case Studies on Agricultural and Biofuel Investment* (New York: NYU School of Law, 2010), v, http://www.chrgj.org/projects/docs/landreport.pdf.

[2] Center for Human Rights and Global Justice, *Foreign Land Deals and Human Rights*, 3.
Shepard Daniel with Anuradha Mittal, "The Great Land Grab," *The Oakland Institute* (2009): 1, http://www.oaklandinstitute.org/pdfs/LandGrab_final_web.pdf.

[3] Center for Human Rights and Global Justice, *Foreign Land Deals and Human Rights*, 2.

4 Ibid.

[5] The World Bank, *Rising Global Interest in Farmland: Can it Yield Sustainable and Equitable Benefits?* (2010), vi, http://www.donorplatform.org/component/option,com_docman/task,doc_view/gid,1505.

[6] The World Bank, *Rising Global Interest in Farmland*, vi.

[7] The World Bank, *Rising Global Interest in Farmland*, 35.

[8] Ibid.

Africa are 99 year leases, can these really be seen as "transfers"?[9]

Land grabbing is clearly becoming a hot trend, and the majority of land being transferred is in Africa. There are many speculated reasons for this phenomenon. Firstly, research done by Fischer and Shah on agricultural landscapes cited in a World Bank report, determined land in numerous Sub-Saharan African countries such as Democratic Republic of Congo, Mozambique, Sudan, Tanzania, and Zambia had significantly higher potential for agricultural development, based on sparse population, and natural rainfall compared to other regions of the world.[10] These countries are considered to have a "high yield gap", meaning the difference between how land is currently being used and what potential it has for agricultural production is great.[11] Another reason why Africa land is seen as a primary target for investment is due to the relatively cheap price of land, compared to the rest of the world.[12] In addition, it has been argued that weaker forms of government policy make it easier for investors to access greater amounts of land.[13]

On the demand side of land grabbing, there are a number of actors involved. Primary investors can be divided into two categories: foreign governments and private investors. Over the past few years, a growing number of countries have been involved with land acquisition in Africa. Four states in particular: Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, and China all stand out as major players thus far in acquiring vast amounts of African land.[14] Japan and South Korea have also shown interest in acquiring land, and may prove to be prominent investors in the future.[15] An important distinction to note is that although the majority land grabbing is occurring in the Global South, including Africa, it cannot be seen simply as a North-South phenomenon. Although a number of rich private investors are investing in land, key country investors in the African land grab are also part of the Global South.

There are a number of reasons why foreign countries are investing in African land. Issues surrounding food security are a primary concern. Food security is broadly defined as the "access of all people at all times to enough food for an active and healthy life."[16] Many factors contribute to modern day food security. In dominant investor countries previously mentioned, two main factors are driving the land grab: high population growth and scarce agricultural resources.[17] High population growth is occurring primarily in Asia, where investor countries China, Japan, and South Korea are affected.[18] Scare agricultural resources, such as soil and water, also play an important role in modern day food security. With respect to the global land grab, the Gulf States in particular are seeking land in Africa to for this very reason. Although these countries are heavy oil exporters, they lack suitable agricultural land, and are forced to import the majority of their food.[19] As a result, these countries are continually at the mercy of the world market. Collectively, the six Gulf States' food import bill rose from $8 billion to an immense $20 billion between 2002 and 2007.[20] Combined with the global financial crisis in 2008 and the world food price crisis in 2007-2008, the Gulf state governments are looking for new alternatives to fill their food security needs, and investment in African land has proven to

[9] "Global Land Grab," *Fairplanet website*, August 10, 2010, http://www.fairplanet.net/2010/08/global-land-grab/

[10] The World Bank, *Rising Global Interest in Farmland*, 64.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Doug Saunders, "China's 'African Land Grab,'" *The Globe and Mail*, April 4, 2010, http://farmlandgrab.org/12075.

[13] The World Bank, *Rising Global Interest in Farmland*, xv.

[14] Daniel with Mittal, "The Great Land Grab," 2-3.

[15] Ibid.

[16] The World Bank, *Poverty and Hunger: Issues and Options for Food Security in Developing Countries*, (1986), v, http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/1999/09/17/000178830_98101901455676/Rendered/PDF/multi_page.pdf

[17] Daniel with Mittal, "The Great Land Grab," 2.

[18] United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *World Population to 2300*, (New York: 2004), 4, http://www.un.org/esa/population/publications/longrange2/WorldPop2300final.pdf.

[19] UN DESA, *World Population to 23002*.

[20] GRAIN Briefing, *Seized! The 2008 Land Grab for Food and Financial Security*, (2008), 4. http://www.grain.org/briefings_files/landgrab-2008-en.pdf

be a viable option.[21] With only an estimated one percent of its land suitable for farming, Qatar has already purchased 40,000 hectares in Kenya and additional land in Sudan for oil, wheat, and corn production.[22] By investing in land, Gulf States will become less dependent on the world market, and will have more control over unpredictable food prices.

Another main reason driving foreign countries to invest in African land is the increasing demand for agrofuels.[23] Agrofuels, also referred to as biofuels, are energy sources currently being developed as an alternative to traditional energy means. Agrofuels are derived from ethanol, produced from large sugarcane and starch crops.[24] OECD member countries in particular have shown a lot of interest surrounding the development of agrofuels.[25]

The private sector is playing an important role in the African land grab, particularly in the development of agrofuel crops. One study investigated land deals from 2004-2009 in Ethiopia, Ghana, Madagascar, and Mali and found that approximately 94 percent (1,840,420 hectares) of land transferred was leased to private businesses.[26] Although it is known that private investors are a large contributor to the land grab, the majority of deals lack transparency and remain unreported. A number of Wall Street banks and wealthy individuals have also began to invest in African land, although specific details about which businesses and where they are buying land remain unknown.[27] The participation of private actors in the purchase of land shows an interesting trend in world markets: land is clearly becoming a desired asset. Whereas in the past land was not seen as prime investment, with the increasing demand for agrofuels and the food crisis, the value of crops is on the rise and actors are keen to invest.[28] More research is needed to determine the specific role private investors are playing in the global land grab.

Through an examination of the main motivations behind both state and private investors in the land grab, it becomes apparent there are definite advantages to purchasing Africa's agricultural land. However, what about the impact of the land grab on donor countries and their people? The next sections investigate potential gains for African countries. It is argued that despite these perceived benefits, the leasing of agricultural land presents a serious threat to African countries with respect to food security and rural livelihoods.

A World Bank report released in September 2010 titled *Rising Global Interest in Farmland: Can it Yield Sustainable and Equitable Benefits?* shed light on a numbers of issues concerning the global land grab. The report did warn of risks to donor countries associated with the phenomenon, however also suggested numerous benefits that could be gained to donor countries. The report claims foreign land investment, if done responsibly, could introduce advanced technologies, capital markets, and infrastructure necessary to close gaps in land productivity.[29] It also suggests that the development of large primary sectors in poor countries could serve to

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[21] FIAN International, *Land Grabbing in Kenya and Mozambique: a Report of Two Research Missions – and a Human Rights Analysis of Land Grabbing*, (2010), 10. http://www.fian.org/resources/documents/others/land-grabbing-in-kenya-and-mozambique/pdf

[22] Daniel with Mittal, "The Great Land Grab," 2.; "Kenya to lease out 40,000 hectares for framing to Qatar," *African Agriculture*. December 31, 2008, http://www.africanagricultureblog.com/2008/12/kenya-to-lease-out-40000-hectares-for.html

[23] Center for Human Rights and Global Justice, *Foreign Land Deals and Human Rights: Case Studies on Agricultural and Biofuel Investment*, 3.

[24] Global Forest Coalition, "Agrofuels," Global Forest Coalition, http://www.globalforestcoalition.org/paginas/view/66

[25] FIAN International, *Land Grabbing in Kenya and Mozambique*, 10.

[26] Lorenzo Cotula et al., "Land Grab or Development Opportunity? Agricultural Investment and International Land Deals in Africa," FAO, IIED and IFAD (2009): 48, http://www.ifad.org/pub/land/land_grab.pdf

[27] Center for Human Rights and Global Justice, *Foreign Land Deals and Human Rights: Case Studies on Agricultural and Biofuel Investment*, 3.

[28] Center for Human Rights and Global Justice, *Foreign Land Deals and Human Rights*, 4.

[29] The World Bank, *Rising Global Interest in Farmland: Can it Yield Sustainable and Equitable Benefits?* (2010), 103.

tackle rural poverty by offering jobs to locals.[30] It has also been claimed it could help food security, by increasing the productivity of crops and yielding more food.[31] However, upon close examination, it becomes apparent that due to a lack of transparency between donor governments and rural African people, issues surrounding food security, smallholder displacement, limited job creation, and the negative effects of industrial monoculture farming, the land grab movement presents an immense threat to rural livelihoods in African countries.

Firstly, there exists a severe disconnect between donor governments and African people who live on land being transferred. This discrepancy can primarily be traced to issues surrounding land ownership. In a number of African states, including Zambia, Liberia, and Tanzania, there exists either poor land registration laws or a lack of legal documents. Often these are not filled out properly or at all as land is passed down generation to generation within families and communities.[32] This causes severe miscommunication when donor governments are looking to sell land and has caused much unrest in rural areas. Such was the case in Liberia, when a senior company representative was reportedly killed after the government transferred land that a rural community considered their own.[33] There also exists a lack of transparency with respect to community resources such as rivers and pastures.[34] Evidently, because the majority of land transfers are prone to secrecy among donor governments and investors, there exists a lack of public knowledge about specific deal information, which presents a clear distress to affected rural populations.

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In his book *Poverty and Famines* Amartya Sen wrote "Starvation is the characteristic of some people not *having* enough food to eat. It is not the characteristic of there *being* not enough food to eat."[35] This quotation makes a clear distinction between food production and an individual's access to food, and speaks heavily to Africa's situation with respect to the current land grab. As a continent Africa suffers from immense hunger problems, particularly in Sub-Saharan countries. In 2010, across the continent more than 200 million people were affected by chronic malnutrition.[36] However, as noted by Sen, the increase in food production via introduction of foreign investment and capital will not necessarily increase the amount of food reaching large numbers of food insecure Africans. In fact, a study that investigated foreign land acquisition in five African countries (Madagascar, Ghana, Sudan, Mali, and Ethiopia) found that between 2004 and 2009 the majority of food and fuel being produced was for export, although it varied by country. [37] This presents much concern, as foreigners gather up African land, they are depriving host countries who clearly need it most to tackle food insecurity.

A look into the case study of Kenya perfectly illustrates this dilemma. Kenya suffers from immense nationwide hunger and poverty issues. In 2007, 56 per cent of the population was living in absolute poverty, and this number is expected to rise.[38] Approximately one third (32 per cent) of

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30 The World Bank, *Rising Global Interest in Farmland*, 1.

31 "Africa: Land Grab or Development?," *allAfrica.com*, October 28, 2010, http://allafrica.com/stories/201010290914.html?page=2

32 The World Bank, *Rising Global Interest in Farmland: Can it Yield Sustainable and Equitable Benefits?* (2010),70-71.

33 Ibid., 48.

34 Ibid., 71.

35 Amartya Sen, *Poverty and Famines* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 1.

36 Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, "World Food Day 2010: Addressing hunger reduction in Africa,"http://www.fao.org/africa/raf-news/detail-news/en/item/46625/icode/?no_cache=1

37 Lorenzo Cotula et al., "Land Grab or Development Opportunity?" 51.

38 Kenya Human Rights Commission, *Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Pre-Sessional Working Group 2007*, (2007), 3.http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cescr/docs/info-ngos/khrckenya39.pdf

the population is undernourished.[39] Kenya also suffers from high population growth, estimated at 2.5 per cent per year.[40] An estimated 85 per cent of the population live in rural areas and depend on land for subsistence farming and for business.[41] However, as described by the World Bank, the majority of Kenya's agricultural land presents a high "yield gap" in potential productivity, where the introduction of advanced technologies and capital could produce abundant crops, presenting a real interest to foreign investors, however a real threat to local food security.[42] Kenya has already suffered immensely as a donor country in the global land grab. In December 2008, 40,000 hectares of land were signed over to the Qatar government for large, monoculture vegetable and fruit production in exchange for US $2.5 billion loan to build a second deep water port in Kenya.[43] Much controversy has arisen around this deal due to lack of transparency with the public, as no official statements have been made. Although the exact location of the planned land transfer is unknown, it is highly speculated to be along the Tana River Delta, one of the most fertile areas in the country and home to some 200,000 indigenous people.[44] A number of protests have been organized by locals trying to claim their land that has been passed down for generations, however without proper documentation, the government has claimed ownership and control of 200,000 hectares along the Delta.[45] The Tana River Delta case presents an immediate threat to food security for local indigenous families and farmers who rely so heavily on the land for food and business in the present, but will also be detrimental in the future in light of high population growth if further land deals persist.

Optimists of the land grab also view foreign land acquisition in Africa as a means for job creation.[46] However, upon close examination it becomes apparent that despite the prospect of local job creation by foreign farms, the livelihood of vulnerable groups such as smallholder farmers are in fact severely threatened.[47] In Sub-Saharan Africa, almost all rural inhabitants are dependent on agricultural land for subsistence farming.[48] Although land grabbing is a recent phenomenon and many aspects about it remain unclear, repeated accounts of industrial farms displacing local smallholders exist. In 2009 throughout Tanzania more than 3,000 rice farmers were displaced by the government to make room for foreign agrofuel plantations.[49] Another reported case where numerous small farmers were displaced occurred in Madagascar in 2009, when a South Korean company, Daewoo Logistics, was approved to lease a proposed one million hectares of land.[50] Fortunately the deal did not pull through.[51] One main reason for these displacements is the lack of transparency in the transfer process, where because numerous smallholders lack legal registration of their land,

[39] Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, "Kenya,"http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cescr/docs/info-ngos/khrckenya39.pdf

[40] Permanent Mission of the Republic of Kenya to the United Nations, *The Contribution of the ICPD POA to the Internationally Agreed Goals, Including MDGs*, (2009), 2. http://www.un.org/esa/population/cpd/cpd2009/Country_Statements/Kenya.pdf

[41] FIAN International, *Land Grabbing in Kenya and Mozambique,* 17.

[42] The World Bank, *Rising Global Interest in Farmland: Can it Yield Sustainable and Equitable Benefits?* (2010),65.

[43] Nick Wadhams, "Kenyan activists fight land deal with Qatar," *The National*, June 6, 2009, *http://farmlandgrab.org/4694*

[44] FIAN International, *Land Grabbing in Kenya and Mozambique,* 18-19.

[45]Wadhams, "Kenyan activists fight land deal with Qatar."

[46] The World Bank, *Rising Global Interest in Farmland: Can it Yield Sustainable and Equitable Benefits?* (2010),46.

[47] Daniel with Mittal, "The Great Land Grab," 14.

[48] J. Otte, A. Costales, M. Upton, "Smallholder Livestock Keepers in the Era of Globalization," *University of Reading,* (2005): http://www.fao.org/ag/againfo/programmes/en/pplpi/docarc/rep-0506_globalisationlivestock.pdf

[49] Mike Mande, "Rice Farmers May Be Evicted By New Biofuel Companies," *All Africa.com*, September 28, 2009, http://allafrica.com/stories/200909270003.html

[50] "Malagasy farmers oppose land deals with foreigners," *Alibaba.com*, April 16, 2009, http://news.alibaba.com/article/detail/agriculture/100086562-1-malagasy-farmers-oppose-land-deals.html

[51] "Daewoo Logistics goes bankrupt," *Fairplay Shipping News*, July 6, 2009, *http://farmlandgrab.org/6032*

donor governments claim it as their own.[52] The displacement of smallholders who depend on their land for food is without question a threat to food security to rural populations in Africa.

One of the main reasons donor governments in Africa are so attracted by foreign land acquisition is the promise of job creation by large industrial farms. However, upon close examination it becomes apparent that employment opportunities are in fact limited. Firstly, the introduction of capital and technologies to land largely displaces the need for vast amounts of workers.[53] In the sugarcane industry responsible for agrofuels, a single harvesting machine can replace up to one hundred workers.[54] Also, monoculture crops often do not require large amounts of consistent full time labour, so the majority of jobs are limited to part time employment in planting and harvesting seasons.[55] This is illustrated by a case in Mozambique where one agrofuel project planned to hire 2,650 workers, but ended up only hiring 35-40 full time employees and some 30 seasonal.[56]

A final critique of the African land grab involves the production of agrofuels, and their tendency toward large monocultures, often referred to as "cash crops". One study researched a five year land grabbing span (2004-2009) in five major donor countries (Madagascar, Ghana, Sudan, Mali, and Ethiopia) and found 1,106,300 hectares (over 44 per cent) of land being transferred is used for agrofuel crops.[57] Agrofuel crops are particularly abundant in Madagascar, Mozambique, and Tanzania.[58] After receiving approval by the Madagascar government for the 50 year lease of over 452,500 hectares in Southwest Madagascar in 2009, UK based company GEM Biofuels began cultivating land for jatropha crops for biodiesel production.[59] In 2009, a Swedish energy firm was provided an immense 400,000 hectares of land in Tanzania at Wami River in the Coast region to turn into a sugarcane plantation for agrofuels.[60] Also, in 2008 UK energy company CAMS Group acquired over 45,000 hectares of land in Tanzania for agrofuel crops.[61]

The issue here is that the advent of agrofuel industries often triggers the expansion of sugarcane or jatropha monoculture crops, resulting in the deforestation and exploitation of vast amounts of African land.[62] This will eventually result in a loss of biodiversity and soil nutrient depletion, similar to that of a farmer who does not rotate their crops, however at a much greater scale.[63] With multinational corporations purchasing hundreds of thousands of hectares of African land for industrial cash crops, with leases lasting anywhere from 50 to 99 years, one can only imagine the degrading long term effects this will have on soil productivity.[64] However, long term implications of monoculture crops are probably not the top item on their agenda. Foreign corporations are investing in Africa with one thing in mind: money. Although they are developing "greener" technologies with the advent of biofuels, they are doing so to satisfy demand from the word market. When leases are terminated African countries will have to pay the price, stuck with overexploited land, while multinational corporations can move on and seek new terrain.

Based on this research it becomes evident that the current global land grab is not acting in Africa's favour, and donor countries would be better off

[52] The World Bank, *Rising Global Interest in Farmland*, 70-71.

[53] Friends of the Earth International, "Africa: Up for Grabs The Scale and Impact of Lang Grabbing for Agrofuels, *Friend of the Earth Europe and Friends of the Earth Africa* (2010): 20, http://www.foei.org/en/resources/publications/pdfs/2010/africa-up-for-grabs/view

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid.

[56] The World Bank, *Rising Global Interest in Farmland*, 49.

[57] Cotula et al., "Land Grab or Development Opportunity?," 51.

[58] Cotula et al., "Land Grab or Development Opportunity?," 50.

[59] Ibid, 38.

[60] Mande, "Rice Farmers May Be Evicted By New Biofuel Companies."

[61] Cotula et al., "Land Grab or Development Opportunity?," 38.

[62] Global Forest Coalition, "Agrofuels."

[63] Ibid.

[64] "Global Land Grab," *Fairplanet website*.

withoutithappening. However, if this is to be a trend of the future, a set of four recommendations are proposed in order to better accommodate African countries and their people. Firstly, a regulatory framework or set of international laws must be created and practiced, that serve to regulate deals between donor countries and investors. These laws must substantially limit the amount of land that can be transferred and the duration of loans. Secondly, proper land registration laws must be implemented in all African countries, to better protect rural inhabitants and smallholders from their land being claimed by donor governments and sold. Thirdly, before projects are approved they must guarantee and follow through with sufficient, long term job creation programs for local residents. Lastly, a higher percentage of food produced within donor countries must stay within them in order to tackle food insecurity, rather than being exported.

In a world full of climate change, population growth, war, and food insecurity it is impossible to know what role the global land grab will play in the future. However through examining the lack of transparency in land deals, issues surrounding food security, the displacement of smallholders, limited job creation, and the long term effects of monocultures, it becomes apparent that despite potential benefits, the land grab presents an immense threat to rural livelihoods in African countries. It has been suggested the global land grab exhibits a form of neo-colonialism whereby rich countries are exploiting poor countries.[65] With respect to Africa, the global land grab has even been described as the "Second Scramble for Africa."[66] That is part of a whole other debate, however though this paper one thing has become clear: without significant changes in the way land deals are currently being implemented, they will undoubtedly have a negative effect on the future of African countries and their people.

[65] Mounia BEN AÏSSA, "Land for grabs: Win-win or neo-colonialism?," *Food Crisis and the Global Land Grab website*, December 25, 2009, http://farmlandgrab.org/10001

[66] Julio Godoy, "The Second Scramble For Africa Starts," *IPS news*, April 20, 2009, http://ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=46557

Decaying Sovereignty

Gregory L. Sharp

"Of all the rights that can belong to a nation, sovereignty is doubtless the most precious."

-Emerich de Vattel

The central cornerstones of world politics, sovereign states, have dominated the political arena ever since the treaty of Westphalia in 1648. However, in this global era, sovereign nations and their constructed national identities are under attack. The pillars of state sovereignty – non-intervention, policy autonomy, internal authority, and border control – are being eroded by the relentless forces of globalization. As Kenichi Ohmae argues, "the modern nation state itself – that artefact of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – has begun to crumble."[1] As the process of economic, cultural, and political integration accelerates worldwide the fundamental structure of the world system is changing.

NON-INTERVENTION

An integral part of a sovereign nation is the recognition that a state is independent and free from any outside intervention. However, the reality of modern politics has evolved into a situation where this is no longer the case. All nations, spanning the spectrum from rich to poor, are susceptible to foreign intervention. These interventions manifest themselves in many different ways – ranging from austerity packages to military actions – depending on the context.

Recently, Iceland and Ireland were forced to undergo economic reforms after fears about their unstable economies spread across Europe. The austerity programs, accepted under pressure from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the

[1] Kenichi Ohmae, "The End of the Nation State," in *The Globalization Reader*, ed. Frank F. Lechner and John Boli (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 224.