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Development Studies in Geography: Concepts and Approaches

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Abstract: *Development Studies originated from the field of Economics, but today it has become highly diversified and multidisciplinary. It has passed through many phases post world war to the current phase of globalization and sustainable development. The purpose of the present paper is to provide a concise study material on concepts and approaches of development with geographical perspective for graduate students of Geography all over the world. They face many problems while choosing the study materials in limited time frame and different views of development based on the place of their origin or residence.*

Key Words: *Sustainable development, take off, marshall plan, structuralism, radical, globalization*

CONCEPTS

Development is a process of overall growth and improvement of person, place or thing. It is often taken interchangeably with growth but the latter may go negative in absence of any institutional support or agency with some catalysm. Brookfield (1975) takes this stance when he defines development as "the whole process of change brought about by the creation and expansion of an interdependent world system" [1]. According to Todaro " Development is not purely an economic phenomenon but rather a multi-dimensional process involving reorganization and reorientation of entire economic and social system." Development is process of improving the quality of all human lives with three equally important aspects. These are:

- Raising peoples' living levels, i.e. incomes and consumption, levels of food, medical services, education through relevant growth processes,
- Creating conditions conducive to the growth of peoples' self-esteem through the establishment of social, political and economic systems and institutions which promote human dignity and respect.
- Increasing peoples' freedom to choose by enlarging the range of their choice variables, e.g. varieties of goods and services [2]

APPROACHES

Development Studies prior to the world war period was basically concerned about economic development theories. With the time, different approaches evolved expanding the scope to multiple disciplines and diverse areas of research. It can be understood under the following phases:

1.Classical Phase

Influenced from mercantile theories, Classical phase started in 18th Century and covered the longest time phase upto world war period of 1940s. Adam Smith, David Ricardo and John Stuart Mill, and the fourth, the unorthodox Robert Malthus were most significant contributors of this phase. They wrote specially about the theory of value, distribution theory and international trade. Karl Marx studied the same matters, although with different conclusions and defending the working class, which makes him a classical economist in the eyes of some historians. Thanks to these authors, the study of economics became more of a science, instead of just being some kind of philosophy[3]. The theories of the classical school, which dominated economic thinking in Great Britain until about 1870, focused on economic growth and economic freedom, stressing laissez-faire ideas and free competition. Many of the fundamental concepts and principles of classical economics were set forth in Adam Smith's An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations (1776). According to Smith, free competition and free trade would truely promote a nation's economic growth. The community benefits most when each of its members follow their self-interest. In a free economy, individuals make a profit by producing goods that other people are willing to buy. Individuals spend money for goods that they want or need most. Smith demonstrated competitive buying and selling transmuted into an orderly system of economic cooperation. This system evolves through the process of individual choice as opposed to central direction. Smith introduced the rudiments of a labour theory of value and a theory of distribution in analyzing the functions of free enterprises. Ricardo beautifully analysed in his Principles of Political Economy and Taxation (1817) that the value of goods produced and sold under competitive conditions tends to be proportionate to the labour costs incurred in producing them. According to him, price depends on supply and demand over short periods. This notion became central to classical economics, as did Ricardo's theory of distribution, which divided national product between three social classes: wages for labourers, profits for owners of capital, and rents for landlords. He concluded that a particular social class could gain a larger share of the total product only at the expense of another. Ricardo's principle of comparative advantage states that every nation should specialize in the production of those commodities it can produce most efficiently; everything else should be imported. Ricardo's principle of comparative advantage became the corner stone of 19th century international trade theory [4]. These and other Ricardian theories were restated by Mill in his book Principles of Political Economy (1848), that marked the culmination of classical economics. Mill's work related abstract economic principles to real-world social conditions and thereby lent new authority to economic concepts. The teachings of the classical economists attracted much attention during the mid-19th century. The labour theory of value, for example, was adopted by Karl Marx, who worked out all of its logical implications and combined it with the theory of surplus value, which was founded on the assumption that human labour alone creates all value and thus constitutes the sole source of profits. More significant were the effects of classical economic thought on free-trade doctrine.

2. Modernism

After second world war came to an end in 1945, the idea of modernism was adopted. It explains development as transformation of traditional into modern/ westernized countries. Many British and American expeditions of Asia and Africa during war period gave birth of new paradigm of development studies which may be termed as Colonial/ military/ regional/ tropical geography. Many models and theories were formulated for urban, rural and industrial development. Quantitative methodology was adopted and theorization of subjects was done at all the levels. The plan of 40s-50s pertaining to the dictum that economic growth can only be achieved by industrialization was called Marshall Plan. Those theories and models were latter sent to less developed countries. Ironically, the scholars of developing and less developed countries started adopting them without testing or thinking about their practicality. The ideas of E. Durkheim (The Division of labour in society) was that the primitive societies can make transition to more advanced society. W.W. Rostov (The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non communist Manifesto, 1960) gave five stages of economic growth as; Traditional society - Pre Condition for take off- Take off- Drive to maturity- Age of Mass Consumption. According to the Rostow doctrine, the transition from underdevelopment to development can be described in terms of a series of steps or stages through which all countries must proceed . He wrote in his opening chapter: It is possible *to* identify all societies, in their economic dimensions, as lying within one of five categories: the traditional society, the pre-conditions for take-off into self-sustaining growth, the take-off, the drive to maturity, and the age of high mass consumption. These stages are not merely descriptive. They are not merely a way of generalizing certain factual observations about the sequence of development of modern societies. They have an inner logic and continuity. They constitute, in the end, both a theory about economic growth and a more general, if still highly partial, theory about modern history as a whole. The advanced countries, it was argued, had all passed the stage of "take-off into self sustaining growth," and the underdeveloped countries that were still in either the traditional society or the "preconditions" stage had only to follow a certain set of rules of development to take off in their turn into self-sustaining economic growth [5] Similarly Harrod Domar Growth Model stating that any national economy must save a certain proportion of its national income, if only to replace worn-out or impaired capital goods (buildings, equipment, and materials). However, in order to grow, new investments representing net additions to the capital stock are necessary. Gunnar Myrdal (Economic Theory and Underdeveloped Regions, 1957) gave the cumulative causation of development and explained the spread-backwash effects of development. Hirschman (The Strategy of Economic Development, 1958) too promoted the take off notion of Rostov. But he was of view to encourage 'Growth Poles' to promote regional development which would later promote national development.

3. Structural Change Theories

These theories focused on the mechanism by which underdeveloped economies transform their domestic economic structures from a heavy emphasis on traditional subsistence agriculture to a more modern, more urbanized, and more industrially diverse manufacturing and service economy. It employs the tools of neoclassical price and resource allocation theory and modern econometrics to describe how this transformation process takes place. Two well-known representative examples of the structural-change approach are the "two-sector surplus labor" theoretical model of W. Arthur Lewis and the "patterns of development" empirical analysis of Hollis B. Chenery and his co-authors. The Lewis Theory of Development *Model is o*ne of the best-known early theoretical models of development that focused on the structural transformation of a primarily subsistence economy formulated by Nobel laureate W. Arthur Lewis in the mid-1950s and later modified, formalized, and extended by

John Fei and Gustav Ranis. It became the general theory of the development process in surplus-labor Third World nations during most of the 1960s and early 1970s. It still has adherents among American development economists. In the Lewis model, the underdeveloped economy consists of two sectors: a traditional, overpopulated rural subsistence sector characterized by zero marginal labor productivity—a situation that permits Lewis to classify this as surplus labor in the sense that it can be withdrawn from the agricultural sector without any loss of output—and a high-productivity modern urban industrial sector into which labor from the subsistence sector is gradually transferred. The primary focus of the model is on both the process of labor transfer and the growth of output and employment in the modern sector [6]. "Patterns of Development" Model is the one based largely on the empirical work of the late Harvard economist Hollis B. Chenery and his colleagues, who examined patterns of development for numerous developing countries during the postwar period. Their empirical studies, both cross-sectional (among countries at a given point in time) and time-series (over long periods of time), of countries at different levels of per capita income led to the identification of several characteristic features of the development process. These included the shift from agricultural to industrial production, the steady accumulation of physical and human capital, the change in consumer demands from emphasis on food and basic necessities to desires for diverse manufactured goods and services, the growth of cities and urban industries as people migrate from farms and small towns, and the decline in family size and overall population growth as children lose their economic value and parents substitute child quality (education) for quantity, with population growth first increasing, then decreasing in the process of development. [7].

4. Dependency Theory

By 1960s, it became evident that the developing and less developed countries should delink from theories, ideologies and plans of developed economies and follow alternative development goals. During the 1970s, international dependence models gained increasing support, especially among developing country intellectuals, as a result of growing disenchantment with both the stages and structural-change models. While this theory to a large degree went out of favor during the 1980s and into the 1990s, versions of it have enjoyed a resurgence in the early years of the twenty-first century, as some of its views have been adopted, albeit in modified form, by theorists and leaders of the anti globalization movement. Essentially, international dependence models view developing countries as beset by institutional, political, and economic rigidities, both domestic and international, and caught up in a dependence and dominance relationship with rich countries. Within this general approach are three major streams of thought: the neocolonial dependence model, the false-paradigm model, and the dualistic-development thesis. Probably the chief feature of the dependency school is its insistence that it is not internal characteristics of particular countries so much as the structure of the international system-particularly in its economic aspects-that is the key variable to be studied in order to understand the form that development has taken in non-communist industrializing countries. Such an emphasis is not the only distinguishing mark of dependency literature, of course: it tends to put more weight on the interaction of political and economic forces than does its developmentalist rival, and it often identifies itself as being unambiguously on the side of change in the South in order to benefit the poorest and most oppressed members of society there. But, as its name implies, dependency theory's most distinctive point is its insistence that the logic of contemporary southern development can only be grasped by placing this process firmly within a globally defined historical context [8]. Raul Prebisch was 1st director of Economic Commission for Latin america (ECLA) in 1950 at Chile. Along with Celso Furtado (Brazil), A. Pinto, Osvaldo Sunkel (Chile) and Dudley Seers. Raul Prebisch (Argentina) and Paul Singer (Brazil) gave Import Substitution Intervention(ISI) theory of Prebisch and Singer. The idea was to transform these economies from subsistence agriculture to modern urbanized manufacturing and services economy by adopting Import Substitution Intervention. According to the theory; Government intervention is needed to shield domestic economy, erect trade barriers. over value domestic exchange rates and product substitution of formerly imported industrial products. Institute for development studies was established at Univ. of Sussex in1966. Major researches started to find out alternative models of development for under developed countries. It was clear that the high standard of living of wealthy countries was at the cost of natural resources and labour of the under developed countries. The works of Walter Rodney (Guyana, 1974) "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa" clearly shows how the western theories harmed the development of African Continent which was richest in natural resources. Samir Amin (Egypt) too supported the notion and explained how the European colonization did injustice to the African development. Andre Gunder Frank (A German American, 1967, 79) coined the term "Development of Under development". He became a main advocate of dependency theory in 70s.

5. Radical/ Neo Marxist Phase

The ideas of Marx and Freidrich Engles were adopted in 1960s and 1970s to find out alternative theory of development in which all are socio-economically equal. Paul Baran (Political Economy of Growth, 1957), Lenin of Russia (Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism, 1963 and The Right of Nations to Self

Discrimination, 1972), Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana (Neocolonialism: The lost Stage of Imperialism, 1965), Franz Fanon of Martinique (The Wretched of the Earth, 1967) Julius Nyerere of Tanzania (Ujamaa: Essays on socialism, 1968), Paulo Friere of Brazil (Pedagogy of the Oppressed, 1970), David Harvey (1973, 1978) stressed focus on the demerits of capitalist mode of productions [9]. This neo - marxist perspective was based on the premise that, If the city is considered to start with as a market where labour, power, capital and products are exchanged, it must be equally accepted that the geographical configuration of this market is not the result of chance; it is governed by the laws of capital accumulation. Harvey gave the Urban Model of the circulation of capital in 1978. Lefebvre (1968) pioneered in specifying 'the dialectic materialism' and simultaneously stood as one of the foremost critics of structuralism[10]. Radical phase gave more emphasis on subjectivity and qualitative phenomena. The approach was more humanistic and bottom up. By the time Univ. of East Anglia started centre for Development Studies in 1973. In line with the approach, International Labour Organisation adopted minimum basic needs for long term physical well being as Minimum Basic Needs Approach in 1976.

6. Neoclassical Phase/ Neo Liberal Phase

The advocacy of free market and less government intervention was adopted in the phase With the "General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money" of John Maynard Keynes (1936). Later it was adopted as Neo Liberal ideology by Margaret Thatcher (UK) and her followers of New Right in whole Europe and Ronald Reagon (USA) as Washington Consensus and Neo Conservatism of 80s with fiscal austerity (reduction of government intervention in commerce and trade), privatization, liberalization and deregulation of free market. It paved way for globalization of 90s.

7. Postmodernism

It rejected meta theories and meta narratives as biased and particular ideological and regional centric. The work of Anthony Giddens (The Consequences of Modernity, 1990) gives clear picture of it. Immanuel Wallerstein rejected Third World and said that there is no 1st world or 2nd world only one world connected by economic relationships.

8. Globalization and Sustainable Development

By the early 80s China started manufacturing American and European products. In a decade its communist and Maoist ideologies were liberalised towards open and free market policies in line with the western bloc. Disintegration of USSR and adoption of economic liberal policies in majority of Asian and African Countries in line with LPG (Liberalization, privatization and globalization) changed the world. All the countries of the world started opening their economies in line with the Bretton Woods institutions of World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Find (IMF). No Country could stay away from the global world. The revolution of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) helped the world come more closer every day. The ideas, informations, goods and services can move from one part of the world to another in record time. Global economy is now highly connected to the extent that a product can be produced in a country and sold all over the world based on cheap and best resources, technologies, capital and labour. The issues of transnational conflicts and environment can be addressed and solved at global level with consensus. Dennis Conway and Nick Heyman (Globalization's contradictions : Geographies of Discipline, Destruction and Transformation, 2005) gives good insight to this.

After adoption of Human Development Report in 1991, the factors of education and health too were incorporated besides economic factor of development. Thanks to Indian Economist Prof. Amartya Sen and Prof. Mahbub al Haq of Pakistan. In 1992, after adoption of Agenda 21 in Rio de Jaenro, the reduction of carbon emission and other environmental factors too were included in assessment of Sustainable Development of a Country. In 2000, the world adopted eight Millennium Development Goals to be achieved by 2015. Unfortunately, some underdeveloped countries of Africa and Asia are yet to achieve even 50% of the target by 2015. Therefore, United Nations has merged all the development goals and adopted 19 Sustainable Development Goals for the whole world to achieve by 2030. Now poverty alleviation, basic amenities & facilities, peace and security, gender equality, women empowerment, universal education and health, complete removal of fatal disease of AIDS and Cancer and mental depression, etc., remain the serious challenges to achieve development worldwide.

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