

Human Geography

CONCEPTS, APPROACHES AND TRENDS



Edited by
J. F. Olorunfemi
S. L. Tilakasiri

HUMAN GEOGRAPHY

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Chapter 18

DEVELOPMENT THINKING AND PLANNING IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM

Y. A. Ahmed, O. O. Idowu and W. M. Raheem

Introduction

As we moved toward the new millennium and closing out a century filled with excitement, and reflect over the way we thought about development in the past half century, we can see marked changes. It has become clear that development is possible but far from predictable and that there is no single road to development (Stiglitz, 2001). In recent years some East Asian economies have achieved sustained growth with relatively low inequality. They have not followed blindly the prescriptions of the Washington consensus: they did maintain a high level of macroeconomic stability, while at the same time governments played far more important roles. The debate about the most effective strategies for development and the appropriate role of the state is thus a continuing one, but research has helped us to understand better what features of developing countries make them differ from that of developed

countries. Precisely, one can better understand the hindrances faced by developing countries in their areas. The debate has moved to the far deeper realm of how to foster change. We have come to recognize, for instance, that what matters more is not only what policies might foster faster growth, but also how the political process might produce those policy changes. Equilibrium and change are thus the twin focuses of development.

This chapter on Human Geography: Concept Approaches and Trends provides an overview of the features of development thinking, associated planning, and frames of mind that are attributed to Critical Analytic-Thinking (CAT) and the minds of the thinkers. The potential viability of developmental trends in CAT and the problems of achieving the ideal of a critical-analytic thinker in a multidisciplinary field, such as in the science and social sciences were evaluated. We have focused on both the tropical world's holistic *farming-value* approach to bring attention to the role of multiple inter-dependent stakeholders, hinged on farming and domestic activities to development (Padulosi et al., 2013).

The Evolution of Development Thinking in the Neo-Millennium Era

The most available economic model in the 1950s and 60s offered only limited insights into the practical problems affecting the so-called Developing World. Whereas, the dominant one sector macroeconomic models of the Keynesian to Harrod-Domar (1957) and Solow (1956), have relatively little relevance for societies that are not primarily concerned with business cycles or steady state properties. Thus, most contemporary growth models were seen as advanced country-related, relatively abstract theoretical constructs that were faithful to the dominant assumptions of the neo-classical macroeconomic theories. Expectations of full employment, market clearing, and perfect competition, all seemed to have little relevance to the segmented commodity, labour intensive and credit market-economy of the developing countries (Gustav, 2004)

The history of Development Thinking (DT) suggests that specialists should resist pressures to embrace consensus, because no theory is immune to change in social values or current policy problems. The idea of 'development' emerged in the second half of the twentieth century and has traditionally been interpreted as economic growth. Thus, the economic focus of development in the 1950s and 1960s was a vision of liberating people, through structural transformation. However, the focus of development in the 1970s, shifted from economic growth and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to that of basic needs. The central components of the basic needs approach included education, nutrition, health, sanitation and employment for the poor (Harris, 2000; Seers, 1969). This new focus was characterized by relatively less concern with economic indicators, but emphasized the quality of human life and conservation of the natural environment. There was a dramatic shift in the development focus by the 1980s as a result of debt crisis. This displaced the centre of gravity in development thinking from the United Nations' organs such as the UN Research Institute for Social Development and the UN Conference on Trade and Development, to the Bretton Woods Institutions (World Bank, IMF and other related organs of the UN). The concept of development changed to that of 'structural adjustment', emphasizing liberalization of trade, elimination of government deficits and overvalued exchange rates as well as dismantling inefficient parastatal organizations (Harris, 2000). Structural adjustment was seen as correcting the errors of earlier government-centered development policies which had led to bloated bureaucracies, unbalanced budgets, and excessive debt. The structural adjustment approach was however criticized by researchers and organizations. Indeed, their dissatisfactions were expressed.

The report of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 1990 on World Development presented a different interpretation of the concept of development, following global agitations for better indicators of development. The focus shifted to the wellbeing of people. The report captured development as a process of enlarging peoples' choices, and that these choices are available to individuals who would live long and healthy lives, acquire knowledge and have

access to resources needed for a decent standard of living. As a matter of fact the UNDP (1990) agreed that income though an important indicator of development is not an 'end' in itself. It was expressed that development goes beyond the expansion of income and wealth, but that it should focus on the welfare of the people (UNDP, 1990). This notion of development as 'human centered' overcame the limitations of the economic growth-based concept of development hitherto held. In other words, income generation is not an 'end' in itself but a 'means' to an end (Sant'Ana, 2008)

By the year 2000, development has been globally viewed as multidimensional in both conceptualization and reality (Todaro, 2000) (Figure 1). The shift in discourse from economic conceptualization to human development indices entailed far more than a formal renaming of the concept (Sant'Ana, 2008). The introduction of gender empowerment (encouragement of women and minority groups participation in economic, political and professional lives especially in developing countries); protection of the natural environment; and the eradication of poverty dominated international debate on development (UNDP, 1990). This period also witnessed a global commitment to the improvement of quality of life of people through the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which had become a development indicator in many countries of Africa and in the developing world as a whole.

It will be fair to reiterate that the theoretical elements of the postwar consensus focused on capital scarcity and savings to push growth, without the expectation of technology change. Both Rosenstein-Rodan and Nurkse School of thoughts were on the need for balance growth, not only between agriculture and other sectors, but also within each sector. All these thoughts are referred to as "Development Thinking," details of which are discussed in this chapter.

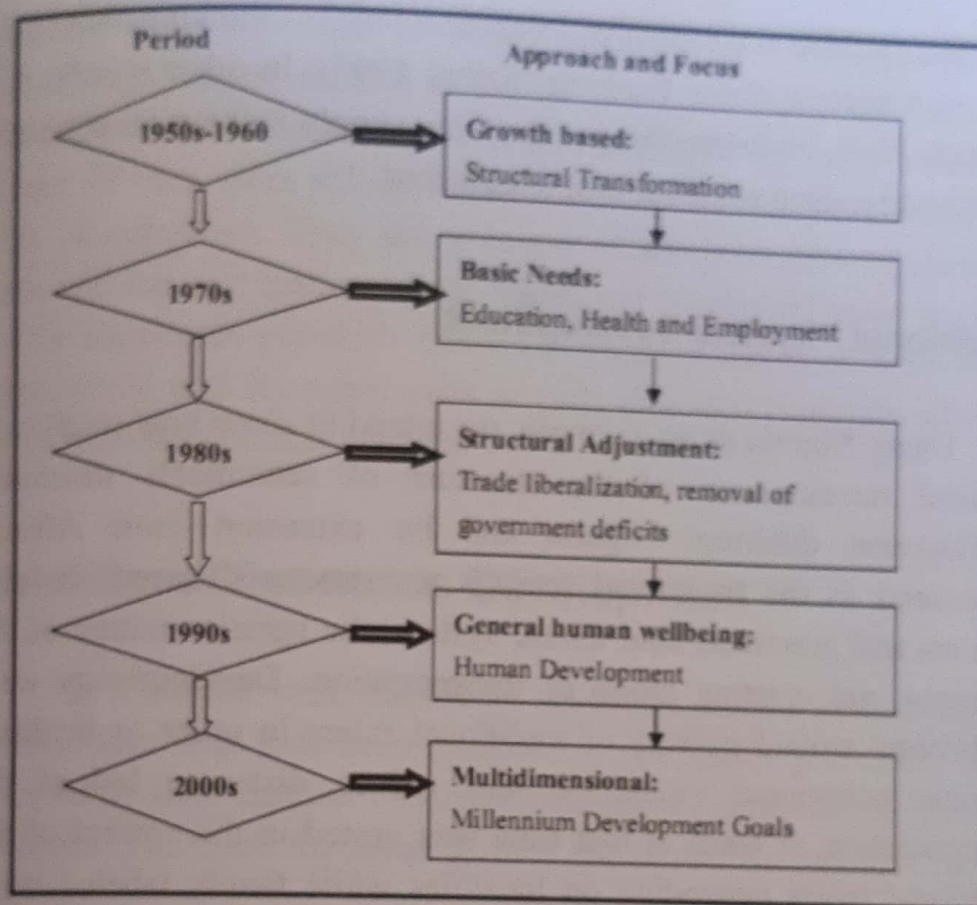


Figure 1: Evolution of the Concept of Development Thinking: 1950 – 2000.

Source: Cobbinah et al. (2011).

The Nature of Development Thinking

An examination of literature on Development Thinking with diverse domains revealed that, the success of individuals, institutions, and governments worldwide is "sine qua non" to that of the society (Brookfield, 2012; Halpern, 2014). To understand the meaning of Development Thinking, we need to examine the Critical-Analysis Thinking (CAT) movement that spawned literature. CAT is regarded as an essential aspect of progress and knowledge growth of multidisciplinary and other complex disciplines. It is seen as a prerequisite to determining the best course of action in important, complex decisions and thus, an indispensable tool to societies seeking to promote and protect the welfare of its citizenry (Brookfield, 2012; James & Kevin, 2014). CAT

is meta-cognitive and reflective, because it requires thinking about your own or someone else's thinking (Kuhn, 1999). In other words, it is different from, and something more than, simply making an argument or comprehending someone else's argument.

Traditional Physical Development

Using Nigeria as an example, we intend to show how traditional physical development of the structure of settlements illustrates development thinking. Nigeria and by extension most African settlements in the traditional settings are structured based on local customs and practices, land tenure system, the agrarian nature of the economy and existing mode of transportation. Developments were established around palaces of traditional rulers in order to facilitate efficient communal interaction and reduce distance. Indeed the administration of lands at that time was vested in the control of the traditional rulers depending on localities while family labeled lands were controlled by family heads. Thus at the centre of settlements were found the Obas or Emirs palace (Centre of administration; markets (Centres of commerce); and spiritual artifacts. The most prominent members of society were similarly located near these centres. The theory of concentric model propounded by Burges in 1925 fitted into these traditional arrangements of settlements in Nigeria.

The advent of colonialisation changed the pattern of development of these settlements. The proclamation of the cantonment policy of 1904, where different planning standards were specified for different segments of the city, ensured the concentration of physical planning and infrastructures in the European and Government Reservation Areas.

The introduction of the Township Ordinance of 1917 presented yet another opportunity for Nigerian cities to be orderly. Apart from classifying cities into first and second class Townships, the ordinance legalized the segregation of the Europeans from the African Residential Areas and created management order for different towns. While Lagos

was the only first class township managed by a town council, all other major towns situated in the sea ports and along rail lines were classified as second class towns and managed by local authorities. Many of such cities still maintain and enjoy certain benefits based on this classification. They are a centre of administration or economic hub and the segregation of the traditional residential areas from that of the Europeans popularly called Government Reserved Areas (GRA) maintained with the upper class or early educated Nigerians who took over from the colonial masters.

Traditional Economic Development

In a similar vein, traditional economic models existed some of which have with time been modified or out rightly jettisoned. In this chapter we shall examine two of these traditional economic development theories. These are the linear growth model and the structural growth models.

1. The Linear Stages of Growth Models

The first generation of economic development models was formulated in the early years after the World War II. These early models focused on the utility of massive injections of capital to achieve rapid GDP growth rates. The two famous models according to Todaro and Smith (2009) are Rostow's stages of growth model and the Harrod-Domar model.

In the 50s and 60s, the process of development was viewed as a sequence of historical stages. This view popularized by Rostow (1960) claimed that the transition from underdevelopment to development would undergo five stages: the traditional society; the preconditions for take-off; the take-off; the drive to maturity; and the age of high mass consumption. The pivotal stage was the take-off stage, through which developing countries transit from an underdeveloped to a developed state. It involved taking off from the scratch whereby development took

that emphasized that the prime mover of the economy was investments (Ghatak, 2003). In order to achieve this therefore, every country needed capital to generate investment. These investments can then jumpstart the economy and development followed.

The development process was actually found to be nonlinear (Chenery, 1960; Syrquin, 1975) that different countries have pursued different pathways to climb the ladder of development (Morris & Adelman, 1988). This has disproved the linear model. In other words, taking off from the same pedestal may not guarantee success because of some factors such as managerial capacities, and the availability of skilled labour for a wide range of developmental projects may put other economies and development off track (Todaro & Smith, 2009).

2. Structural Change Models

Most countries in the 1960s and early 1970s developed their economies based on what economists generally described as the process of structural change. This was the reallocation of labour from the agricultural sector to the industrial sector. This was seen as the main source for economic growth. The most popular of this approach were the two-sector Theories of Economic Development model developed by Lewis, (1954), and the structural change and patterns of development (Chenery, 1960).

In Lewis' (1954) two-sector model, there was mass movement of labour away from the agricultural sector to the industrial sector. This propelled the latter sector and consequently boosted the economy even though, unrestricted supply of labour from the traditional sector led to ridiculous remuneration of workers. The excess profit made led to the expansion of the modern sector that further generated economic growth by the way of reinvestment. Like the Harrod-Domar model, the Lewis model considered savings and investments as the driving forces of economic development albeit, in the context of the developing countries. The major thrust of Lewis model was the fact that the steady accumulation of physical and human capital was among the conditions

necessary for economic growth, apart from savings and investments,

However, critics argued that since the reallocation of labour from the agricultural sector to the industrial sector was considered the engine of economic growth, many developing countries that shifted their policy direction towards industrialization at the expense of agriculture ended up in poverty and acute shortage of food among other negative effects rather than growth and development (World Bank, 2000). Consequently, the structural change economists shifted attention to the development of human capital like education and health (Meier, 2000), hoping that such would lead to substantial economic growth, but again, investments in health and education alone did not guarantee development.

Based on these arguments the linear and structural models of development were abandoned for other thoughts of development in the global scene (Chenery & Syrquin, 1975). There was the recognition that, pattern of development can be different because of factors such as resource endowment and size, governmental policies and objectives, the availability of external capital and technology, and the international trade environment (Todaro & Smith, 2009, p.120).

The four countries of Asia (South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and Hong-Kong) provide a good example in this direction. Their success has been so inspiring that it raised questions about what was the cause of that success, what lessons are there to be learnt, and whether the same can be replicated in other developing countries of the world.

The Specific lesson from the Asian tigers

Neo-Classical Interpretations

The earlier neo-classical interpretations of the East Asian experience emphasised that free trade and good macroeconomics can explain the success of the Asian tiger. The export drive of the East Asian economies was indeed the proof of their commitment to free trade. But they exported because they perceive gains from specialisation,

and took advantage of their comparatively abundant labour. Given their numerical strength, they utilized to the fullest the advantage of specialization in all areas of their economic activities and added such profits to their investments (Carlos Nuno, 1996).

The World Bank's Miracle

The World Bank report of the early nineties evaluated the magnitude of the success of the Asian tiger, and reported that the success can be attributed to, and explained by, a combination of the neo-classical "basics" and cautious state intervention to correct market failure (World Bank, 1993).

The report highlighted what contributed to the Asian tiger success as:

- (i) each of the countries had undistorted maintenance of fundamentals "right", that the market-clearing structure of relative prices was maintained, but in addition opened their markets to foreign technology and capital. Thus, with secured and stable financial systems and public investment concentrated on the provision and improvement of human capital and infrastructure;
- (ii) the respective governments addressed market failure, rather than replace the market. performance-based reward systems that encourage competition;
- (iii) they avoided anti-export and moved away from import substitution to export driven policies;
- (iv) each country developed a technocratic administration that was insulated from political pressure and interference; and
- (v) in each country, the benefits of economic growth were widely shared and typical fast-growth-related inequality was avoided. This enhanced political and economic stability and reinforced social adherence to their goal of pursuing fast growth. More equal income distribution was achieved due

to the “basics”: macro-economic stability, labour intensive export-oriented growth, heavy investment in primary and secondary education and land reform, followed by low price distortion for agricultural goods and services.

The development of the East Asian countries was apolitical. Technocrats who abhor corruption in its entirety were in charge and this cannot be said of other developing countries. Other discipline inclined policies explained their appearance in the list of the world major power.

The East Asian Miracle Model of Development

Typical Growth and Transformation

The Asian model of development grew with the rise of the “tiger” economies of (Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, China and Taiwan), dubbed “the East Asian Miracle”. The East Asian Miracle thus, became a blueprint for development and future sustainability (Tay, 2010). The rise of Asia captured the imagination of policy-makers, businesses, and the public. Even after 2008, in the wake of the global financial crisis, the region largely continued to grow despite the downturn in Europe and the United States. Their phenomenon growth fostered development in other developing regions with slower or non-existent growth. At a point, some Asians allowed pride in their progress to the extent that Asia’s rise was claimed to be predestined and irresistible, and that the region grew quite rapidly to surpass the West. The example provided by these “tiger” economies played some important roles in re-thinking and re-directing economic growth efforts in Asia, especially in China. The Asian model of development became not only the practice and policy adoption, but became the theory that constituted measures of development, including the role of the state in development, and the resilience and sustainability of Asia’s transformation (Hermes, 1995).

From this standpoint, it was established that, the Asian model of development was not millennia old but rather emerged in the last two to three decades. It was not historically preordained but rather was

dependent on policy and actions by government, corporations, and the masses. In the Asia's model of development, thinkers were re-prioritized and re-shaped in the face of geo-political and geo-economic events; it was pragmatic, rather than on a fixed and unchanging philosophy that characterized traditional ideologies of the West. When markets slumped in 2008, Beijing was alarmed by the potential drop in trade due to less demand from the West. But China's GDP growth reached 9.6 per cent in 2008, and has remained around that point since (World Bank, 2012). Similarly, although India's GDP growth rate has slipped down to 4.9 per cent later in 2008, but by 2009 the country's growth had recovered to around the 9 per cent rate. The same story of growth rate amidst the global crisis raised Indonesia to prominence and limelight. In recent years, Indonesia's annual GDP growth has remained stable at around 6 per cent, but slipped to 4.6 per cent in 2009 before it returned to its previous levels. Indonesia's economic performance was relatively unaffected by Europe's sovereign debt crisis of 2011, due to its strong domestic consumption combined with macro-economic stability and the boom in commodity and resource exports. Some smaller Asian economies like Bangladesh has continued to grow well, perhaps because it shed the long-held stereotypes to emerge as one of Asia's fastest growing economies, maintained an annual GDP growth rate of about 6 percent throughout this period (Hermes, 1997).

Asia's economic growth was not without a number of challenges and changes, especially the regional crisis of 1997-1998. It faced some shortcomings at a juncture of further transformation; driven not only by economic exigencies in the wake of the global financial crisis, but also by social and political factors arising from the region's development. These have affected what we may identify as the Asian model of development: in the practices and policies of development, as well as in the theory of what elements constitute and measure development, the role of the state in development, and the resilience and sustainability of Asia's development.

The Importance of Asian Model

The goal and success attained by the Asian model of development is significant to emerging economies in other developing nations (Tay, 2010). The economic success of the East Asian countries has inspired many economists to study the background of their rapid growth, albeit, differently interpreted. In the 1970s and part of the 1980s advocates of the neo-classical model argued that the growth in East Asia was the result mainly of the market mechanism and the emphasis on export promotion. The neo-classical approach was further criticized by economists who stressed that government intervention played a crucial role in the process of economic growth. The argument in this chapter emphasised the role of government in the economic success of the countries in East Asia. The position is very useful, because it forms a new basis for the discussion on the role of the government in the economic development of other developing countries.

Importance of Planning in State Development: Did Planning Create the Miracle in East Asia?

The East Asian countries recorded large increases in per capita GDP over the last fifty years. This would not have been possible without good and proper planning which eluded or was not adequate during the Economic model of the 1950s and 1960s. Some observers referred to this growth as an "East Asian Miracle". One popular explanation attributed to the rapid growth of State has led to industrial development planning. We assessed in this segment the importance of development that surrounding State Planning and East Asia's growth. The State acquired the knowledge necessary to calculate which industries should be promoted and how development planning can deal with political incentive problems faced by planners. When we look at the development record of East Asian countries, we found that, development planning rapidly promoted industrialization. We also found that rapid growth led to good living standards through free markets, all of which promoted measures in economic freedom indexes. Thus, East Asia becomes the most free market countries in the world.

East Asian countries experienced dramatic economic development since the end of World War II. First Japan, then Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong, Singapore, and others, recorded large and rapid increases in per capita GDP. This success can be attributed to unique and proper planning, commonly referred to as the "Asian Model" of economic development (Johnson, 1982; Amsden, 1989; Wade, 1990; Evans, 1995; Stiglitz, 1996, 2001; Woo-Cumings, 1999). This model maintained some international market forces, but also evolved heavy direction of the economy by state industrial development planning agencies. The East Asian financial crisis of the late 1990s did not change the views of those who claimed that, East Asia's success resulted from developmental planning. Wade (1998, 2000) attributes much of the success of the model to the major roles played by financial and capital market liberalization in East Asia combined with other factors.

Economic development that enhances consumers' standard of living was not simply about industrialization, but in state planning that led to higher rates of economic growth. Above all, this enhanced consumer welfare more than the industries that would have developed in the absence of state direction (Berggren, 2003).

Uniqueness of State Development Planning

Models of state development planning seek to promote economic development by using government agencies to identify which industries can best promote growth and allowing the agencies to intervene in the market to encourage these industries (Johnson, 1982). Wade's (1990) book on *Governing the Market* was the most completely developed theory of the East Asian developmental state. In that study Wade not only outlines what "governing the market" entails but also claimed that it created the East Asian miracles in Taiwan, Korea, Japan and Hong Kong. Wade described the main features of development planning: "A pilot agency was one of the core features that decide which industries ought to exist and which industries were no longer needed in order to promote the industrial structure which enhances the nation's

international competitiveness". State development planning models typically view capital accumulation as key for growth, but they do not view capital as a homogenous category like many neo-classical models. Advocates of development planning think that the government must direct both the level and composition of capital in the economy.

Exclusively, East Asia's economic expansion during the past twenty years was one of the most remarkable economic changes since World War II. Gross National Product of the East Asian countries increased by more than five per cent per year between 1965-1990, which was considerably larger than that of Latin America (1.8%), sub-Saharan Africa (0.3%), or even the OECD (2.4%) (Amsden, 1994). Six of the seven fastest growing economies in the period 1960-1985 (measured on the basis of the average growth of per capita GDP). The economic success of these countries inspired many economists to study the basis for this rapid growth. Their interpretation dominated the debate for quite a long time especially since the mid-1980s.

Conclusion

This chapter emphasized technological changes, the spatial turn and consequent social and political forces that produced a citizenry with knowledge, skills, and practices of development thinking as necessary conditions for development in the new millennium. We suggest that researchers should focus their research with select attributes, including the use of shared tasks, Critical-Analytic Thinking (CAT) to accumulate data on the core ideas, practices, and characteristics of development thinking. The implications for planners and geographers are immense. In any event human geography is people focused. So people will need and want to know how to acquire, interpret, and contribute to development in all its ramifications. As the Asian countries had built stronger intra-Asian ties and a higher-quality regional economy, it is important that the region remain open, not just to existing ties with developed countries but also to opportunities with new partners, such

that countries in the Middle East, Latin America, and Africa could benefit. The presence of China in Nigeria should be further exploited for the mutual benefit of the two nations.

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