TD 638: Development Perspectives Early Mainstream Development Theories

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Main Approaches to Development: 1950s Onwards . . . 1

Decade	Main development approaches
1950s	Modernization theories: all countries should follow the European model Structuralist theories: Southern countries needed to limit interaction with the global economy to allow for domestic
1960s	economic growth Modernization theories Dependency theories: Southern countries poor because of exploitation by Northern countries
1970s	Dependency theories Basic needs approaches: focus of government and aid policies should be on providing for the basic needs of the world's poorest people Neo-Malthusian theories: need to control economic growth, resource use and population growth to avoid economic and ecological disaster Women and development: recognition of the ways in which development has differential effects on women and men

Main Approaches to
Development: 1950s
Onwards 2

Decade	Main development approaches
1980s	Neo-liberalism: focus on the market. Governments should retreat from direct involvement in economic activities
	Grassroots approaches: importance of considering local context
	and indigenous knowledge
	Sustainable development: need to balance needs of current
	generation against environmental and other concerns of future
	populations
	Gender and development: greater awareness of the ways in
	which gender is implicated in development
1990s	Neo-liberalism
	Post-development: ideas about 'development' represent a form
	of colonialism and Eurocentrism. Should be challenged from the
	grassroots
	Sustainable development
	Culture and development: increased awareness of how different
	social and cultural groups affected by development processes
2000s	Neo-liberalism: increased engagement with concepts of
	globalization
	Sustainable development
	Post-development
	Grassroots approaches

Early Thinking about 'Development': Keynes and Rostow

W W. Rostow (1950s):

Addressed concerns of US elites during Cold War:

Concern: whether *newly independent countries* in the Global South will side with USSR.

Rostow proposal: **US** aid to developing countries could help newly independent countries

to move rapidly through the stages of economic development

while keeping them in the capitalist/Western sphere of influence.

- Rostow postulated that economic development as done in Western industrialized countries
 - could be replicated in developing world by applying a five-stage model (Representative of modernization theory).

Rostow's theory and advice was followed by US and Western European governments in providing Development Aid

- W. W. Rostow postulated that economic development as done in Western industrialized countries
 - could be replicated in developing world by applying a five-stage model (Representative of modernization theory).

Rostow's Five-Stage Model of Development

- 1. Initial Stage: Traditional State of economy, politics, and culture
- Economic: Developing societies mostly agricultural, focused on subsistence (no surplus),
 and employing their economic surpluses for military or religious goals rather than for economic improvement.
- Political: Though liberated from colonial masters, native Feudal interest groups have strong political control
 - Feudal interest groups thriving on agricultural rent and not interested in development of industries or markets.
- Socio-Cultural: Social norms and cultural practices restrict political and economic freedom
 - And *restrict* development of markets or industries

- 2. Second Stage: Transition Stage:
- Subversion of previous stage through development of internal and external markets
- Markets allow the sale of agricultural commodities and the import of new goods, along with foreign technology.
- This process creates interests groups in favour of increasing production and accumulating wealth
- for **secular** and **civil purposes** (and **not** for **military** or **religious** purposes).
- These changes in economy force changes in traditional culture shake up the pre-existing political order.
- The increased economic activity, presence of interest groups, and loosening of political and cultural constraints
 - create a push toward more productive economic specialization in manufacturing,
 - and interest in the diversification of economic and trading opportunities
- These developments, in turn, create the conditions for the third stage.

Rostow's Five-Stage Model of Development [Continued]

3. Third Stage: Take-off Stage: Crucial because this is when developing countries start switching

to large-scale agriculture and industry, thus causing rapid urbanization and social change.

The pressures of urbanization and industrialization create demand for

significant investments in basic services such as electrification, roads, and seaports

and *drastic improvements* in *education systems*.

For **Rostow**, *these* all were *areas* where *Western aid* and *advice could* and *should be employed*.

Rostow's Five-Stage Model of Development [Continued]

4. Fourth Stage: Drive to Maturity Stage: Tendencies from the Third Stage deepen.

Economic terms: Developing Countries more diversified and less reliant on imports to cover necessities.

As *local firms invest to increase* the volume and quality of their *Industrial* and *agricultural production*,

and adapt or create their own technologies.

Rostow's Five-Stage Model of Development [Continued]

5. Fifth and Last Stage: Mass Consumption Society Stage: Stage already attained by industrialized Western economies.

Economies of **Developing Countries completely industrialized**,

with *productive capacity* enough to *satisfy* the *consumption needs* of citizens,

including *financing imports* with *exports* of goods and services

- While Rostow's stages of growth model is rarely invoked in development policy analysis today,
 - It has still remained as an influential undercurrent for Western policy-making toward the Global South.

What are the Main Drivers of Development: Comparing Gerschenkron, Keynes, and Rostow

Gerschenkron: premeditated planning will transform economy of newly independent countries in short time

Keynes: The state needs to make efforts to jump stages of development by accelerating economic growth

Rostow: International Aid + State's efforts + International trade + Domestic investments

will be required for *development* of *newly independent countries*

Core Keynesian idea applied to development

Jumping stages of development by accelerating economic growth and modifying economies,

using forces other than the market, namely, the state.

Development Economics: New discipline (in the late 1940s and lasted until the early 1960s)

Paul Rosenstein-Rodan: "Big Push" Theory:

- Concentrating development efforts in specific and large industrialization projects ("Big Push")
- Projects with high capability to create "ripple effects" in the rest of the economy.
 - "Ripple Effects = (Such projects) enable technological development and additional economic activities
 - in other sectors of economy and other sections of society (leading to economic growth).
 - Measured by number of jobs and new businesses created in primary, secondary, and tertiary sectors of economy.
- Example: Creation of heavy industries such as steel plants (also seaports, road bridges, and energy generation plants)
 - the output of which would later be used in the production of other goods,
 - such as rail cars and train tracks, ships, and heavy trucks.

Development Economics: New discipline (in the late 1940s and lasted until the early 1960s)

Paul Rosenstein-Rodan: "Big Push" Theory: [Continued]

Construction and operation of these specific and large industrialization projects

also require transfer of significant technology and skills to developing countries from developed countries.

(technology and skills building, planning, and project management)

Due to their very high costs and requirements for technical knowledge,

these projects typically needed to be funded through foreign aid,

thus establishing another powerful argument and agenda for official development assistance /aid .

Albert Hirschman (economist and Advisor to World Bank): Also *supported* the idea:

Big industrial projects in strategic industries and large infrastructure investments triggering economic modernization

Hirschman pointed out another gain from injections of foreign technology and capital, through international aid

Create *linkages* with the rest of the economy

Linkages (Concept) emphasizes that a given strategic industrialization can stimulate the development of other industries,

including some local *industries* that *provide* inputs (*backward linkages*)

and other *industries* that *process* outputs (*forward linkages*) for these new *strategic industrialization* projects.

Backward and forward linkages could jumpstart multiple sectors of an underdeveloped economy

Condition: Such linkages would develop only if state policies required

utilization of locally made inputs and local processing of outputs before exporting.

- Arthur Lewis: Another critical link: Theory of Surplus Labour
- Arthur Lewis: Pointed out that industrialization could be promoted in developing countries
 - by encouraging labour to move from rural areas, where they worked in subsistence farming or plantations,
 - to urban areas to work in industry, without raising wages.
 - which would generate significant surplus.
- Theory of Surplus Labour implied that such industrialization
 - could achieve large profits in its early stages,
 - which could later be reinvested in technology adaptation or endogenous innovations,
 - making economic development a self-sustaining project (Lewis 1954).

Ragnar Nurske: Theory of Balanced Growth (of Industries and Agriculture) through State Investment,

Export Pessimism: Observed that much of the growth of imports in developing countries was wasteful.

consisted of luxury and superfluous consumption

Nurske advocated (instead) for increased taxation of commodity exporters and the wealthy

to finance state-led industrial and agriculture projects that would diversify the economy,

substitute for imports of manufactured goods, and repress demand for luxury items.

Such thinking dovetailed with

- Rosenstein- Rodan arguments for "big push" projects, and ripple effect
- Hirschman's ideas of "linkages,"
- and Rostow's stage sequencing of growth.

Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI):

Premise: By *protecting* or *shielding* them from foreign competition,

local infant industries in developing countries *could grow significantly*

Allowing them to earn great profits in local markets

that would be later invested in new industries and technologies,

gradually creating a more industrialized economy

with higher value-added production than one based on unprocessed commodities.

Rosenstein-Rodan arguments for "big push" projects, Hirschman's ideas of "linkages" and state intervention, and Rostow's stage sequencing of growth, Nurske idea of heavy taxation.

All involved departures in development economics from traditional free-market Economics (Liberal Economics)

This departures Quite common in the 1940s to 1960s, since many economists of this period

did not accord international trade a significant role in strategies for development.

Their recent experience had been formed by

the Great Depression, with its fall in international trade flows,

the Second World War, when *international trade* had pretty much *stopped*,

and the early post-war period, when international trade remained heavily regulated

while Marshall Plan worked as State-State Collaboration for Reconstruction of Europe.

